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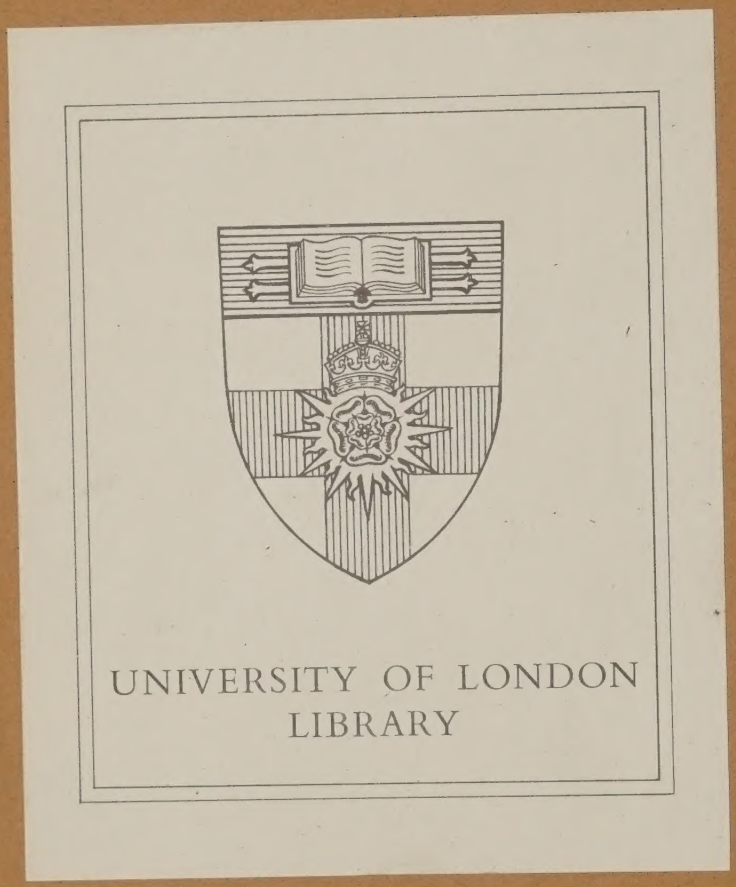

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REPORTS

FROM

COMMISSIONERS, INSPECTORS,

AND OTHERS:

FIFTY-ONE VOLUMES.

—(*50.*)—

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Session New 1908.

29 *January* 1908 —— 21 *December*

VOL. LX.

1908.

REPORTS

FROM

COMMISSIONERS, INSPECTORS,

AND OTHERS:

1908.

FIFTY-ONE VOLUMES:—CONTENTS OF THE

FIFTIETH VOLUME.

N.B.—*THE* Figures *at the* beginning of the line, *correspond with the* N° *at the foot of each* Report; *and the* Figures *at the* end of the line, *refer to the* Paging *of the Volumes arranged for The House of Commons.*

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS (ROYAL COMMISSION):

[Cd. 3737.] Seventeenth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. p. 1

[Cd. 4116.] Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde, K.P., preserved at Kilkenny Castle. New Series, Vol. V. 219

[Cd. 4382.] Report on the Manuscripts in Various Collections. Vol. VI. 905

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

SEVENTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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COMMISSIONS

VICTORIA, R.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Nathaniel Lindley, Knight, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records, Chairman; Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor Schomberg Henry, Marquess of Lothian, Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter; Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor George Frederick Samuel, Marquess of Ripon, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Commander of Our Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Companion of Our Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor James Ludovic, Earl of Crawford, Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle; Our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor William Baliol, Viscount Esher; Our trusty and well-beloved Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice, Esquire (commonly called Lord Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice); the Right Reverend Father in God William, Bishop of Oxford; Our right trusty and well-beloved John Emerich Edward, Baron Acton; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford, Knight of Our Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Edward Fry, Knight; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Edward Hartpole Lecky; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte, Knight Commander of our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Deputy Keeper of the Records; and Our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Esquire, Doctor of Civil Law; Greeting.

WHEREAS We did by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and by subsequent Warrants, authorise and appoint certain noblemen and gentlemen therein respec-

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tively named, or any three or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry into the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference, as by the tenor of the original Commission under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, does more fully and at large appear.

Now know ye that We have revoked and determined, and do by these Presents revoke and determine, the said several Warrants, and every matter and thing therein contained.

And whereas We have deemed it expedient that a new Commission should issue for the purposes specified in the said Warrant, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine:

Further know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you the said Sir Nathaniel Lindley; Schomberg Henry, Marquess of Lothian; Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury; George Frederick Samuel, Marquess of Ripon; James Ludovic, Earl of Crawford; Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery; William Baliol, Viscount Esher; Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice; William, Bishop of Oxford; John Emerich Edward, Baron Acton; Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford; Sir Edward Fry; William Edward Hartpole Lecky; Sir Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte; and Samuel Rawson Gardiner to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry as to the places in which such papers and manuscripts are deposited, and for any of the purposes set forth in the original Commission under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine.

And for the purpose of carrying out the said inquiry We do hereby authorise you to call in the aid and co-operation of all possessors of manuscripts and papers, inviting them to assist you in furthering the objects of this Commission, and to give them full assurance that no information is sought except such as relates to public affairs, and that no knowledge or information which may be obtained from their collections shall be promulgated without their full licence and consent.

And We do further by these presents authorize you, with the consent of the owners of such manuscripts, to make abstracts and catalogues of such manuscripts.

And We do hereby direct that you, or any three or more of you shall form a quorum; and that you, or any three or more of you, shall have power to invite the possessors of such papers and records as you may deem it desirable to inspect, to produce them before you.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, do report to Us from time to time, in writing under your hands and seals, all

and every your proceedings under and by virtue of these Presents.

And for the better enabling you to execute these presents We do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint Our trusty and well-beloved James Joel Cartwright, Esquire, Master of Arts, to be Secretary to this Our Commission.

Given at our Court at Saint James's, the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, in the sixty-first year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command,
M. W. RIDLEY.

VICTORIA, R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to our right trusty and well-beloved Arthur, Baron Stanmore, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George; Greeting.

Whereas by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, We were pleased to appoint our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Nathaniel Lindley, Knight, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records, and the several noblemen and gentlemen therein named, or any three or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry into the places in which Documents illustrative of History or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the Owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference.

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your fidelity, discretion, and integrity, have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you the said Arthur, Baron Stanmore, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purpose aforesaid in addition to and together with the Commissioners whom We have already appointed.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, the fourteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred, in the sixty-third year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command,
M. W. RIDLEY.

VICTORIA, R.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records, and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Nathaniel, Baron Lindley, one of Our Lords of Appeal in Ordinary; Greeting.

WHEREAS We did by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, appoint Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Nathaniel Lindley, Knight, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records, together with the several other noblemen and gentlemen therein respectively named, or any three or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry into the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference, as by the tenor of the original Commission under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, does more fully and at large appear:

AND whereas the said Sir Nathaniel Lindley—now Nathaniel, Baron Lindley—has humbly tendered unto Us his resignation of the Office of Chairman of the said Commission, to which he was appointed by virtue of Our said Warrant, bearing date the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven:

NOW KNOW YE that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, to be Chairman of Our said Commission in the room of the said Sir Nathaniel—now Baron—Lindley.

AND we do further by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Nathaniel, Baron Lindley, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry, in addition to and together with the Commissioners whom We have already appointed.

Given at Our Court at Osborne, the twenty-eighth day of July, one thousand nine hundred, in the sixty-fourth year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command,
M. W. RIDLEY

EDWARD, R.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS it pleased Her late Majesty from time to time to issue Royal Commissions of Inquiry for various purposes therein specified:

AND whereas in the case of certain of these Commissions, namely, those known as—

The Historical Manuscripts Commission;

* * * *

the Commissioners appointed by Her late Majesty, or such of them as were then acting as Commissioners, were, at the late

demise of the Crown, still engaged upon the business entrusted to them:

And whereas we deem it expedient that the said Commissioners should continue their labours in connection with the said inquiries notwithstanding the late demise of the Crown:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in the zeal, discretion, and ability of the present members of each of the said Commissions, do by these Presents authorize them to continue their labours, and do hereby in every essential particular ratify and confirm the terms of the said several Commissions.

And We do further ordain that the said Commissioners do report to Us under their hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of such of their number as may be specified in the said Commissions respectively, their opinion upon the matters presented for their consideration; and that any proceedings which they or any of them may have taken under and in pursuance of the said Commissions since the late demise of the Crown, and before the issue of these Presents, shall be deemed and adjudged to have been taken under and in virtue of this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the fourth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one, in the first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

CHAS. T. RITCHIE.

EDWARD, R.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Lord Chief Justice of England; and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Archibald Levin Smith, Knight, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records; Greeting.

Whereas it pleased Her late Majesty by Warrant, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of July, one thousand and nine hundred, to appoint you the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, to be Chairman of the Royal Commission, issued on the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, to make inquiry into the places in which documents illustrative of history or of general public interest belonging to private persons are deposited, and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference:

And Whereas you, the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, did humbly tender unto Her late Majesty your resignation of the Office of Chairman of the said Commission:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorized and appointed, and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Sir Archibald Levin Smith, to be Chairman of the said Commission in the room of the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, resigned:

And we do further by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry in addition to and together with the Commissioners already appointed.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the fourteenth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one, in the first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
CHAS. T. RITCHIE.

EDWARD, R.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor William Heneage, Earl of Dartmouth; and Our right trusty and well-beloved Cecil George Savile, Baron Hawkesbury; Greeting.

Whereas by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the fourth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one, We were pleased to authorize the members of the Commission known as the Historical Manuscripts Commission to continue their labours notwithstanding the late demise of the Crown:

And Whereas by a subsequent Warrant, bearing date the fourteenth day of March, Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Archibald Levin Smith, Knight, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records, was appointed to be Chairman of the said Commission, and Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Richard Everard, Baron Alverstone, Knight Grand Cross of Our Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Lord Chief Justice of England, to be a member thereof:

Now know ye that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal, discretion, and ability, have authorized and appointed, and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said William Heneage, Earl of Dartmouth, and Cecil George Savile, Baron Hawkesbury, to be members of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in addition to and together with the Commissioners already appointed.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the twenty-ninth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and one, in the first year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
CHAS. T. RITCHIE.

EDWARD, R. & I.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor John Morley, Member of the Order of Merit, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Civil Law; and Our trusty and well-beloved Charles Harding Firth, Esquire, Master of Arts, Fellow of All Souls College, and Professor of Modern History in our University of Oxford; Greeting.

WHEREAS vacancies have been created amongst the Members of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts by the death of Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, and of Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Edward Hartpole Lecky:

NOW KNOW YE that We, reposing great confidence in you, do by these Presents appoint you, the said John Morley and Charles Harding Firth, to be two of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said Commission as set forth in the Warrant under the Sign Manual of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, dated the eighteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and ninety seven, in the room of the said Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, and William Edward Hartpole Lecky, deceased.

Given at Our Court of Saint James's, the twenty-seventh day of July, 1904, in the fourth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

A. AKERS DOUGLAS.

EDWARD, R. & I.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillors: Richard Henn, Baron Collins, Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, and Sir Herbert Hardy Cozens-Hardy, Knight, Keeper and Master of the Rolls and Records, Greeting.

WHEREAS, You, the said Richard Henn, Baron Collins, have tendered unto Us your resignation of the Office of Chairman of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, to which you were appointed by Warrant under our Royal Sign Manual, bearing date the eighteenth day of November, one thousand nine hundred and one:

AND whereas We repose great trust and confidence in the zeal, discretion, and ability of you, the said Sir Herbert Hardy Cozens-Hardy:

NOW KNOW YE that We have authorized and appointed and do by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Sir Herbert Hardy Cozens-Hardy, to be Chairman of the said

Commission, in the room of you, the said Richard Henn, Baron Collins, resigned.

And we do further by these Presents authorize and appoint you, the said Richard Henn, Baron Collins, to be one of Our Commissioners for the purposes of the said inquiry.

Given at Our Court of St. James's, the first day of May, 1907, in the seventh year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
H. J. GLADSTONE.

EDWARD, R.

Edward the Seventh, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Richard Henn Collins, Knight, Keeper or Master of the Rolls and Records, and the several other members of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts; Greeting.

Know ye that We have authorized and appointed, and do by these Presents authorize and appoint Our trusty and well-beloved Richard Arthur Roberts, Esquire, to be Secretary to the said Commission in the room of James Joel Cartwright, Esquire, deceased.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the thirty-first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and three, in the third year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
A. AKERS DOUGLAS.

SEVENTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We, your Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire what papers and manuscripts belonging to private persons would be useful in illustrating Constitutional Law, Science, and the General History of the country, to which their respective possessors would be willing to give access, respectfully beg leave to present this our Seventeenth Report to Your Majesty.

Since the date of our last Report, certain changes have occurred in the body of Your Majesty's Commissioners. By Royal Warrant, dated 27th July, 1904, the Right Honourable John Morley, O.M., and Mr. Charles H. Firth, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, were appointed additional Commissioners, and by Your Majesty's further Royal Warrant, dated 1st May, 1907, the Right Honourable Lord Collins having resigned the Chairmanship of the Commission on his appointment to be a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, the Right Honourable Sir Herbert H. Cozens-Hardy, Master of the Rolls, was appointed to the vacancy, and Lord Collins made an additional Commissioner.

The only loss that Your Majesty's Commissioners have suffered since the date of their last Report has been that occasioned by the lamented death of the Right Honourable the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Steward of Your Majesty's Household. His lordship took great interest in the work of the Commission and was constant in his attendance at its meetings.

The ordinary work of inspection and preparation and editing of Reports has been carried on, in England, by the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, Rev. W. D. Macray, Mr. Walter Fitzpatrick, Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. William Page, Mr. Reginald Lane Poole, Mrs. S. C. Lomas, Mr. W. J. Hardy, Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell, Mr. H. F. Brown, Mr. W. H. B. Bird, Mr. J. M. Rigg, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Mr. E. H. Purnell, and the Secretary of

the Commission; in Scotland, by the Rev. Henry Paton; and in Ireland, by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner and Mr. J. M. Rigg.

Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans has continued his inspection of manuscripts in the Welsh language.

The principal collections examined and in the majority of cases reported upon, in some instances in continuation of Reports previously issued, are the following:—

The Stuart papers belonging to Your Majesty; the manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Portland, the Marquess of Lothian, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Marquess of Bath, the Earl of Egmont, the Earl of Guilford, the Earl of Verulam, the Earl of Ancaster, Viscount Galway, Lord Middleton, Mr. J. B. Fortescue, Lady Du Cane, Colonel Bruce, the Royal Institution of Great Britain (American Manuscripts), the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Exeter, the Dean and Chapter of Wells, the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, Major Money-Kyrle, Mr. F. H. T. Jervoise, Sir William Clayton, the City of Salisbury, the Towns of Aldeburgh and Southwold, the extinct Boroughs of Orford and Dunwich, Captain Howard V. Knox, Miss Eyre-Matcham, Mrs. Wykeham-Martin, Colonel Bruce, and others.

For *Wales*, the manuscripts in the Welsh language in the British Museum.

For *Scotland*, the Laing MSS. in the University of Edinburgh; and the manuscripts of Lord Polwarth, Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, and Sir John Graham, K.C.M.G.

For *Ireland*, the manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, the Earl of Egmont, and the Convent of Franciscans at Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

Reprints.—Certain of the Reports of Your Majesty's Commissioners having gone out of print, opportunity has been taken to revise them to some extent before their re-issue, and to change the form in which the earlier reports appeared, so as to make the re-issues correspond in size with those published since 1885 in 8vo. The work of revision has been laborious and has occupied a large portion of the time of one of the Inspectors, with the result, however, that the value and accuracy of the reports have been greatly increased. The reports so treated are the Eighth Report, Appendix, Part I. (two sections), and the Tenth Report and Part IV. of the Appendix. As at present arranged, this work will be continued so as to complete the Appendix, Part I., to the Eighth Report, and to provide for the re-issue of Appendix, Part II., of the same Report, and Appendix, Part IV., to the Twelfth Report.

Mr. W. More-Molyneux, the life owner of the very valuable and historically interesting collection of MSS. at Loseley Park, Surrey, which were partially reported upon in 1879 (*see Seventh Report, App. p.* 590), has, with the concurrence of the trustees of the estate, placed in the charge of Your Majesty's Commissioners

at the Public Record Office, London, certain of the manuscripts, relating chiefly to the office of Master of the Revels, which was held in the XVIth century by Sir Thomas Carwarden, on the understanding that facilities should be given to historical students to use them for their researches. A catalogue of the MSS. so deposited has been compiled, pending a more detailed report upon them at some future time.

As an appendix to the present Report is given (1) a complete List of the Reports issued by Your Majesty's Commissioners, showing the year of issue, parliamentary papers, numbers, and price of each volume; (2) a List showing the names of the Owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections reports have been presented to Parliament up to date, and the places of deposit of the respective collections at the time when the reports were drawn up; and also indicating the more considerable groups of papers comprised in them; and (3) a List of the Collections arranged according to county. Similar lists have in the past proved to be of much service.

We append abstracts of the contents of the Reports made by Inspectors on our behalf and presented to Parliament since the date of our Sixteenth Report.

THE STUART MSS.

The Stuart MSS.

The second and third volumes of the Calendar of the Stuart MSS., belonging to Your Majesty, published in 1904 and 1907, cover the twelve months from 1st March, 1716, to 28th February, 1717, which include James' sojourn at Avignon.

At the beginning of the period, the rising in Scotland was practically over, and James and the Duke of Mar had just arrived at Paris, from which James retired to Commerci. As the Duke of Lorraine refused to allow him to reside in his territories, he was forced to go to Avignon, the objections to Deux Ponts and Switzerland, the other places suggested, being insurmountable. He reached Avignon about 1st April, where he was soon afterwards joined by the Dukes of Ormonde and Mar and others of his followers. Before leaving Paris, he dismissed Berwick and Bolingbroke from his service, the latter on the grounds that he had neglected to send supplies to Scotland, and that he was distrusted by the Bishop of Rochester and other friends in England. The Jacobites were much alarmed by Bolingbroke's subsequent conduct, fearing that he was purchasing a pardon from King George by disclosing the names of the persons who had been in communication with James. Accounts will be found of the movements of the Jacobite forces in Scotland after the departure of James and of their final dispersal, and also of the escape of many of the leaders, and of the sufferings, perils, and escapes of many of lower rank.

The Stuart MSS.

Notwithstanding the failure of the rising, the Jacobites continued active. The Duke of Leeds suggested that the Mediterranean fleet might by his influence be induced to declare for James. In April, Ezekiel Hamilton brought over a report of a meeting in London at which Lord Arran, the Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Henry Goring were present. The latter communicated the opinion of his friend, General Webb, that with 6,000 regular troops he would undertake to beat all the forces which could on a sudden be brought together in England. Lord Portmore, too, declared that he would join any attempt that might be made in England. Later in the year, there was a project of putting Gibraltar, of which Portmore was Governor, and Port Mahon, through Lord Forbes, Lord Granard's eldest son, into the hands of James and by his means into those of the King of Spain. Portmore and his wife, formerly Catherine Sedley, the mistress of James II., received with great satisfaction the messages sent them by Queen Mary.

The Earl of Oxford entered warmly into the Jacobite interest, and in August sent over Captain Ogilvie to represent to M. de Torcy and the French ministry the unpopularity of King George and the feeling in James's favour in England. This representation was to be made as if it came spontaneously from Lord Oxford, though it was really concerted with James's friends. Captain Ogilvie on his return from Avignon carried a letter from Mar to Oxford, and also letters to the Earls of Nottingham, Orford, and Aylesford, and to Admirals Byng and Jennings and, under cover to Menzies, the Jacobite agent in London, letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Bishop of Rochester, and an instrument appointing the latter to be James's Resident in England. The Bishop had already received a power to manage the collection of money in England for the Swedish expedition, and Lord Arran had been appointed commander-in-chief in Great Britain during his brother's absence.

Menzies was to do his utmost to promote confidence between Oxford and the Bishop, and a perfect understanding was, if possible, to be effected between them and Shrewsbury. He succeeded in bringing the Bishop and Shrewsbury to deal directly with Oxford, but the harmony between the Bishop, whose temper was notorious, and Oxford, did not last long. Early in January the former left London in some displeasure at the latter. Their jealousies and skirmishes had contributed not a little to create such a caution and reserve as were inconsistent with vigorous resolutions in concert.

Ogilvie's return to England was delayed, that he might be the bearer of the very important Swedish proposals made to Dillon, James's agent in Paris, with James's answers.

It was suggested that advances should be made to Argyle and his brother, Ilay, who had been dismissed from all their offices by King George. In the papers of the following year there is much on this subject, and matters went so far

that Ilay was created an English earl (title not specified) by James in March, 1718. This Jacobite peerage has been hitherto unknown. The Stuart MSS.

David Floyd had a second interview with Marlborough, the substance of which was "crying, swearing, protesting, promising by all that's sacred, but Floyd knows not what to make of all that." The account of the first interview was submitted to Berwick, who declared that Marlborough had for many years been in correspondence with himself, and had always given assurances of his zeal for James, but to that hour had never explained in what manner he intended it.

Many of the papers relate to dissensions among the exiles. In particular the Earl Marischal quarrelled bitterly with Mar, alleging that he had been passed over by the latter, and complaining that he had been left behind when James and Mar sailed from Montrose. Mar was also charged with having endeavoured to make terms for himself with Argyle.

The two principal objects of the Jacobite foreign policy during this period were to prevent an alliance between King George and the Regent, as they knew that the former would insist on James being forced to leave Avignon and to withdraw to Italy, and secondly, to secure the assistance of Sweden and for that purpose to effect a peace between that kingdom and Russia.

As Sir John Erskine of Alva was going on his own affairs to Hamburg, he was ordered to write to General Hamilton, who was with Charles XII., and to proceed as he advised. He carried with him a letter from James to Charles XII. and a power to treat. He did not reach Lübeck till 21st August, and in the meantime an interview had taken place between Sparre, the Swedish ambassador to France, and Baron Görtz, Charles's confidential minister, in consequence of which Sir John was ordered to proceed no further till he received further instructions.

In September Görtz went to Paris, and on the 26th Dillon sent to Mar the demands which had been concerted between Görtz and Sparre. The covering letter of Dillon is printed in Vol. II., and the demands themselves have since been found and will be calendared in Vol. IV. Sparre admitted that he was acting without his master's orders, but did not doubt that the King, if he received satisfactory assurances of assistance from the English Jacobites, would send him full powers to conclude a treaty.

At the beginning of October, Mar replied that James would certainly agree to the project in general, but the way of executing it must be by directions from England, as things there altered so much every day that no one at Avignon was a competent judge. Nothing certain could be said as to money till they heard from England. It should be further considered what could be done to enable Scotland to join, and Ireland also, if only to prevent troops being sent over to England. It was impossible to send a force to the West of Scotland from

The Stuart MSS

Sweden, which could be done only from France or Spain, and that was impossible without letting the Regent or the King of Spain into the secret, about which Dillon was to consult Sparre. If the Irish troops in France and Spain could be obtained, they would be of great use. If neither the Regent nor the King could be trusted, what was required for Scotland must come directly from the King of Sweden. Mar was doubtful if he could do that and also send what was necessary for England, but of that Sparre was the best judge. In that case the landing should be near Inverness, and Ireland must be managed by volunteers and supplies sent clandestinely from France and Spain.

On 2nd October, Mar forwarded to Lord Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester the Swedish proposals, with his observations on them, and desired the Bishop to communicate them to Lord Arran and the Duke of Shrewsbury, if the latter could be induced to own to the Bishop his friendship for James, and to anyone else he thought fit. Their joint advice on the whole, with particular answers to the points referred to those in England, and a plan for the whole affair was expected with all speed. Lord Oxford was desired to suggest to the Regent, through M. de Torcy, as from himself without James's knowledge, how much it might contribute to his personal interest to befriend James. Captain Ogilvie accordingly proposed to M. de Torcy what he had been ordered to do in Lord Oxford's name, but de Torcy informed him that an engagement was almost finished between the Regent and King George, and, till the Regent had a return to that, nothing would be hearkened to. Even a connivance that James might use the interest of his friends in France to procure what he might want, could not be granted.

Sparre promised to send a translation of the memoir from Avignon to the King of Sweden without delay, but found the number of troops required very considerable. He showed the utmost willingness to unite James and his master.

Görtz in November insisted in a letter to Sparre that his plan must be accepted as a whole. A formal treaty at present was impossible. The requisite sum might be supplied as a loan. 300,000 *crowns* would be sufficient for the present.

By December nearly 20,000*l.* were in the Bishop of Rochester's hands, half of which would be consigned to Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador in England, who had been ordered by Görtz to give assurances that 12,000 troops would be furnished. Both Shrewsbury and Portmore considered that some sure means must be found to prevent Holland from assisting King George.

As a disagreement arose between Sparre and Görtz, Dillon asked that the latter might come to Paris without delay. He arrived there on 8th January, and on 12th Dillon wrote that he had had several conferences with him, and that he was fully authorised and now come most seriously to the point.

Over 30,000*l.* had been collected in England by 12th

January, but 70,000*l.* at least was insisted on as a *sine quâ non*, so on the 26th James wrote to press the Bishop of Rochester not to lose a moment in complying with this demand. The Stuart MSS.

The 27th, Mar sent George Jerningham, agent of James in Holland, powers to treat with Görtz in the same terms as those of Görtz from his master. The utmost secrecy was necessary. Dillon had agreed with Görtz that James was to give a million French *livres* and that the King of Sweden was to transport into England, 8,000 foot, 500 horse mounted, 3,500 horse with their accoutrements ready to mount, 30,000 arms, a train of artillery, &c., on or before 20th April. Nothing had been entered into in writing, which Mar believed would be delayed till James and the King met. Arrangements were to be made for James and Ormonde joining the expedition.

All these plans were disconcerted by Gyllenborg's arrest on 29th January—9th February, and the seizure of his papers. Mr. Cæsar, Sir Jacob Banks and Jerningham's brother were also arrested, but Mr. Cæsar was soon afterwards released on bail and Sir Jacob discharged. Görtz escaped from Amsterdam but was arrested at Arnheim. All his papers of importance had been burned.

The most important result of Sir John Erskine's mission was not contemplated when he left Avignon. He sent his nephew, Sir Henry Stirling, from Lübeck to Copenhagen, where the Czar was, to his brother, Dr. Erskine, the Czar's confidential physician, who had great influence over his master, to induce him to favour an accommodation between Sweden and Russia on condition of the former assisting James. Sir Henry wrote from Copenhagen that both the Czar and Dr. Erskine were eager to serve James, and wished King George at the devil. Could Charles XII. be brought to reason, the affair were done, but he was obstinate.

This is that Dr. Erskine about whom the Czar assured Secretary Stanhope that he could not believe he had so far forgotten himself as to enter into such a criminal correspondence without orders, and that he had forbidden him to hold any correspondence with his relations who had been engaged in the late rebellion, even about their family affairs!

On 12th October, Mar first heard from Sir J. Erskine of the Czar's favourable dispositions. The chief obstacle to the Czar's assisting James was the determination of Charles XII. to continue the war, so James used his utmost endeavours to induce him to make peace. Though on 17th November Dr. Erskine wrote that the difficulties were too great to allow the Czar to assist James, he assured Charles Erskine, Sir John's brother, who had been left in Holland to carry on the negotiation, that the Czar was willing to make up matters with Charles XII. and that both should unite with James. He desired that Mar should send him a colonel, whom he would take into his service to serve as a channel of communication between him and James. C. Erskine was sent to Görtz by the Czar but missed him, as he had gone on the above-mentioned

mission to Paris, and his arrest immediately on his return prevented any negotiations through him.

It was intended to send a person to Vienna to improve, if possible, the Emperor's displeasure at the alliance between England and France. Walkinshaw of Barrowfield was sent there in November, and was received more civilly than he had expected. The Czar had offered to assist the Emperor against the Turks in order to enable him to aid James, but the Emperor was not inclined to come into measures with the Czar, and was indignant at his troops being quartered in Mecklenburg, where they committed great outrages, and in other parts of the Empire. It was suggested to the Imperial ministers that they should come to terms with the Czar on condition of his evacuating the Empire and employing his forces against the Turks.

Applications were also made to the Courts of Turin and Madrid but without result. Alberoni, who was all powerful at the latter Court, though professing the greatest goodwill to James, maintained the utmost reserve, saying that the pear was not yet ripe.[1] A small sum, however, was sent to James through the Count of Castelblanco.

The Jacobites considered that James's marriage was of the greatest importance as, should he die childless, the House of Savoy would succeed, who were not only Roman Catholics but foreigners. Such an event would extinguish the hopes of the Jacobites.

The person most desired, to whom James appears to have been really attached, was the daughter of Charles Philip, the Elector Palatine, who had just succeeded his brother. In September, the Elector returned an unfavourable answer, due to his fear of making his powerful neighbour, King George, an irreconcileable enemy.

The match suggested through Queen Mary and civilly declined by James, it appears by a paper lately discovered at Windsor, was an offer by Prince James Sobieski, son of the late King of Poland, of the hand of his youngest daughter, whom James, as is well known, eventually married. The Prince offered a portion of 800,000 *livres* to be paid immediately, and 200,000 subsequently.

A daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse was also suggested. She had the advantage of being a Protestant, which would be acceptable in England.

James was taken ill in September. The illness was not supposed at first to be serious, but early in October he became much worse, and a surgeon had to be sent for from Paris, who on the 21st performed a serious operation for fistula. His recovery was slow, but without complications.

Early in October, Queen Mary was informed that the preliminaries of the treaty between the Regent and King George had been signed and that James would be turned out of Avignon by force, if he would not leave voluntarily, and that he must go beyond the Alps. The Jacobites were at first for

his standing out to the end, but the arguments of the French Foreign Minister and threats of the withdrawal of the pensions paid by France to him and Queen Mary obliged him to leave. As an additional inducement, apparently, a reasonable maintenance was promised him. He left Avignon on 6th February, crossed Mont Cenis on the 21st and, though the King of Sicily showed him hospitality in his passage through his dominions, he could not get any good out of him. The Stuart MSS.

Several allusions to designs against James's person occur.

A large number of documents in the Appendix to Vol. II. relate to Queen Mary's claims for payment of her jointure as provided by the Treaty of Ryswick, and there is a detailed account of the execution by James II. of his last will.

The Appendix to Vol. III. contains a very full narrative of the attempted surprise of Edinburgh Castle in September, 1715, by one of the principal actors in it. It failed, because the rope ladder did not arrive in time.

During this period, James bestowed the title of Duke of Northumberland on Lord Wharton, who visited him in October with great professions of zeal for his service. The warrant was drawn up in December, but ante-dated October the 2nd. Tullibardine and the Count of Castelblanco were created dukes in the Scottish peerage. Two other English peerages were created and eight Scottish, and General Dillon was created a baron and viscount of Ireland. The Garter was conferred on Mar, and the Thistle on Ormonde and Panmure.

An account of the numerous ciphers used in these volumes is given in the Introductions.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.

The fourth volume of the Belvoir MSS. consists of three sections, dealing respectively with—

(i.) Ancient Charters, Cartularies, &c.

(ii.) Letters and Papers, supplementary to those noticed in the three previous volumes.

(iii.) Books of Household and other Accounts.

i.

So far back as 1869, Mr. Horwood drew up for the Commission a preliminary report on the contents of the muniment room at Belvoir Castle. It was restricted, however, to a single page, nor was the arrangement of the muniments at the time such as to admit of systematic examination. A very great improvement has now been effected. The gradual classification of the documents has resulted in restricting the contents of the room almost exclusively to muniments, comprising charters, deeds, cartularies, and court-rolls. With the exception of the court-rolls, the great majority of the muniments are still preserved in the numbered drawers described by Mr. Horwood; but they have been sorted into separate packets, each of them labelled with the Duke of Rutland Vol. IV.

name of the place to which they relate and entered in the manuscript catalogue prepared by their late custodian, Mr. W. A. Carrington. The whole of this superb collection of several thousand documents is now in perfect order, and the services rendered to the topographer and genealogist by Mr. Carrington's years of labour are very great.

As might be expected from the interesting fact that the historic estate of Belvoir has descended to its present owner from its Domesday tenant *in capite*, the collection is rich in early deeds; but the number of these is partly due to the circumstance that the Benedictine Priory, founded by the Domesday holder at the foot of the castle hill, was obtained at the Dissolution by his descendant, the Lord of Belvoir, who thus became possessed of the charters granted by his ancestors to that foundation.

Another great division of the Duke's muniments relates to his Derbyshire estates, inherited from the Vernons of Haddon. These are unfortunately divided at present, some being preserved at Haddon Hall, to which place they were transferred in 1833, while the rest are at Belvoir. Here again, as in Leicestershire, the bulk of the family documents is swollen by monastic charters, those of Darley Abbey being early and of some importance. No charters of this Abbey are mentioned in the *Monasticon* as at Belvoir.

The remainder of the ancient charters, &c., can only be described as miscellaneous. They relate to a singular variety of districts, ranging from Norfolk to Somerset, and from Northumberland to the Isle of Wight.

In dealing with so vast a mass of material, it has only been possible to make a selection and to notice those documents which appear to be of special interest to the historian, the topographer, and the genealogist. Special attention has been paid to twelfth century charters, in which this great collection is remarkably rich. Henry I., Stephen, Henry II., Richard I., and John, are all represented here by original charters. It also contains private charters of the first half of the 12th century. The early date of some of these documents has been somewhat obscured hitherto owing to their having been assigned to the 13th century. The exceedingly fine charter of Henry II., confirming an exchange of lands in Normandy and in Berkshire, was labelled and catalogued as a charter of Henry III., and the documents connected with it similarly mis-dated in consequence, while a charter of Hugh, Earl of Norfolk, which is certainly not later than 1175, was tentatively assigned to the reign of John. It has been endeavoured, in this report, to date, as far as possible, the early documents dealt with and to identify the places to which they relate. The exceptional cases, also, notes have been added referring to other documents with which they are closely connected, and which are helpful to their comprehension. Attention may be specially drawn here to the occurrence of a "Master J. Grim" as master of the schools of Oxford in 1200, he being so styled by the Pope,

and named in conjunction with the priors of St. Frideswide's and Osney. This is an earlier name of a bearer of that important office than any yet discovered.

The seals with which this collection abounds have been duly noted where they are of interest, especially where they bear coats of arms.

ii.

The additional letters printed in the present volume include some correspondence relating to the English expedition against Scotland in 1549, when the second Earl of Rutland was Lord Warden of the East and Middle Marches. They further illustrate the difficulties caused by the employment of foreign mercenaries, and the desertion of the English troops, largely owing to their repugnance to the monotonous duty of garrisoning the small and insanitary forts of the time. The reins of government were being wrested out of the hands of the Protector Somerset, and in view of the social troubles during which his administration came to an end, it is not surprising to find that the Earl suffered from insufficient supplies of men and money. He draws attention to his enormous charges, which cause him to regret soliciting a command, and he expresses his inability to continue the great drain upon his private resources.

In a letter of 1590, the fifth Earl of Rutland, then an undergraduate at Cambridge, refers to the bad state of the roads between Belvoir and Cambridge, even in summer. There is another letter from Thomas Screvin, a trusted servant to the family, regarding the Earl of Essex's conspiracy in 1601, in which the fifth Earl was involved. An interesting paper, about 1620, draws attention to abuses in the church, and contains suggestions for their reform. It states that the name of Puritan had become so odious that many persons simulated vice or superstition in order to avoid being called by this name. There are also many notes on legal abuses, in which, among other things, the great growth in counsels' fees and in the number of attorneys are animadverted upon. It states that within the memory of a man then living there were only three attorneys in Lincolnshire, against ten or twelve score at the time when these notes were drawn up. There are several letters of Romish priests dealing with the negotiations with the Pope prior to the projected Spanish match of Prince Charles, which illustrate the jealousy between the Benedictines and the Jesuits. In 1626, we have a letter from the Countess of Rutland describing the hostile feelings of the Parliament towards Buckingham, her husband's son-in-law. From the Civil Wars we have depositions, referred to in a previous volume, regarding the violent conduct of Sir Gervase Lucas, a former servant of the Earl, when he seized Belvoir Castle for the King.

There is some further correspondence regarding Lord Lexington's diplomatic mission to the King of Denmark in

1693. In 1705, a correspondent of the first Duke of Rutland, writing from Newmarket, rejoices that no Jacobite Lord was present at the race-meeting there. The list of Old Masters at Houghton in 1740 is worthy of note.

There is some military correspondence from America in 1763-6, some of which is addressed to the famous Marquis of Granby, then Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. In one letter, an English officer gives his impressions of his journey to West Florida. The volume includes two more letters of the younger Pitt, in one of which he acknowledges the Marquis of Granby's letter of condolence on his father's death; an account of the bad state of the defences of Plymouth dockyard in 1779; reports to the Duke of Rutland of the proceedings of the Lord George Gordon rioters in London; and a letter of Sir Joshua Reynolds, condoling with the Duke upon the death of his brother, Lord Robert Manners, who was killed in the sea fight off Dominica in 1782, and who is described by Reynolds as "the most promising youth in the whole navy." A bill of this great artist for pictures painted by him for the Duke or sold to him is of interest. In this connexion the account of the acquisition of a painting by Gerard Dow for the Duke, and of the repairs of a Murillo may be mentioned. Finally, we may draw attention to the letters of Captain Molloy, who commanded the line-of-battleship *Cæsar* at the battle of the first of June, regarding the preparing and sailing of the fleet and of the delays that occurred in the granting of a court martial to enquire into his conduct at the battle, which Lord Howe had censured.

iii.

The extracts from the Household Books, which include one belonging to Sir Thomas Lovel, a prominent minister in the reigns of Henry VII. and his son, bear but an infinitesimal proportion to the contents of the books themselves. The extracts illustrate the stately housekeeping of a wealthy, noble family in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and bring before us the great retinue of servants, many of them young men of good families, maintained by the Earls of Rutland. The Appendix contains an abstract of a book giving the names of those in the "retinue" (using that word in the technical sense, so familiar to students of constitutional history) of Sir Thomas Lovel. They number considerably over thirteen hundred.

The great variety of subjects of interest upon which light is thrown by the extracts from the household book render it impossible to do more than draw attention to a few features in them. Local and family history, social customs, the manner of living, food, drink, the history of prices, trade, amusements, costume, and innumerable other subjects receive illustration from them. They contain many old terms, and are otherwise

of philological value. Amusements are well represented, including bull-baiting, bear-baiting, dancing bears, cock-fighting, dog-fighting, juggling, billiards, and tilting. Gambling, generally for moderate stakes, frequently finds record in the payment of losses; the winnings do not appear, except in the form of deductions from money paid for losses. Horse racing and wagering upon it was in high favour, and there is much matter in the latter part of the seventeenth century that should be of value for the history of racing and of several famous race meetings.

Earlier, there are payments to the boy-bishop, to mummers, for masques, and for Christmas plays, and numerous gifts to minstrels and companies of players belonging to neighbouring noblemen, gentlemen and towns. In one case, the players come from so far as Wigan. Royal players are found among the recipients of the gifts of the Earls of Rutland.

A specially interesting entry records payments in 1613 to Shakespeare and Richard Burbage, the former receiving 44*s.* in gold for an *impreso* for the Earl, the latter a like amount for painting and making it. The payments occur among others for the preparations for a tournament which was held on the 24th of March, and the *impreso* seems to have been a device and motto borne by the Earl. Shakespeare himself uses the word in this sense in "Richard the Third." On the occasion of another tournament, Burbage receives payment "for my Lorde's shelde and embleance." References to attendance at playhouses in London occur about the same time.

The numerous payments for tobacco and pipes, the price of the former sometimes running very high, show how widely spread the use of this narcotic was among the nobility, and how little effect King James's fulminations against its use had, even in Court circles. There are interesting details of the cost of travelling, and those relating to continental journeys throw light upon the methods of raising money abroad and the cost of the conveyance of letters and parcels. In 1670, tea was a necessary part of the Earl of Rutland's equipment for a journey in England.

The accounts contain some interesting payments for books, principally during the time of the third Earl, who was described by Camden as *juris scientia et omni politiori eruditione ornatissimus*, a character supported by the nature of the books bought by him. Randle Cotgrave is recorded to have received a gratuity from the next Earl for presenting him with a copy of his famous French Dictionary. There are numerous payments in connexion with the education of this Earl's son at the University of Cambridge. After the latter's succession to the title, we find him making a gift to a poor scholar of Grantham "for his better furtherance to Cambridge": he bestows a gift upon a young gentleman towards his tutor's fees in the University; and he defrays the costs of burying a poor sizar, whose College debts he paid. This Earl died at Cambridge.

The number of successful claimants upon the bounty of the

Earls of Rutland is very great. Officers of the Court share in the receipt of gratuities, and such high officials as the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Privy Seal, and judges receive yearly presents of plate. The Earls make presents on New Year's Day to the sovereigns, receiving in return gifts from the Royal Jewel House, which by the time of James I. had become so fixed in value that we have entries of the payment by the Earl to the officers of the Jewel House of the excess in value of certain cups. The Earls frequently receive presents from the nobility, gentry, clergy, and others, which mostly take the form of contributions to their table. Some of the presents, such as buzzards, bustards, bitterns, sea-gulls, porpoises, and a dish of minnows, arrest the attention of the modern reader. Among the extracts are included a treatise written in 1611, on the provisioning of the Earl of Rutland's household, in which we find recorded the quantities and prices of the stores required, the places whence they were obtained, notes on the measures used, hints as to selecting and keeping them, and the like.

The accounts include numerous payments to physicians and apothecaries for their fees, and a curious entry of a payment to a "woman phisician at Bingham in the Vale." We find evidence of the persistency in the belief in the medical efficacy of precious stones, in the payment in 1598 for two bezoar-stones, which were esteemed as preservatives against poison. The seventh Earl was somewhat more sceptical, for he buys two gray stones "whose virtue is to cure the stone in the bladder or kidneys," on condition that he may return them after a twelve-month's trial and receive back most of what he had paid for them. A new coach bought in 1598 was provided with a seat and a bed inside. A Sedan chair was used in 1641 to convey a dead body to Belvoir for burial. The cost of the magnificent Rutland tombs in Bottesford Church are recorded in the accounts.

In art we have several payments for portraits, including one of the fifth Earl presented to the notorious Mrs. Fitton. The artist's name in connexion with portraits are Mr. Peak, Paul Vansomer, William Larkins, Hoskins, Vandereyden, and the celebrated miniaturist Hilliard or Hildyard. There is also a reference to Inigo Jones as a "picture maker." Young ladies of the family buy ready-made clothing in Cheapside in 1652.

Among the subjects of more general interest, attention may be called to the expenses of the first Earl in accompanying Henry VIII. to Calais in 1532, on the occasion of the meeting with Francis I. of France, and in the expedition to Scotland in 1542, when he was Lord Warden of the Marches; and the detailed account of his son and successor, who was also Lord Warden, of his expenditure during the expedition to Scotland in 1549-50; charges in connexion with the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scotland: the lists of guests who dined with the fifth Earl on the eve of Essex's conspiracy in 1601, and the account of the provisions supplied to him during his imprisonment in the Tower; the cost of entertaining James I. on his visits to

the Earl of Belvoir in 1603, 1612, 1614, 1616, and 1621; notes of payment of the heavy dowry paid by the Earl to Buckingham, upon his daughter's marriage to the latter; the details of the fifth Earl's expenses during his voyage to Denmark in 1603, whither he was dispatched by James I. to carry the Order of the Garter to the King of Denmark, the King's father-in-law; and also of his expenses during previous journeys to Holland in 1598 and to Ireland in 1599, and of the sixth Earl to Holland in 1619. The sixth Earl was an "adventurer" for 200*l.* in the voyage to the River Amazon in 1619. In 1623, he received payment from the Crown for his "interteynement as Lord Generall into Spaine" for 190 days from 1st May, whither he went in the train of Charles I. and of Buckingham, his son-in-law. The passage of Charles I. through Grantham in August, 1641, on his momentous journey to Scotland, also finds record in the accounts. Duke of Rutland: Vol. IV.

DUKE OF PORTLAND.

The documents calendared in Vol. VIII. of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland (Vol. VI. of the Harley Papers), belong chiefly to the period from 1700 to February, 1708, when Robert Harley held successively the posts of Speaker of the House of Commons and Secretary of State, and may be broadly divided into three principal groups:—i., petitions and memorials; ii., documents relating to the Navy; and iii., papers on Scottish affairs. In addition to these, however, there are several papers (of an earlier date) on English ecclesiastical matters, and a certain number of miscellaneous letters and other documents. Duke of Portland: Vol. VIII.

Of the above groups, the first is by far the largest. It comprises petitions and requests sent to Harley himself, as Speaker or as Secretary, and also a considerable number addressed to the Queen or to Parliament, which were, no doubt, handed over to him for his opinion or decision; the whole series forming an important supplement to those of the same period preserved in the Public Record Office.

Their subject-matter is too varied for detailed description, but the two largest classes are requests for allowances, pensions, rewards, or employments; and prayers for pardon, principally for petty theft, burglary and housebreaking, or horse-stealing, all which offences were at that time punishable by death. Other groups of petitions relate to ships and seamen; to patents, passes or licences; to foreign prisoners in England or Englishmen abroad wishing to return; to the claims and necessities of officers' widows, and other miscellaneous matters.

Amongst the numerous and interesting papers relating to the Navy and Admiralty, special attention may be drawn to an account of Torrington's court-martial, written by or on behalf of Rear-Admiral de Schey, who was one of the principal witnesses. This is the more interesting as the minutes of the court-martial are wanting. Also, to a narrative, by an eye-

witness, of the attempt on Camaret Bay in 1694; a defence of Sir George Rooke's conduct in not intercepting the Toulon squadron in the spring of 1696; numerous papers relating to the notorious pirate, Captain Kidd; Edmund Dummer's criticisms on abuses in the Navy, and his remarks concerning the court-martial on Admiral Sir John Munden; a paper discussing the question of the position of a neutral prince in regard to belligerents "arming out of his ports"; an interesting account of the battle of Malaga (August, 1704) by the French Admiral, the Comte de Toulouse; and many papers in connexion with the well-known case of the East Indiaman *Worcester*—seized by the Scots in 1705, in reprisal for the arrest of one of the Scots East India Company's ships in the Thames—and her unfortunate commander, Captain Thomas Green. In company with his chief mate and gunner, he was hanged in Scotland, on a false charge of having piratically attacked the *Happy Return* at Madagascar and murdered Captain Drummond, her commander.

A good specimen of the courage and enterprise of the British seamen is given in the report by Captains Camocke and Saunders to the Secretary of the Admiralty in June, 1706. The two captains took their ships out from Kinsale, and in less than a fortnight captured five prizes, all of which they brought safely into harbour at Waterford.

The third and perhaps the most interesting group of papers consists of letters from Scottish correspondents, giving much information in regard to proceedings in Scotland, and especially in the Scottish parliament, at the time when the Acts of Succession and Supply, and the proposed union with England, were the burning subjects of the day.

From William Carstares, Principal of Edinburgh University, one of the chief advisers of the English government as to Scottish affairs, and a strong advocate of the Union, there are no fewer than twenty-three letters, ranging in date from 1702 to 1708, which fill up many gaps in his published correspondence. There are nine letters from William Paterson, the patron of Defoe; three from the Duke of Hamilton (one of them a long and interesting epistle to his brother, the Earl of Orkney); and eight, in the form of news-letters, from an unnamed correspondent. Also, one or more from the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Leven, David Fearne, and John Stirling.

In addition to these letters, there is a curious and interesting document, giving a list of the noblemen and gentry of Scotland, with additions in another hand, apparently David Fearne's, stating their supposed views in regard to matters of church and state. This was probably sent up by Fearne to Harley about the end of the year 1705.

At the beginning of the volume will be found a few papers upon ecclesiastical matters, belonging to the time of the first Sir Robert Harley, including a petition from Dr. Henry Rogers, prebendary of Hereford, of whom there are several notices in vol. i. of the Report on the Harley papers; a certificate from

the sub-dean and prebendaries of Westminster to the "Committee for demolishing monuments of superstition and "idolatry," stating that in obedience to the behests of their new masters, they had left off the "ancient custom of that "church to minister the communion in wafers, had set the communion table east and west in the body of the church, had "broken and defaced crosses, crucifixes and pictures, and had "taken away all the candlesticks upon the communion table"; and a petition from some "ministers in the counties near "London" representing the deplorable condition of the puritan incumbents of the churches from which the episcopal clergy had been "outed"; complaining of the insufficiency of their maintenance, the uncertainty of their tenure and the need of money for the repair of the churches, and desiring relief either from the taxes or out of the lands of the Bishop or Dean and Chapter.

To these ecclesiastical papers follow petitions concerning the vexed question of the claimants to the office of postmaster, Colonel Lockhart's debts at Dunkirk, the pay for Sir Robert Harley and his regiment, and the rights of the Courteen family in the Barbadoes. But amongst these miscellaneous papers, the most curious and entertaining is a narrative by Sir Robert Harley (second son of the first Sir Robert and Brilliana Conway) of his energetic and successful efforts to effect the restoration of Charles II. Ignoring (except by a vague word of apology) the fact that his first commission was in the Parliament army, and that as late as 1648 he had discovered and frustrated a royalist plot to surprise Ludlow Castle, he proceeds to narrate, with extreme self-satisfaction, his exertions in the King's cause, for the sake of which he had even overcome his "horror and disdain" of republican plotters and had become partakers in their most secret councils, in order to use them to bring about Cromwell's ruin. He it was who persuaded Bradshaw to oppose Oliver's promotion; who brought about the fall of Richard; who held Lambert back many days from marching against Sir George Booth; who by "engaging a "considerable part of the army to his purpose" succeeded in having Lord Fairfax chosen General in Yorkshire, and persuaded him to accept the post; who wrought upon Monck to grant many points on which he had hitherto held back, and who, being sent down to the west, managed the troops there with such "great dexterity" that only a mere handful joined Lambert at Edgehill, instead of the four thousand who had engaged to do so. Then Monck sent Harley to the King to desire his speedy coming to London, but at this point, where we might expect a final note of victory, the narrative breaks off into an apology, and it is evident that the "King maker" had fallen under suspicion by reason of his correspondence with his brother, Colonel Edward, at Dunkirk; the result being that instead of being rewarded with places and honours, he was accused by Clarendon of holding meetings with commons-

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wealth men, and his regiment was shipped off to Tangier, the usual place of exile for Oliver's old soldiers.

Harley's narrative has its counterpart in one calendared in the report on Mr. Leyborne-Popham's MSS., where a certain Mr. Collins proves, at any rate to his own satisfaction, that "he it was that did bring in the King."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

Marquess of Salisbury: Part XI.

Part XI. of the Calendar of the Cecil Manuscripts at Hatfield deals with the year 1601. In the month of February of this year occurred the outbreak of the Earl of Essex. The papers in the volume relative to this event are numerous, and from them may be gathered many details of that "dismal day," as it appeared to the actors in it in retrospect. Among the rest, Sir John Leveson's story of the manner in which he, coming by accident upon the scene, kept Ludgate against Lord Essex and his companions is exceedingly interesting.

The excitement over, there were early found those who hastened to explain that their part in the proceedings was wholly the result of casual misfortune. Of this number were the Earl of Bedford, Francis Manners, Sir Francis Knollys, and others of humbler station. But the majority could not so excuse themselves. As their action, however, led swiftly to their undoing, so repentance followed with equal swiftness. There was scarcely any interval between the noisy shouting of rebellion and, in most cases, almost abject appeals for mercy. The few who could not escape the extreme penalty faced death with dignity, but the Calendar shows that those who were spared made numerous appeals and brought many influences to bear to mitigate their punishment.

As regards the chief figure in these stormy scenes, there is no great body of information, and nothing of a novel character. One letter only is addressed to him, which has nothing to do with plots and alarms. In it the writer discourses of the variation of the compasses and the use of the celestial and terrestrial globes. There are, however, many personal references to the Earl of Essex, and an account of the final pathetic scene in the courtyard of the Tower. There are also interesting letters from his widow, "suffering from the weight of God's "finger," to Sir Robert Cecil, appealing to him for help, and expressing her gratitude for the "essential benefits" come to her by his means.

Letters from the Earl of Southampton, his wife and mother; from Lord Sandys and his wife; the young Earl of Rutland; Sir Henry and Lady Neville; Dr. Fletcher; Lord Monteagle; Sir John Davis; Sir Ferdinando Gorges; Edward Blount—the men all of them concerned in Lord Essex's so-called rebellion, show what misfortune the Queen's "favourite," by his action, brought upon his friends, and how many of them turned to Sir Robert Cecil for aid in their extremity, and had occasion

to testify to the good results of the intervention of the Queen's Chief Secretary.

Sir Robert Cecil's connexion with the University of Cambridge calls forth a few letters, referred to below. Other letters relate to the offerings made to him, evidently numerous, but not of any great value in themselves. During this year he was pressed into service as godfather on more than one occasion. There are hints of his building operations, and particulars of the profits arising from his private mercantile adventures. His son is mentioned in affectionate terms. Sir Robert Cecil's name may have been canvassed in loose talk in tap-rooms, but he received ample tokens of the esteem and affection in which he was held by serious-minded men. There are a larger number of drafts of letters emanating from himself than in any previous volume, including a portion of the correspondence with George Nicolson, the English Agent in Scotland. An interesting personal letter is that to the parishioners of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in which, out of his "great love for "that quarter where I had my birth and breeding," he promises to contribute to the cost of certain necessary alterations in "the "street for the ease of passengers and making the street fairer "and sweeter on both sides of the way," and urges their execution before the beginning of term.

The series of familiar correspondence from Sir Robert Cecil's kinswoman, the Dowager Lady Russell, continues in this volume. The "poor lady," his "desolate wronged aunt" or "desolate unfortunate aunt," as the case might be, was ever ready to call for his aid in order to redress her grievances against others, and he himself, on one occasion, when a footman of hers had been "enticed" from her service "by some secretary "of yours and promised 7*l.* a year and four suits of apparel," was enjoined not to break the Tenth Commandment.

With regard to the Queen, despite the evidence of the Essex outbreak, it may be said that there was at this epoch very little disposition among her subjects to dispute or derogate from her personal supremacy. Her throne and person were, in the eyes of the vast majority of them, "sacred." "One thing," the Primate remarks, "we must all rejoice in: that, so far as can "be conceived by all external actions and tokens, she hath the "love of her people."

It was said of her, in the course of the year, that she was "never better." She moved about freely. An amusing *contretemps* occurred on one of her expeditions when, in the spring of the year, she was riding in the company of the Scottish Ambassador. Being at Chelsea, she wished to go into the house and gardens of the Earl of Lincoln, but was kept out in so rude a fashion that the Earl's enemies "wanted "not a colour to say" that it was by his direction. "After "a great knocking at both gates, some of your people did not "only show themselves within, but some of them looked out

"of the house and over the walls." The Earl of Lincoln had to pay for this mischance the price of a dinner to the Queen "and "anything that belongs to it," a somewhat costly penalty. During the Queen's "progress" later in the year through Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Surrey, the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Coke, was her host at Stoke, and as a good courtier expressed himself ready to provide, "a gown and jewel, what-"soever you think fit . . . for I would give that which "shall be acceptable whatsoever it cost."

There are some interesting letters from William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, who succeeded his father on the latter's death in the beginning of the year 1601. They are chiefly filled with extravagant statements of his distress at being banished from the Queen's presence on account of his intrigue with Sir Edward Fitton's "poor daughter Mary," and with appeals for permission to travel abroad, which he obtained before the close of the year.

Ecclesiastical matters are but meagrely illustrated in this volume. Among the few is the case of Stephen Egerton, Incumbent of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, a divine with strong puritan leanings, and therefore not a favourite of his diocesan. A sermon preached on the day of the Essex Rebellion did not meet with the Bishop's approval, and Egerton was consequently restrained from his week-day exercises. From the fact of popularity, "a wonderful concourse of people to his "church above others," the Bishop also "argued a schism." Sir Robert Cecil was appealed to on Egerton's behalf by a sympathiser, and the appeal did not fail to have an effect.

Several documents noticed in this volume relate to the University of Cambridge. Sir Robert Cecil in this year succeeded the Earl of Essex as Chancellor of this University, and to him, "upon whom depended the good and happy estate "of their weak body," its authorities turned for support when, as they averred, they were "almost trodden under foot through "the unstayed headiness of their evil-affected neighbours." The causes of complaint against these neighbours, the townsmen of Cambridge, are set out. An alderman of Cambridge, "a turbulent and factious townsman against our University," also invaded their privileges in connexion with purchases of provisions at Stourbridge fair made by one of the Queen's purveyors.

The Provost and Fellows of Dublin University College made known their desire to make Sir Robert Cecil their Chancellor, and to place themselves under his "honourable protection."

The present volume, like those preceding it, yields some information with regard to the fortunes and position of the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith in England. Two priests, by name Middleton and Hunt, were executed after trial at the Lancaster Assizes, having previously been sent up to London. The county of Lancaster was one of the strongholds of the older form of religion. The Bishop of Chester

complains that in his efforts to "reform that most infected "parish of Garstang," he had met with great resistance and "but small assistance from the justices and officers, whose "coldness and slackness have been my great hindrance."

Further north, the Bishop of Carlisle intimates the presence in his diocese of a "whole pack of most dangerous persons," meaning thereby the recusants and their supporters, and he breaks out into the exclamation—"God knows what heart's "grief hath come unto me since my first coming into this "woeful and broken country."

The Bishop of London had his own opinion of the views and intentions of the recusants, and, moved by the rumours of an impending attack from the Spaniards, felt called upon to utter a warning in Sir Robert Cecil's ear.

On the other hand, those professing the Roman creed in Yorkshire were, a little earlier, taking heart. Lord Burghley says, apropos of "mercy showed of late to the offenders in these "late actions of rebellion": "There is much talk hereof "amongst the Papists as a persuasion to the Government here "to carry a sweeter hand over them. If Her Majesty dealt "so mercifully with them that were in the predicament of "treason, why should there be so hard a course taken against "her faithful subjects (as they term themselves) for their "consciences only."

A description of the Archpriest Blackwell's personal appearance is given by one John Byrde, an informer, who furnishes a lengthy account of the proceedings of priests ranging "as "wolves amongst sheep about the city and countries without "keepers"; he himself being desirous of employment in the service of apprehending these offenders.

Parliament was summoned to meet in October, 1601, after an interval of some four years. Of the members of the House of Lords, there were several who desired to be excused from attending, chiefly on account of bodily infirmity.

With regard to the lower House, we have aspirants like Dr. Christopher Parkins and Henry Lok, who desired nomination to serve as burgesses, and one instance at least where a knight was elected unwillingly. There are numerous instances where the nomination of representatives was left to the choice of Sir Robert Cecil, which he exercised in one case by designating an ecclesiastic for the vacancy.

Incidents, and those of a stormy character, are related as occurring on the occasion of the election in Denbighshire.

Of the proceedings of Parliament during its session, which terminated in December, there are scarcely any particulars. There is a record of the views of members in Committee "upon "the Bill of levying treasure for the defence of the realm." The notes of the Archbishop of Canterbury against the Bill touching pluralities are merely referred to in a covering letter. So of researches among the Exchequer Records showing "how

"the King did charge the maritime shires by way of contri-"bution, and sometime by way of taxation," and of a speech in course of preparation.

In two directions did it become necessary during the year 1601 to send a military force across the seas—East to the Low Countries, West to Ireland. Hence arises considerable information concerning the levying, apparelling, and arming of soldiers, both foot and horse, and the character of the men raised; and also concerning the methods of transporting and victualling them.

The military events in the Low Countries are minutely described in lengthy letters from the seat of war, written to Sir Robert Cecil, from one part of the field by the Earl of Northumberland, and from another by captains of English companies employed there, among whom Captain, afterwards Sir John Ogle, Captain Holcroft, Captain Wigmore, and Captain Ridgeway were the chief correspondents. There are detailed accounts of the incidents of the siege of Rheinberg.

In the meanwhile at Ostend had begun the famous siege which was to outlast the Queen's life, contrary to the expectation of both besiegers and besieged. At the earnest solicitation of the States General, Sir Francis Vere undertook the direction of the defence of the place. To aid in the defence, a body of troops was sent from England in addition to the English companies already on the spot in the pay of the States General. In connexion with their transport to the scene of operations some interesting side-lights are thrown on methods and manners, both English and Dutch. Of the occurrences of this struggle the accounts are many and graphically told in the letters of the captains of the English companies, whose names have been already mentioned.

The chief feature of the papers in this volume connected with the affairs of the Kingdom of Scotland is that they include a larger portion than before of the correspondence carried on between Sir Robert Cecil and George Nicolson, the English Agent there.

The designs of the Master of Gray, the dealing with Powrie Ogilvie, and the embassy of the Earl of Mar are among the matters discussed in lengthy letters. The apprehension which had been excited in the King's mind that the Queen had it in purpose "to do injury to others and to bring infamy upon "her own actions and counsels by seeking to bequeath her "crown and people to be governed by a branch of that root "whereof the whole kind is odious to all Englishmen," is dismissed by Sir Robert Cecil as manifestly "unjust and "absurd." In another letter he relates the substance of Earl Huntly's advances to himself, and the nature of his replies, and in the last letter of this correspondence in this volume sets out the terms offered by the Queen for the levies of men in Scotland for service in Ireland.

With regard to Border matters, a letter to Lord Scrope sketches the policy which the Queen would have him pursue

towards Scotland, "so as to carry things in their right sense," and concludes with a hint as to the manner of government of the Wardenry with which she would be best pleased. Correspondence between King James and Lord Scrope shows the latter as a man not easily overborne where he thought himself to have right on his side—an attitude for which he gained the Queen's approval.

The number of papers bearing upon the history of Ireland is comparatively small, and for the first half of the year particularly so. Advice how to govern Ireland, and explanation "of the pride and present strength of the mere Irishry, and "of the weakness of the nobility and gentry of the English "race of Ireland," was offered to Sir Robert Cecil. Hugh Cuffe sets out in a petition, presented with the object of compelling the undertakers in Munster to fulfil their duties, measures to be adopted for re-settling the lands wasted by war.

In a letter written in August to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Cecil explains the situation of affairs as regards Ireland and the reasons for preparing provisionally for the sending of a force to Ireland in view of the fact that a Spanish fleet had been seen at sea with an army of four or five thousand men, "purposely directed" for that kingdom. The Spanish landing, long foreseen, actually took place on the 25th of September at Kinsale. This gave rise to much press of business, but to no great alarm. "I doubt not," writes Cecil, "but such shall be Her "Majesty's fortune as Munster shall prove their sepulchre." This confident hope was in the main realised, but the present volume has little to tell concerning the manner in which it was brought to pass, except as regards the levying and transport of the forces sent over to reinforce the Lord Deputy.

Foreign visitors to England during the course of the year included the Duke of Bracciano, nephew of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; the Duc de Nevers; the Baron de Dona, from Bohemia; and the Duc de Biron, who came on a mission from the King of France. Particulars as to the manner in which the last was entertained may be gathered from several letters.

A Scottish noble, who also was among the visitors, on his way from France, was the Duke of Lennox.

Students of naval matters, voyages, and travels may turn for material to letters of Sir Thomas Fane, Richard Staperr, Captain Charles Leigh, William Stallenge, Sir Anthony Sherley, Sir John Gilbert, and others. The last named, Sir John Gilbert, as Governor of Plymouth Fort, was engaged in a petty quarrel with Mr. William Parker, the Mayor of the town, which occasioned several strongly-worded letters.

There are many other subjects which continue to receive illustration in this instalment of the Calendar; for example, the relations of England with European countries in addition to Spain, France, and the Netherlands. There are news-

letters containing intelligence from Rome and Venice, while the affairs of Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and the Empire are dealt with in letters from James Hyll, Matthew Greensmith, Francis Cherry, Dr. William Bruise, Sir Richard Lee, John Allsop, and others.

Other miscellaneous subjects to which attention may be shortly drawn are:—

The complaint of Sir Thomas Hoby against the son of Lord 'ure and other gentlemen of misconduct in his house, which as the subject of investigation in the Star Chamber.

The doubtful marriage of the daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis to the Earl of Bath.

A view of the mischiefs of "tippling houses," and a recommendation of their partial suppression.

The choice by the Queen of the Bishop of Winchester as a proper person to undertake the care of the education of a young noble, "considering that the best education of such "children hath always been in the houses of the most reverend "and grave persons of your Lordship's quality, where they "may be seasoned with a true sense of religion and virtue and "inured to a fashion of living fit for the nobility of their "birth."

The proposal of a second marriage made to the widow of Sir H. Palavicino by Sir Robert Cecil and the Earl of Shrewsbury on behalf of Oliver, son and heir to Sir Henry Cromwell.

A suggestion of Lord Chief Justice Popham, throwing some light on the food of the common people and the state of the country in the summer of 1601.

The "thirst" of the townsmen of Bury, "being mechanical "and tradesmen," for a corporation, and the consequences which opposers thought were likely to ensue if the townsmen's desire were granted.

The ruinous condition of Warwick Castle and Sir Fulk Greville's proposition with regard to it.

The financial results of employment in the public service abroad as set forth by Dr. Giles Fletcher, "four times "employed in Her Highness' service out of the realm, once "ambassador, thrice as agent, and special Messenger from her "Highness, without any recompense or allowance from Her "Majesty."

The reward paid by the Queen to "Derycke Peyterson, "a printer," for "a map of the genealogy of the House of "Nassau and of the besieging of divers towns in those parts."

The alarm caused by the great numbers of "negars and "blackamoores" which had "crept into the realm—mostly infidels without understanding of Christ and His gospel," and the method employed for collecting them and getting them out of the country; and

The petition of Mr. Thomas Digges, "published lately in "print," discussing the two sorts of protestants—"protestants "of religion and protestants of state"—and the papists.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH. VOL. II.

The papers calendared are those which now rank as Vols. I. and II. of the Harley Papers at Longleat under the title of "Select Autograph Letters, &c., 1516 to the middle of the 18th "century." In the Catalogue of the Longleat MSS. in the Fourth Report of Your Majesty's Commissioners, they are placed under the heading of "Letters found in the Library, "&c." Marquess of Bath. Vol. II.

These Harley papers were taken to Longleat by the Lady Elizabeth Bentinck (eldest daughter of the second Duke of Portland, and grand-daughter of the second Earl of Oxford), who married Thomas, Viscount Weymouth, afterwards created Marquess of Bath.

Some of these "Select Autographs" were seen by Strype, and many of them were printed, or partially printed, by him in his *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Life of Cranmer*, &c. He gives them as being "*penes* D. G. H. Eq. aur." No name with these initials is found amongst his list of sources, but in the Preface to the *Memorials* he states that he has had access to the papers "of a gentleman of quality, descended from a secretary of the "Lord Treasurer Burghley under Queen Elizabeth." This secretary was Michael Hicks, and the gentleman of quality was Sir William Hicks, of Ruckholt, bart.—*i.e.*, "Dominus "Guillielmus Hicks, Eques auratus," this being the exact form in which his name appears upon his monument.

It is evident that Strype not only had the perusal of these documents, but got possession of them. He stated that some of the Ruckholt papers had actually been given him by Sir William, others being a loan. The statement was in reference to what are known as the Fox papers, but no doubt it applied to the Hicks papers as well. In 1699 Sir William was declared a lunatic; the papers remained in Strype's hands, and in 1711 he sold the Fox papers, and evidently the Hicks papers also, to Robert Harley.

The Fox papers were included in the collection sold to the British Museum, but the Hicks papers, or most of them, remained at Welbeck until carried, with others, to Longleat by Lady Elizabeth. What her method of selection was we cannot tell, but that there was a selection is evident from the fact that many of these early papers are endorsed with Roman numerals of a distinctive type, and that numerals of exactly the same form are found upon papers still at Welbeck—viz., those calendared in Vol. II. of the Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS., under the heading of "Royal and other letters and "papers" (pp. 5-21).

The papers of the time of Henry VIII. include three sign manuals of the King and five letters from Cardinal Wolsey, all signed by himself, and one of them holograph; also letters from

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the Princess Mary, Archbishop Cranmer, the Earl of Southampton, Thomas Cromwell, and Richard Pace, the ambassador; all signed originals, and most of them holograph. Such of these as have been printed by Strype are only briefly calendared in the present volume; a long and interesting despatch from Wolsey to Wiliam Knight, ambassador with the Archduchess Margaret, has, however, been given in full, as it is only partially printed by Strype, and Mr. Brewer, in his Calendar, lamented that the original had not been found.

Of the reign of Edward VI. there are many letters from Archbishop Cranmer to Cecil, and a letter from the Earl of Warwick to Lord Chamberlain Darcy, in relation to the proposed match between the young King and the Lady Isobel of France.

Philip and Mary's reign is characteristically represented by an order for the bestowal upon Weybridge Church of certain "parcels of stuff" for use in the ancient services of the church, now restored, consisting of two vestments, "with all the "apparells," and three altar frontals.

These early papers were doubtless "collected" by Michael Hicks, who as secretary to Lord Burghley, and afterwards to Sir Robert Cecil, would have unusual facilities for obtaining possession of old documents; but with the reign of Elizabeth we come to papers which probably came directly into Hicks' hands.

On p. 16 is a letter from Cecil to Randolph, English agent in Scotland, sent at the same time as a memorial now at Hatfield, warmly seconding its object, but giving Randolph powers to "suspend" any parts of its contents which he might think wiser not to put before the Scottish government. Following this is a pathetic note from Katherine Gray, sister of Lady Jane, to her imprisoned husband, the young Earl of Hertford, and a long and interesting letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Queen touching the "waytye matter" of her Majesty's marriage.

Two papers in what may be termed the Hicks portion of the collection bear relation to Mary Queen of Scots. The first is the drawing of a shield, boldly blazoned in heraldic colours, of Queen Mary's own arms of Scotland and France, but bearing a scutcheon of pretence with the arms of England as used by Elizabeth—*i.e.*, of England and France quarterly. This is endorsed by Cecil: "The first devise to sett the armes of "England in the Scot. Quene's name."

The second is a much more interesting document. It is endorsed: "A note of things written in the glasse windowes at Buxtons," and is a sort of diagram in four columns. The windows were probably those of the great guest hall which had been lately built by the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose custody Mary then was.

The contents of the diagram are very varied:—Anagrams of the names of the Queen and the young King of Scots; monograms of their initials; verses written either by or in the name of the Queen, bewailing her sad lot, and others in honour of St. Anna (the patron saint of the wells) and of Buxton itself; lines in Latin, French, Italian or English by various well-known people of the time, and little sketches of flowers with appropriate words. The dates are 1573, 1575, 1576, and 1580, these being precisely the years when Queen Mary was at Buxton; and amongst the contributors to this curious "album" are the Queen herself, the Earls of Leicester and Pembroke, Lord and Lady Talbot (Shrewsbury's son and daughter-in-law), Sir W. Knollys, the Countesses of Essex and Sussex, and Nau, the Queen's secretary.

The drawings are by a man who signs T. G., or in one case T. Gter (without any mark of contraction), and probably the whole thing is in his writing, although there is an evident attempt to imitate the signatures; that of Leicester, for instance, being remarkably like his own hand.

Shrewsbury's guest hall was burnt down, and there is no mention of these writings in any of the old notices of Buxton. Possibly they were destroyed at the time of the Scottish Queen's death.

Passing by original letters of Archbishop Whitgift and Sir Francis Drake, printed by Strype, and of Sir Walter Ralegh, printed in Edwards' *Life of Ralegh*, we come to two letters in relation to the dispute at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1588, when Anthony Hickman was put out of his fellowship. The first of these letters is from the Archbishop to Burghley (Chancellor of the University), upholding the Master's action against Hickman; the second from Hickman himself, protesting that the proceedings were contrary to the statutes of the College.

There are three letters from Thomas Bodley, the Queen's agent and counsellor at the Hague, written in 1589, after Lord Willoughby had resigned his command in the Netherlands, leaving Sir Francis Vere in charge of the English forces there, which fill up a gap in the series of Bodley's despatches at the Public Record Office. When Bodley wrote, Sir Francis Vere was about to start with Count Neuwenar (or the Count de Mœurs, as the English generally called him) to the relief of Rheinberg. His second letter relates the successful encounter of the English with the enemy, as a result of which provisions were safely taken into Rheinberg.

Passing at this point from warlike operations abroad to measures of defence at home, we have a thoughtful letter from the Earl of Pembroke concerning the safe-guarding of Milford Haven, then a port of great importance, especially in connection with traffic with Ireland.

The next letters are from Sir Robert Cecil, congratulating Hicks on his absence from the Court, which had been given up

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to tedious suits and suitors, and from Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, enumerating the many wants of the troops in Ireland.

These are followed by letters from Ralegh and Sir John Hawkins to Burghley on the subject of the prize carrack, *Madre de Dios*, and by others from Ralegh, which, being only partially and not very accurately printed by Strype and Edwards, are given in full in the Report.

A curious document, doubtfully dated, but endorsed 1595, is a fragment of *Titus Andronicus*, partly taken from the first act, partly from the fifth, with a delicate pen and ink drawing above, the whole being, as stated in the old endorsement, in the hand of Henry Peacham, the author and artist.

Under date July 8, 1596, is a spirited and detailed account by Lord Admiral Howard, of the descent on Cadiz, the taking or burning of the ships there, and the capture of the town.

The first document of James I.'s reign is a signed letter from the King himself, confirming Sir Henry Cockes in the place of Cofferer of the Household, which he had held under the late Queen. This is followed by a note of the later stages of the new King's journey to his capital.

In August, 1603, a short holograph note, written to Hicks, gives Cecil's opinion on the result of the investigation of the charges against Cobham, Ralegh and their companions. The popular view of Ralegh's religious opinions (although a very mistaken one) is probably expressed by the doggerel verses ascribed to him, printed on p. 52 of the Report.

A short holograph letter from Ralegh to Hicks, written in November, 1604, is followed by a longer and more important one, without address. A cancelled endorsement appears to suggest that it was written to Sir Robert Carr, but this is hardly possible. On the whole, Cecil seems best to fulfil the requirements, but some points in the letter militate against this theory. The next letter from Ralegh is that already alluded to, written to Sir Robert Carr upon the news that the favourite had obtained a grant of the Sherborne estate. It is given in full, as there are several verbal differences between this copy and that at the British Museum, from which it was printed by Edwards. There is one more letter of Ralegh's in the collection, printed by Strype.

A letter from Sir Robert Cecil, now become Lord Salisbury, to Prince Henry, written in December, 1608, after many complimentary expressions, states that he had sent his son, Lord Cranbourne, abroad, having "broken Moses' law, by which the "married couple should for the first year rejoice together."

On p. 57 of the Report is a letter from Queen Anne of Denmark to her husband, undated, as are most of her extant letters. Her statement that she had no maids of honour, and her suit about her Chamberlain, appear to point to the very beginning of the reign; but the internal evidence as to its date is conflicting.

In two letters to the Prince of Wales, widely differing in character, Sir Edward Vere gives the latest news from the Low Countries, and Dr. Donne, with many high-flown expressions, offers one of his books for his Highness' acceptance. Marquess of Bath. Vol. II.

In the spring of 1611, Sir William Monson reports the capture of Lady Arabella Stuart and her ladies, on their way to France, and the absence of all news of her husband, Mr. Seymour, in the *Charles*; and a year later Prince Henry lays before his father his views concerning matrimonial negotiations with France and Spain, and the Marquis of Hamilton offers his thanks to the Prince for support of his claim to the Duchy of Chatelherault.

In this year, 1612, the Earl of Salisbury died; Michael Hicks ceased to be secretary, and it is impossible to say how the documents of the next three or four decades came into the Harley collection.

On p. 61 of the Report is a very curious advertisement of a "raffle," at which many rare and costly things were to be won by "chance at dice," and where ladies were promised a separate room, "and a banquet for such as venture money." The whole thing looks like a plan to evade the laws against gambling. One of the articles mentioned is a "china bedstead"; the word china at that time meaning not only porcelain, but what we now call lacquer-work.

There are several original letters from Sir Henry Wotton, but all have been printed in the *Reliquiæ*, excepting one to Lord Treasurer Suffolk, dated from Venice in 1618, describing the "horror and confusion" there on discovery of a conspiracy planned by the French.

On p. 63 is a letter from the Earl of Suffolk advocating the claims of the Old Merchant Adventurers' Company against its younger rival, and this is followed by a holograph note from the young Electress Palatine to her "only dear brother," Prince Charles, and two letters from her husband the Elector to King James, giving an account of his negotiations with the Princes of the Empire in connexion with the approaching election of the Emperor, for which high office the Duke of Bavaria, and Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, were the chief candidates.

There is one other letter from the Electress (under her later title of Queen of Bohemia) written on the death of the Earl of Southampton in 1624.

Bearing date "Midsummer Eve, 1618," is a gossiping letter of news. The Spanish complaints against Ralegh; rumours as to the "pretenders" for the vacant office of Secretary of State, in which the name of the successful candidate, Sir George Calvert, does not appear; the Star Chamber censure on a "minister of London" for Jewish opinions, the new creation of peers, and Buckingham's hospitalities to King and Prince are all touched upon in turn.

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Towards the end of 1621, the Duc de Rohan addressed an urgent appeal to King James on behalf of the French Huguenots, which forms a curious contrast to the two letters from the Marquis of Buckingham to his "dear dad and gossope," which immediately follow it. Both these letters are holograph, and signed "Your Majesties' most humble slave "and dog Steenie."

Only two documents in the collection bear upon the Spanish match—a letter written when it seemed almost a *fait accompli*, and a list of the very magnificent "guifts and presents" of Prince Charles at his departure out of Spain.

The documents of the time of the Long Parliament and Civil War are few and miscellaneous. They include two letters from Secretary Windebank to his eldest son, written after his flight to France; a letter from Sir Kenelm Digby to Sir Robert Harley, praying for release from constraint on account of his health; holograph notes—(1) from Prince Maurice on behalf of cretain merchants, and (2) from King Charles to one of his nephews, probably Maurice, as he was then in the West; and lastly, a letter from Lord Craven to Major.-Gen. Massey in relation to Massey's project of taking service under the States of Venice.

The above letters may, perhaps, have belonged to the original papers of the Harley family, but at this point we come to a series of papers which have found their way into the collection from quite a different source—viz., the correspondence and other papers of Col. Gervase Holles. Running parallel with them is another series, consisting of holograph letters from Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, to his wife, written immediately before and during his embassy to Spain (with Lord Cottington), in 1649-51. It might be surmised that these letters were sent by Lady Hyde to Col. Holles and never returned; but there are also later letters from Clarendon to his daughter-in-law, written during his exile; it is, perhaps, therefore, more likely that they were acquired by the Harleys in a different way. Hyde's letters, being mostly earlier in date than the Holles correspondence, may be taken first. He writes to his wife very affectionately, lamenting his absence, and looking eagerly forward to the time when they shall be together again. From France he wrote that, though he could not complain of the air, yet he was not at all taken with the delights of the country, and preferred "old England," for meat, drink, lodging, and even for wine. As the travellers approached Spain, the weather became stormy and cold. At St. Sebastian, which they reached at the end of October, they could get no fire, were laughed at "for asking for a chimney," and were compelled to "clap on" as many garments as they possibly could, to keep themselves warm. "This," exclaimed Sir Edward, "is your hot air of Spain." On their tedious journey to Madrid, they found the accommodation so bad, that as he

said, the little inn in his village of Picton at home was better than the best in that country. They reached the capital in time to see the "gallantry and glory" of the entertainments attending the Spanish Queen's entry there, and as the spring approached, the climate became much more to Hyde's liking, the weather in February being warmer than an English May.

In the autumn, Hyde had hoped that King Charles would go to Ireland, and quickly gain possession of the island, but after this project was abandoned be became much less sanguine about the future. Meanwhile, he thought it wiser and more honest for the King's followers to leave England, the "madness" there being such that he did not see how they could "sleep "quietly in that cursed air, or be long out of a gaol," except by straining their consciences.

At the end of February, 1651, Hyde was at last able to leave Madrid and set out for home. This time the journey was taken alone, for Lord Cottington liked the Spanish air so well that he had taken a house in Valladolid, and intended to live and die there. Cottington had spent much time in the country in earlier days, first as secretary to the English Embassy, and then as envoy, but he was not destined to enjoy the Spanish air much longer, as he died in 1652.

Hyde was detained some time on his way home by a severe attack of gout, but reached Antwerp at the beginning of June. His letters show the patience and brave endurance of hardships, characteristic of the King's chief followers as a whole in that sad time of exile. He occupied the tedious time in Madrid by collecting books and learning Spanish, and urged his wife to see that the children studied French, "the girl as well as the boys," so that they might have tongues enough amongst them.

There are many letters from Hyde to Col. Holles, in 1652-4 and in 1657-60; but these are chiefly in relation to Holles' own affairs, and especially his proposed journey to England.

Three letters, written after the Restoration, bring this fine series of Hyde's letters to an end. The first of these was addressed to the Duke of Buckingham, assuring him of his own affection, but warning him that the "world" was not being just to him in his absence abroad, and even hinting that it might be well if he were rather more prudent; the other two are graceful, affectionate notes to his "dear daughter," Lady Cornbury.

The Holles papers in this collection mostly consist of letters written to Col. Gervase Holles during the exile. Gervase Holles was the son of Freschville Holles, of Lincolnshire, a "cousin" of the Earl of Clare and Denzil, afterwards Lord Holles, and also of the young Earl of Strafford. Gervase Holles sat for Grimsby in the Long Parliament, but was disabled in 1642. He raised a foot regiment for the King, was present at many of the battles of the Civil War, and was taken

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prisoner at the siege of Colchester in 1648. He was not very severely treated, as is shown by a pass given to him by Fairfax in the November of that year, permitting him to go on parole to London and thence into Lincolnshire, he having engaged to render himself to the Marshal General within three months, and meanwhile not to act against the Parliament. Just at the end of the three months, the young Earl of Strafford sent Holles a friendly letter, urging him to go abroad if possible, and offering Mrs. Holles a home with his sisters, if her husband could not better dispose of her. He could not, at that time, obtain the desired permission, but later in the year he was allowed to go to Holland, where he remained until the Restoration.

One of his correspondents was Sir George Radcliffe, to whom he was probably drawn by their mutual interest in the young Earl of Strafford. In the early days of the Civil War, Radcliffe had been placed by Charles I. about the person of the Duke of York, and in 1649, Charles II. again gave him a position in the Duke's household, of which Lord Byron was the head.

Radcliffe's letters, written from Paris, give news from the French court, and narrate the doings, hopes and fears of the exiled cavaliers. There are also letters from the Duke of Ormond, Dr. George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Robert Boyle, the philosopher. But Colonel Holles' most regular correspondent was Thomas Ross, who was in Flanders in attendance upon, or at any rate in company with, a young member of the Stanley family, probably a son of the late Earl of Derby. Ross (who afterwards became librarian to Charles II.) was much respected and trusted by the King and his chief advisers, and he also kept up a correspondence with England, so that he was able to send a considerable amount of information to his friend Holles, at Rotterdam. In the May of 1658, after the collapse of the royalist design upon England, he wrote as follows:—

> "As to our friends in England, their condition is deplorable and I feare much, that wee shall lose some very considerable either by banishment into forraine plantations or the scaffold. Where the fault of this damned failing lyeth, you may judge, when I am assured by Nic. Armorer—one of their prime agents—that since they have bin their, they had opportunities, that had the King bin there in his shirt only, his business could not have failed. Oh excellent management! who hereafter will rely on our promises!"

At the beginning of August he informed Holles of the results of the "consults" at Antwerp:—

> "I believe our journey to Germany will bee layed aside, for though our agent there intimates that all the electors approve of the King's appearing there, yet it is opposed by Pignaranda—the Spanish Embassador—whom wee dare not oppose, hee being a person whom wee are to hope much of the assistance—if any doe come—which the Spaniard will allow us. In the meane time, the Emperor, who was to

bee yesterday crowned at Franckford, hath written a very kinde letter to the King, and promiseth to doe all that lyeth in his power to serve him; but how farre that promise will reach time must shew. If either hee or Spaine doe us any good, I feare wee shall bee to seeke, how and where to put ourselves into action, our hopes in England depending (for all that I can heare) wholly upon the death of the tyrant, and the rest is from Ireland. What can bee said of that will scarce bee knowne, untill my Lord Muskerry and Sir George Hamilton (who are believed to bee now at Paris, returned from Spaine) come hither." Marquess of Bath. Vol. II.

A month later, his hopes of the "death of the tyrant" were fulfilled, and his next letters are written in a rather impatient vein, fearing that the more phlegmatic counsellors with the King may "lay a clog" on hopeful undertakings. Two or three times it was proposed to send Colonel Holles as an agent to England, but each time, difficulties came in the way, in the shape of either crushed hopes or lack of money.

In March, 1659, Ross gives an interesting account of an interview with one of the "grandees," probably Hyde.

In the following June, he reports that "the game is already "begun," Parliament in great distraction, the army unsatisfied. "They have voted old Cromwell a tyrant, caused his statue to "be demolished in Westminster, and sent Dick to grass in the "country."

It was hoped that the army would soon put the Parliament once more out by the ears, and royalist risings were beginning. A few weeks later came the joyful news that Sir George Booth was up at the head of six thousand men, and that many places in England, and all Wales, had declared for the King, but this was shortly followed by the sad tidings of the collapse of the rising. From England there came "lamentable complaints of "treachery and baseness," and it was said that "Booth rageth "most horribly, and vows the discovery of all those that "promised to join with him and most unworthily failed." After this follow notices of the journey of the King to the Pyrenees; the doings of Monck and his army, the proceedings in the restored Parliament, and the final happy preparations for the exiles' return to their native land.

After the Restoration, there are letters to Colonel Holles from his cousins, the young Earl of Strafford and his sister Lady Arabella Wentworth, and from others.

Also, letters to Sir Richard Fanshaw, then ambassador at Madrid, from Denzil, Lord Holles, and Sir Hugh Cholmley. But the most noteworthy contribution to Restoration literature is a series of letters from Henry Saville to his friend and boon companion, John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. They are written in a very lively style, and contain much entertaining matter, but, as might be expected, the allusions in them are at times somewhat broad. The following extracts from a letter written in November, 1677, may serve as specimens of the whole. The Fanshawe who has "a daughter a Princess" was William Fanshawe, who married a daughter of Lucy Walters,

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and therefore a half-sister of the Duke of Monmouth. "Mrs. Nelly" is Nell Gwynne.

"If your Lordship was as ill as you told mee in your letter, either you are a greater philosopher in bearing of pain or a greater hypocrite in making it more then it is then we can ordinarily meet with in these parts. . . . I thought there could bee but one lame thing upon earth in perfect happiness, and that is Fan-shaw for his having a daughter a Princesse, who yet remaines in paganisme for want of baptisme, which the fond father delayes to take some prudent resolution concerning the godfather. Hee thinkes the King ought to bee kept for a sonn, and the Duke of Monmouth dos not yet owne the alliance enough to hold his neece att the font, and therefore I beleeve that honour will at last fall upon his Grace of Buckingham. Mrs. Nelly, who is his great friend and faithfull councellour, advised him not to lay out all his stock upon the christning but to reserve a little to buy him new shooes that hee might not dirty her roomes, and a new periwigg that she might not smell him stinke two storeys high when hee knocks att the outward door.

"Since the Prince of Orange has declared his love to matrimony that sacrament growes soe modish in the court that Mr. Roper has most happily consummated with Mrs. Walker. . . . Harry Killegrew has been a widdower these two dayes and laments his condition that fortune has made it possible for him to play the fool again, considering what use hee is wont to make of the power of committing errours, besides human frailty in generall.

"My Lord Manchester has to the astonishment of all his acquaintance a new suit but it is black, and therefore fowly suspected it was left him by his sister Irwyn for mourning; else His Majesty concludes that ceremony had been performed in the auntient russett his Lordship use to weare upon the like occasions. . . . .

"It were worth your while to see how the old ladyes and the young beggerly bitches are sueing for places about the Princesse of Orange (who is to bee the next week . . . A daughter of Ned Villiers now in France and another of Sir Charles Wheeler's are to bee maydes of honour, and England affording noe more beauties, I heare they have sent into Holland for two to be ready against the returne of the Prince thither which must bee before the end of this month.

"I obeyed your commands to His Majesty, who has heard with very great delight Paisible's new compositions, and was not lesse pleased att all the complements you bestowed upon him; but I would not have you think hee takes soe much pleasure in your good wishes as in your good company, which is soe necessary heer to dispel the clowdes of dullnesse the Dutchmen have made that you cannot bee thought otherwise then a traytour to King and country, and a most unmercifull monster to your acquaintance, if you come not quickly to towne though upon croutches."

A letter written in July, 1678, reminds us that this lively courtier was also no mean diplomatist; "for, there being an "affair of some difficulty to be performed in France," Saville was sent off at only a few hours' notice. He went again in the following year, and his last two letters are dated from Paris, where, he says, he has not yet "given in to the true and decent gravity of a minister," but hopes that he may mend. There are two other letters to Rochester, one from another member of the same set, Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, and one from a certain John Muddyman, giving an account of an escapade of Harry Saville's in connexion with the beautiful young widow, Lady Northumberland, to whom he was paying his addresses.

The collection also contains a short note (a contemporary copy) from Oliver Cromwell to Colonel Richard Norton, recommending Major-General Goffe; a copy of the "game of "picquet" in which the Protector and his Counsellors and Commanders are supposed to engage, differing in many respects from the versions printed in the Harleian Miscellany and elsewhere; letters from John Evelyn, Dr. John Tillotson (when Dean of Canterbury), and Sir William Dugdale, and several papers relating to Monmouth's Rebellion, the most noteworthy of which is a copy of his Declaration of June 21, 1685, from Taunton, upon taking the title of King; a document of which, as Roberts stated in his *Life of Monmouth*, no copy was known to exist. Marquess of Bath. Vol. II.

Under date June 22nd, 1686, is a long letter from Sir Winston Churchill to "Blue Mantle" at the Heralds' Office, giving a detailed account of his family pedigree. Belonging to the reign of William III., there is a short letter from John Locke to his so-called "sister," Ann Grigg; the holograph original of the Princess Anne's letter to the King on her sister's death, and letters from Sir Cloudesley Shovell, Dr. Atterbury, and Lord Coleraine. These are followed by letters, dated during Queen Anne's reign, from Sir John Shadwell, and Thomas Hearne, and a very curious account of a great fête given in Rome by John Talman, the architect.

There are two letters (written in 1716 and 1722) from the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, to the Duchess of Marlborough, four interesting letters on the subject of the purchase of the Harleian MSS. for the nation; several letters from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Henrietta, the widowed Countess of Oxford, and finally, two short holograph notes to the Dowager Duchess of Portland, one written in 1772. from the Princess Amelia, and the other, undated, from David Garrick.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN.

The Manuscripts at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, passed with that property to the Lothian family through the marriage of Lord Ancram (afterwards sixth Marquess), with Lady Henrietta Hobart, daughter of John, second Earl of Buckinghamshire. Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

These on examination were arranged under the three following heads:—

1. Ancient deeds and documents.

2. Hobart papers, documents belonging to the period commencing with the first connexion of the Hobart family with the property.

3. Buckinghamshire papers, belonging to the time of John Hobart, second Earl of Buckinghamshire.

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The last section comprises part of a large collection of diplomatic correspondence and memoranda collected and endorsed by Lord Buckinghamshire himself, which was discovered by Constance Marchioness of Lothian in a cabinet, enclosed in antique cardboard boxes of foreign make, in which they had probably rested undisturbed for just over a century. An instalment of these papers was published by the Royal Historical Society in 1900 and 1902 (3rd series, vols. 2 and 3), together with the text of the official despatches from St. Petersburg, noticed, but not set out, in Your Majesty's Commissioners' first report.

The first two sections of the present Report contain gleanings from the muniment room, among the earlier muniments, of charters and rolls belonging to the foundations of Langley and Horsham St. Faith, two religious houses founded by the family of Fitz Robert (Cheyney), the first lay tenants of Blickling after the Conquest. This family held their manor in Blickling by grant or exchange from the Bishop of Norwich, whose predecessors had received it from the Conqueror in succession to Harold.

The St. Faith's documents comprise court rolls going back to 49 Hen. III., and a number of charters of endowment; and the coincidence by which the muniments reverted, after the dissolution of the monasteries, to the home of their origin, if fortuitous, is remarkable. By a like coincidence, a charter of Bishop Eborard is among the documents, the Bishop who is recorded as having attempted in the beginning of the 12th century to recover the Cheyneys' manor to the see, on the ground of some condition in the grant. It was the destiny, however, of the two divisions of the manor into which the grant of John Fitz-Robert had divided it, to become at last reunited in the hands of the lay holder, and the site of the Dagworth Manor House (where Blickling Hall now stands) superseded that of the older structure (occupied by Harold) of which the traces are still discernible on the river's edge, north of the Park.

The records of Hevingham, once a favourite lodge of the Bishops of Norwich, supply a specimen of a manorial extent which exemplifies the great multiplicity of ownership which widely obtained from earliest times and the extremely artificial character of the subinfeudation.

Social life is illustrated by the covenant (of cosenage) of Humphrey Bourgchier, and the letter of William Trussel on the education of a ward. The letter appears to be a 15th century copy. The Trussels were connected with Weybourne, where the De Veres too left their name.

Of wider and more national significance may be noticed, *e.g.*, the original (duplicate) in good preservation of the roll of the aid for the county of Norfolk made on the occasion of the Knighthood of the Black Prince; the names of well-known members of the royal party of Henry III. in a few charters; that of

Joan Countess of Hertford (daughter of Edward I.), whose title is handed down into Richard the Second's time in connexion with Saxthorpe; and (in the case of the Blickling records) a trace here and there of the distinguished statesmen and warriors who found here relaxation from the toils of peace and war. Blickling seems early to have been a favourite place for sport, and it is appropriate to find John Engaine in 1307 promulgating for Blickling the very scientifically drawn custumary which appears here. Poaching was rife in the 14th century, and later Sir John Fastolf's bailiff seems to have had before his eyes the possible complaints of over-preservation of game from the "hommages of lordschepes." Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

Devolving always among collaterals and following several ramifications of the Cheyney family, the manor fell to several distinguished owners. Margaret Cheyney, Aileen le Mareshal, Dagworth (who commanded in Aquitaine and suffered imprisonment at the hands of the Barons), Holveston, Sir Thomas Erpingham, of Agincourt and Shakspearian fame, Sir John Fastolf, the Boleyns, and Sir Edward Clere, are among the noble owners whose names appear in these charters, but in none of the documents prior to the sale by Clere to the Hobarts can the personal share of the house in public life be definitely traced. Sir Henry Hobart, Knight and Baronet, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, temp. James I. bought the Blickling estates from Sir Edward Clere, the representative of the Boleyns in the female line, and on the site of the Dagworth Manor-house built the mansion which remains so impressive and beautiful an example of the architecture of his time. Sir Henry's handwriting in several holograph leases attests the diligence and accuracy with which his private affairs were conducted. His son Sir John, who married, first, Philippa, daughter of Sir Robert Sydney, dying without an heir male, left as his widow a second wife, Lady Frances. This lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater and sister of Lady Alice Egerton (the lady of Milton's *Comus*), lived to an old age in Chapel Field House in Norwich, for many years the local town house of the Hobarts.

A note of Lady Frances to General Lambert, and his reply to it, show that the family was not without influence with the leaders of the Civil War; for though one or two cadets of the family were found in the ranks of the Royalists, its main influence was steadily on the Parliamentary side throughout the crisis, while the estates and title passed to Sir John, son of Miles Hobart and nephew of his predecessor.

The Estreat of Subsidies for the year 1663 gives a list of landowners in five hundreds; the name of "Philip Skippon, Esq., "*ultra mare*," whose house is still conspicuous at Foulsham, illustrates the vicissitudes of political influence.

A volume of Lieutenancy Journals, fortunately preserved (of which a few extracts only are given) affords a valuable contribution to the county history of the later years of Charles II.

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and the Revolution, and supplements the scanty entries in the house-books and other casual memoranda in affording glimpses of the party jealousies which the stress of civil strife had exacerbated, and His Majesty's presence in the county soon after the Restoration had evidently not permanently allayed. The list of lieutenants and officers of militia given on pp. 125-7 stands as it appeared after being reformed and expurgated in the interests of the Court by Robert Paston, Lord Yarmouth, who replaced Lord Townshend on his removal from that office in 1675. It is significant that none of the three first signatories of the manifesto for reducing the expenses of the High Sheriff are included in the new commissions as deputy lieutenants or in the militia, and this perhaps makes it probable that what appears to be a harmless sumptuary agreement for reducing extravagance was represented at Court as having a disloyal intention.

The entry referring to the trial at the Bar of the House of Commons and another mentioning Verdon by name, are almost the only memorials of two contested elections fought with much determination by Sir John Hobart for the county representation in 1678-9, which were both the subject of petition. The first of these figures more largely in Mr. Ketton's Felbrigg papers.

The tide of Protestant and Parliamentary reaction on which Titus Oates was being floated to the surface was not yet flowing so turbulently as to discourage the Court party from making a bold bid for power at the general election in January, 1678-9, and Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Neville Catelyn enjoyed a short-lived triumph in being returned as Knights of the shire, though Sir John after the "trial at bar" on his petition was successful in replacing Sir Christopher Calthorpe, unseated. But the contest was persistent and severe. When Sir John's petition came on for hearing, the excitement of the Popish Plot was rising high, and he records how he was vexatiously shut into the house on one occasion, and detained during the arrest and examination of a suspect parliamentary lawyer, one Reading.

Sir John obtained the seat at the next election, and again with his son Henry sat in the Oxford Parliament in 1681. The Ryehouse Plot in 1683 marked the decadence of the Protestant and popular party, and the turn of the wheel found Sir John obnoxious to the ascendant faction. In execution of an Order in Council addressed to the Earl of Arundel, who had succeeded Lord Yarmouth in the Lord Lieutenancy, his house was searched in July of the latter year. The list of arms found at Blickling, given at p. 130, is the result of this search. Mr. Scambler, at Wolterton, Hamond Claxton, at Aylsham, Henry Marsham, at Stratton Strayless, and Thomas Newman, at Baconsthorpe, were at the same time subjected to a like ordeal. Dr. John Collinges, the biographer of Lady Frances and the Presbyterian chaplain of the Hobarts at Chapel Field, was arrested as a nonjuring suspect in 1685. A few years later it

was the turn of the Papists, and later, of the Nonjurors proper, to experience these reciprocal visitations. Christopher Layer, of Booton, who was marked for search in 1696, is uncle and namesake of the notorious conspirator who suffered at Tyburn in 1723. But as is shewn in the Lieutenancy Journals, these neighbourly inquisitions were rewarded on each succeeding occasion with less satisfying results. The seizures even at the period of the "horrid designe" of the Rye House in 1683 were of less value than variety. A back, breast and head piece of a horse" are found at Colney, "three Olliverian swords" at Warham. In 1696, Sir Christopher Calthorpe yields only "9 old carbines, 4 old musketts, one brass blunderbuss, 3 old pistols, 3 old swords." The four black coach horses seized by Sir Frances Guybon from Sir Nicholas L'Estrange, "one mealy faced and one with a white starr," are discharged by the Deputy Lieutenants in conclave, who certify that none of them is worth 5*l*., "they being old and lame, and some of them blind." The lowest point is reached in 1707 with the seizure of "one musquet and a belt of bando-"liers" from Mr. Lake at Sparham.

Sir Henry Hobart on his succession in 1683 found the estates largely encumbered, and had further to reduce them by sale to meet the demands made by creditors. Taking an active part in the politics of the time and on the constitutional side, he appears to have presided over the counsels of the county in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant and to have favoured a policy more comprehensive than that of his superior.

It is no doubt to the appointment of his son, the first Earl of Buckinghamshire, to the Lord Lieutenancy, that is due the preservation of the Lieutenancy Journals of this period, which give a vivid illustration of the Revolutionary crisis of 1688-9. The militia force of the county is shewn to be in a high state of organisation, and the action of the Protestant Duke of Norfolk, cool-headed and constitutional. "Bel "homme à cheval," as Evelyn calls the latter, it is evident that his personality counted for something in the period of transition.

In 1690 Sir Henry Hobart served on King William's staff at the battle of the Boyne, but on his return the embarrassed state of the country was not such as to afford any relief to his encumbered finances, and in a quarrel which is asserted to have had some connexion with his contested election for the county, he met with the wound from a left-handed antagonist that proved fatal.

The long minority and succession of his son added little of public interest to the archives, and in the papers of his grandson begin what are practically modern politics.

The diplomatic papers collected by John, second Earl of Buckinghamshire in the course of his long life (1723-1793), relate for the most part: 1st, to the period of his Embassy to St. Petersburg (September 1762 to January 1765); 2nd, to

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the American Colonies; 3rd, to his momentous Viceroyalty of Ireland. Among the private letters are eight bundles addressed to Sir Thomas Drury, of which Lord Buckinghamshire became possessed through his first wife, Mary Anne, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Drury. The chief public interest of these consists in the record which they contain of the feeling with which men in the more distant parts of the country viewed the invasion of '45, and of the fluctuations of the money market at the time.

The letters addressed by Lord Buckinghamshire to Henrietta Countess of Suffolk, the Lady Suffolk of Pope, Swift, and Walpole, are those of a son to an indulgent mother, for such she had been to him and his only sister since the death of their mother in 1726. They serve to complement and illustrate Lady Suffolk's letters to him in reply, which have been published in Croker's edition of her correspondence, while the curious narrative of her interview with Queen Caroline on retiring from office at Court in 1734, goes far to support the belief of her friends, to which Horace Walpole refers while he dissents from it, that Lady Suffolk's "connection with the "King was confined to pure friendship." The cryptic allusion to "Lord B." is probably to be explained by a passage in a contemporary letter from Lady Elizabeth Compton (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Report* XI., App. 4, *p.* 242) in which she mentions a rumour that Lady Suffolk had been too often seen in the company of Lord Bolingbroke at Bath, and that her retirement was the result of consequent suspicions cast upon her loyalty to the House of Hanover.

The Russian papers make a considerable contribution to the chronicles of British trade with Russia, both before and after the first formal treaty of commerce concluded by Lord Forbes in 1734, and there is also a long series of documents relating to the disputed succession to the Duchy of Courland.

Lord Buckinghamshire's embassy to Russia was attended by no political success. He was, however, upon his return to England, offered the Embassy to Madrid, which he refused, and he held no other public office until he became Viceroy of Ireland in January, 1777.

When he accepted the ardous task which Lord Harcourt had not reluctantly dropped, he encountered a combination of difficulties, which, having increased under Lord Harcourt's administration, offered at the close of that nobleman's tenure of office a prospect which he felt scarcely able to encounter.

During four years, however, of a period the most critical in English history, Lord Buckinghamshire contrived to maintain in some fashion the *status quo*. His partial success seems attributable to personal qualities of tact and temper, which, combined with a sincere zeal for the welfare of the Irish people, created, in the opinion of Grattan, "a passion in his "favour approaching to love."

On the question of Free Trade, a memorandum of Sackville

Hamilton is worth notice. A number of such monographs was collected specially by Lord Buckinghamshire for the instruction of Government. These able and eloquent dissertations justified the economic reform which was precipitated by the growing danger of the trade with France, then inflated by the existing embargo on the export of provisions and other economical restrictions. Marquess of Lothian: Blickling Hall MSS.

With the termination of his Viceroyalty, Lord Buckinghamshire's public life came to an end.

Sir Henry Clinton's letters to Lord Buckinghamshire, written at and about the date of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, may interest students of the polemics of this episode, though they cannot be said to throw much additional light on an unfruitful controversy. The rude original prints of the manifesto of the Pennsylvanian line are tacitly eloquent of a crisis that seems so nearly to have wiped out the army of the revolted colonies.

THE EARL OF VERULAM.

The manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam, preserved at Gorhambury, consist for the most part of correspondence belonging to the latter half of the seventeenth century and to the eighteenth; there is extremely little relating either to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or to his more famous son, Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans. Earl of Verulam.

Gorhambury itself formed part of the possessions of St. Albans Abbey, and a hitherto unknown charter granted to the Abbey by Henry II. is printed in extenso on page 1 of this Report; Archbishop Beket witnesses the charter as Chancellor. After the dissolution, Gorhambury was granted to Sir Ralph Rowlatt, of whom it was acquired by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1555. It is probable that at least a considerable portion of the house (now a ruin) in Gorhambury Park, was erected after the acquisition of the property by Sir Nicholas. Sir Francis, as is well known, was dissatisfied with the means of obtaining a supply of water for the house, and erected, some distance to the north-east, and on the road from St. Albans to Dunstable, a residence which became known as Verulam House, or the Pondyards. He died there in 1626.

After his death, the Gorhambury estate passed to his great niece, the wife of Sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker of the House of Commons and Master of the Rolls. He appears to have resumed residence at Gorhambury itself and to have bestowed Verulam House upon his son George, who died issueless in 1655, after marrying Sarah, a daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Alston; she enjoyed possession of it for life.

Earl of Verulam.

Several letters from her, written to her father-in-law during the year following that in which she was left a widow, occur in the collection and refer to the house.

The old mansion at Gorhambury remained the seat of the family for over a hundred years. A few interesting references to alterations there, more particularly in the chapel, occur in the Calendar under the date 1672.

Sir Harbottle died in 1683, and an account of the charges for his funeral occur on p. 87. He was succeeded by his younger son, Sir Samuel Grimston, who died in 1700, and whose funeral cost 106*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* Many of the items in the account of the funeral charges are of interest and illustrate the pomp and grandeur with which the ceremony was conducted.

On Sir Samuel's death, the property passed to his great nephew, William Luckyn, who assumed the name of Grimston, and who, in 1719, was created Viscount Grimston in the Kingdom of Ireland.

The present Gorhambury House was commenced in 1777, by the third Viscount. Under date 20th October, 1784, Viscount Grimston records:—"Took possession of our new "house at Gorhambury on this day, after having been "employed in building it seven years the second of last month."

Belonging to the Grimston family are some early documents connected with an embassy to the King of France and the Duchess of Burgundy, on which Edward Grimston was sent in 1449, and for the conduct of which his integrity seems to have been called in question. His third wife was Philip, widow of Thomas, Lord Ross, by whose attainder she was "put "from her dower and joyntoure." Edward Grimston and his wife thereupon petitioned the Crown for relief.

Sir Edward Grimston, a descendant, was at the time of the loss of Calais, Controller of the town and its marches, and was carried prisoner, first to the French camp at Sandgate, then back to Calais, then to Boulogne and Hardelot, Abbeville, Beauvais, St. Denys, and so to Paris, where he was incarcerated in the Bastille. The account of his confinement there, and of his escape, is full of incident.

Following this narrative there come in chronological sequence certain papers connected with St. Albans election, trade with Italy, the Company of Merchant Adventurers, Baronets, Coke's Reports, the Spanish Match, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, the proceedings against the Five Members and the farming of the Customs; these papers are probably connected with the Bacon family.

The majority of other documents here calendared evidently found their way to Gorhambury through the Grimstons. Amongst them may be noted a series of projects put forward,

in 1632, for the relief of the poor in Colchester and in regard to the licensing question. Earl of Verulam.

Sir Harbottle Grimston's position as Master of the Rolls accounts for the presence at Gorhambury of several documents connected with the Court of Chancery, its officials, and their transaction of its business. As Master of the Rolls, he was keeper of the Records of Chancery, and on the 9th of September, 1661, the famous William Prynne addressed to him, from Lincoln's Inn, a graphic account of his own exertions in saving the national archives from destruction. The keeping of the records of Chancery was evidently none too good and there is, amongst Sir Harbottle Grimston's papers, an undated and anonymous proposal for their better preservation. To remedy all this the proposer offered to build a Record Office over the Master of the Rolls' coach-house, and to fasten the records up in vellum-wrapped bundles, place them in presses, and index them.

But Sir Harbottle Grimston was evidently not only mindful of the safe keeping of our national archives, he also extended a helping hand to historians who sought to make the contents of those documents available to the public. John Rushworth, the laborious compiler of the "Historical Collections," writes to Sir Harbottle on the 7th of May, 1681, and acknowledges the encouragement and financial assistance he has received from him by the hands of Dr. Burnet. In this letter, Rushworth enters into many interesting particulars as to the compilation of his work and his intentions in regard to it.

That the Master of the Rolls enjoyed the warm friendship and regard of his immediate legal chief, is abundantly clear from the letters which passed between Lord Chancellor Clarendon and himself in the year 1666, when the loyalty and integrity of the latter were called in question by Lord Fanshaw, a neighbouring Hertfordshire land-owner, and evidently irascible supporter of the restored monarch. Fanshaw had committed, as dangerous and disaffected persons, Sir John Wittewronge, of Rothamstead, and Israel Mayo, of Bayford, and Sir Harbottle brought the matter to the Chancellor's notice, receiving in reply the assurance that Clarendon was "exceedingly afflicted" at Fanshaw's "unwarrantable folly."

Sir John Wittewronge's justification of his conduct is printed in full, and possesses a special interest from the passage in which he deals with the charge brought against him by Fanshaw that he had enriched himself with the property of Charles I., after the outbreak of the Civil War, and that his house contained these treasures on Charles II.'s restoration.

Apart from the interest which Clarendon's letters possess as illustrating his sentiments with regard to Fanshaw's charges, they have also an interest from the references which occur in several to the Great Plague, and the paralysing effect which that "miserable contagion" had upon all public business.

Earl of Verulam.

Belonging to the early part of the eighteenth century, there are several documents at Gorhambury which relate to election matters at St. Albans, and these include some characteristic letters from Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, whose interest in the conduct of Parliamentary contests is well known.

There is not much correspondence belonging to the time of the second Viscount Grimston, who enjoyed the title from 1756 to 1773, but a considerable amount of that of the time of the third, who, in 1790, was created a peer of England as Baron Verulam, and who was subsequently, in 1809, advanced to the earldom of Verulam.

This correspondence includes letters on various matters, political and social, amongst them the Corn Laws, the state of agriculture, and the working of the Game Laws. As illustrative of the history of Hertfordshire it is also valuable, and especially that part of it lying in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Albans. Certain letters, too, written to Lady Grimston from America, during the Civil War, will be read with interest.

Many of the items in the accounts printed in this report, which are mostly of the receipts and expenditure of Sir Harbottle Grimston and of his son Sir Samuel, throw an interesting side light on domestic manners and customs.

The majority of the items appear to relate to expenditure at Gorhambury, though certain of them clearly refer to Sir Harbottle's expenses at the Rolls House. The later accounts—those after 1774—contain sundry items of expenditure on the decoration of Gorhambury House, Lord Grimston's subscription to Almack's and various Clubs, the purchase of pictures at Christie's, the purchase of books and musical instruments, opera tickets (42*l.*), the purchase of Wedgewood-ware, and other items of interest.

At the end of the Calendar are printed three diaries. The first, "Three weeks' observations of the Low Countreys, especi-"ally Holland," shows the observer, Sir Harbottle Grimston, then a young man, to have been possessed of very keen powers of observation and of an exceedingly "racy" literary style. "A northern tour" taken in 1768, most probably by the third Viscount, is valuable from the details he gives of various houses and their artistic contents—such as Chatsworth, Welbeck, Clumber, Castle Howard, Studley Royal, and Wentworth Castle—and also from the description the writer supplies of the country through which he passed.

The description of Wales itself furnishes a very vivid picture of the social state of the country, and the writer thus concludes an exceedingly amusing description of a play acted at Carmarthen: "In short, from what we then saw, we easily conjectured "that the peace and regularity of Carmarthen was but at low "ebb, especially as an alderman seemed to be well pleased "with the proceedings, and the ladies looked on without any "alarm

THE EARL OF ANCASTER.

Earl of Ancaster.

The collection in the possession of the Earl of Ancaster affords little material for the family history earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, the great bulk of the papers consisting of the correspondence of Peregrine, "the stout Lord Willoughby" of the Low Countries, son of Richard Bertie and of the Duchess of Suffolk. This correspondence includes original letters from the Queen, Lord Burghley, the Earls of Leicester, Essex, Derby, Sussex, and Shrewsbury, Lords Howard of Effingham, Cobham and Audley, Sir Philip Sydney, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir Francis Vere and Capt. Martin Frobisher; Henry IV. of France, the Prince of Parma, Count Maurice of Nassau, Count William Louis of Nassau, Counts Hohenlo and Neuwenar, the widowed Princess of Orange, the Spanish commanders Champagny, d'Assonnavile and Mondragon, Maréchal de Biron, the Vicomte de Turenne and M. Beauvoir la Nocle, French ambassador in England. Many of these are holograph. After the death of Peregrine, Lord Willoughby, in 1601, the number of the papers diminishes very much; but those of his son, Robert, first Earl of Lindsey, include originals from Charles I., Sir R. Cecil, Lord Admiral Nottingham, the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and Sir Edward Vere; and those of Montagu, the second Earl, a holograph of Charles I. and a signed letter of Sir T. Fairfax. Of the 18th century, are signed letters of William Pitt, the elder, and the Duke of Newcastle, and holographs from Elizabeth, daughter of George III., and her brother, George, Prince of Wales; also receipts by Sir Joshua Reynolds. If to these we add various signed letters from the Privy Council, it will be seen that the collection includes a very large and valuable series of historic autographs.

Some slight traces of the storm which brought down the monasteries are found in the shape of ancient books and deeds belonging to the Abbeys of Kirkstead, Vaudey and Newhouse, which were granted to the Duke of Suffolk after their dissolution; and one or two allusions to the young Duke Henry and his brother Charles remind us of the great tragedy of the Duchess's life, the loss of both her boys in one day by fever, in 1551; but there are no records of, and only slight allusions to, the exile and wanderings of Richard Bertie and his wife, when, driven out of England in Queen Mary's time, they took refuge in the Low Countries and the Palatinate, and were finally granted the government of Crosun by the King of Poland.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Bertie and the Duchess returned to England with their two children, Susan and Peregrine, the latter of whom was born during their wanderings. They settled down at Grimsthorpe, and lived there in considerable state, as is shown by the list of their

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household on p. 459, contained in a very interesting volume of accounts for 1660-1662, whose pages give us many glimpses of their family life.

Passing by several letters in relation to local politics in Lincolnshire, we come, in 1582, to the death of Richard Bertie, and the first public employment of Lord Willoughby—viz., his embassy to Denmark, to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. The "Relation" of this embassy, in his own hand, is at the British Museum. In 1585 he went a second time to Denmark. His "Relation" of this visit is amongst his papers, but has not been calendared at length, as there is another copy amongst the State Papers at the Public Record Office. He took his leave of the Danish King about the New Year following and, after many perils, reached the Low Countries (where the Earl of Leicester had lately been made Lieutenant-General), and was appointed Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom. There are two or three interesting letters addressed to him about this time, from John Stubbe and Sir Drue Drury.

John Stubbe, a Norfolk gentleman of strongly puritan views, had incurred the Queen's anger by a violent protest against her proposed marriage with the Duke of Anjou. In 1579 he and his publisher were found guilty of disseminating seditious writings, and had their right hands struck off. He was kept a prisoner for many months, but set at liberty in 1581. From this time he always added *scæva* to his signature. He was very intimate with the Bertie family, and his letters are written from Lord Willoughby's house in Barbican.

Sir Drue Drury was also a very strong puritan; a zealous supporter of the extreme Calvinists in Germany as against the "profession of Luther." As keeper of Mary Queen of Scots, he had disappointed her would-be murderers by refusing to further their design, but he entirely approved of her execution.

From the time of Lord Willoughby's arrival in the Low Countries until his final departure, in 1589, the great body of his papers concerns the conduct of affairs in the Netherlands. The papers in this collection cannot vie in interest with those amongst the State Papers at the Public Record Office, where are preserved his long and interesting dispatches to England; but by furnishing details of military affairs, local politics, and especially of the perpetual discord and disorders with which governors and commanders had to cope, they form a valuable supplement to the documents in official keeping.

There is but one letter in the volume from Sir Philip Sydney, a short note written in July, 1586, summoning certain of the troops to a rendezvous on the Scheldt, before Flushing, in preparation for the expedition to Axel, planned by Count Maurice, and warmly seconded by Sydney and Lord Willoughby.

On October 2nd, Sydney was mortally wounded at the battle of Zutphen, where Willoughby fought with incredible valour, and unhorsed and captured George Cressia, General of the Albanian Cavalry. A letter from him will be found on p. 37.

During the winter, Lord Willoughby went over to England, and from London he wrote to the French ambassador in Denmark, describing—in the tone usual at court in regard to this matter—the deep sorrow of Elizabeth upon the death of the Queen of Scots. Earl of Ancaster.

Leicester was also in England, willing to return to his duties, but crippled by want of money, which the Queen resolutely refused to give him. Her Majesty had received and roundly abused the envoys from the States; the States had as roundly abused Leicester, and the Queen was seriously intending to enter into negotiations with Spain.

At this time the attitude of the States General to Leicester had completely changed, and their enthusiasm had given place to a determination to check his power, and assert their own authority. They had now formally placed the young Prince Maurice at the head of their government, and it was absolutely necessary, they declared, that he should be made Captain-General in Leicester's absence. They appointed him, therefore, and, although on the very same day they received notice of the Earl's approaching return, they decided that Maurice's election should hold good.

In the summer of 1587 Parma besieged Sluys. The commandant there was Arnold van Groenvelt, and with him was Captain Charles Heraugiere, two names often met with in these papers. Again and again the little garrison applied for help, but Leicester felt himself "constrained" to remain at Flushing. On July 6th-16th, however, he gave a commission to the Marshal, Sir William Pelham, to command a force thither in his place. With Pelham went Lord Willoughby, but wind and weather were so contrary that they found it impossible to land, and were forced to return. A little later Leicester himself carried some troops to Blanckenburg, but retreated at the first approach of the enemy, and at the beginning of August (new style) the brave garrison was obliged to capitulate. Perhaps the English General was not so much to blame as would appear. Three interesting drafts by Lord Willoughby (found too late to calendar in their proper place) are printed in the Appendix, and all of them tend to defend Lord Leicester's proceedings.

In the middle of September, 1587, Willoughby led a night enterprise against the Castle of Wauw, surrendered to the Spaniards, but the party being discovered, had to retire. Some of the horsemen, who had advanced towards the Spanish camp, ran into the arms of a force of the enemy, and out of the seventeen only two escaped capture.

When Willoughby sent to ransom the prisoners, his trumpet brought back, from the Marquis del Guasto, a challenge, quite after mediæval fashion, "to fight, from two hundred lances to thirty." The garrison was all eagerness to accept, their commander (who was to oppose the Marquis) not the least so, and he wrote off in hot haste to his chief for permission. Further

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proceedings in the matter may be found in the State Papers of this date.

A difficulty now arose with the Earl of Leicester, who thought that Willoughby had been giving himself too high titles, and so derogating from his own supreme authority. Willoughby, in reply, simply said that the document to which exception was taken was written neither by himself nor by his secretaries, and that, in what he did write, he used no title at all, much less any to prejudice his Excellency's. But, he said, it was absolutely necessary that he should write as one having authority.

Just at this time, however, Leicester returned—finally, as it proved—to England, and the next letter in the collection is one of congratulation to Willoughby upon his appointment as general of the forces in the Earl's stead. Lord Willoughby's commission gave him entire control over the English forces, but no authority in the country, still less such powers as had been bestowed on Leicester by the States themselves. The new general entered on his duties very reluctantly, and only after proposing to the Lord Treasurer three or four other men whom he considered more suitable than himself.

In the spring of 1588, the old Council of State had lapsed, and Willoughby did his utmost to help on the establishment of a new one. By the treaty of 1585 it was settled that two members of the Council should be English, and this was the only means by which the English General could now exert any influence upon the States' government, and—what was especially important—on decisions affecting the war.

The new Council met in May 1588, and, after some demur as to their powers and authority, began their duties.

One of the most important features of this collection is the picture it presents of the internal dissensions in the Netherlands at this time. The whole country was in a state of disturbance. Throughout the spring and summer of 1588 Lord Willoughby went from one place to another, trying to smooth differences and bring people to reason, but, although personally he was popular, the causes of dispute were too deeply seated for him to be able to remove them, especially with limited authority and no money at all at his command.

With Count Maurice, Willoughby kept up very friendly relations until quite the end of his stay in the Low Countries. They worked together zealously for the re-establishment of order at Medenblicq, then in a state of revolt against the States' government, and Maurice's letters (of which there are many in this collection) show his appreciation of the English general's assistance. Both generals were eager to be free to go against the enemy, now threatening Zeeland; they and Col. Soney, at Medenblicq, came to an agreement, and the incident ended with a proclamation by Count Maurice for the settlement of all disputes, and an order for the punishment of soldiers who had spoken ill of the Queen of England.

Naerden next engaged Willoughby's attention. He at once informed both magistrates and soldiers of the happy issue at Medenblicq, urging upon the garrison to submit to and obey those in authority in the town. The unruliness, however, continued, and it is a significant fact—both as to Willoughby's influence and the use which he made of it—that the States' officers, Muster-Master Fievet and Colonel Van Dorp, appealed confidently to him for help. Willoughby negotiated with Maurice and the States, and succeeded in getting somewhat better terms for the officers of the garrison, which he sent to them with an urgent appeal that they should maintain discipline amongst their men, and continue on good terms with the citizens. Earl of Ancaster.

The scene now shifts to Geertrudenberg. Here the great cause of complaint was want of pay. The garrison having declined to treat either with Maurice or the States, Willoughby was urged to go, first promising the States-General that he would offer no better terms than had been given to Medenblicq, and that he would agree to nothing which would separate Geertrudenberg from the government of Holland. He went on his mission in May, 1588, "but having no money nor authority to procure it," and affairs in Zeeland calling for his presence, he was obliged to leave again, promising the garrison that within a month their demands should be considered. Having "taken order" for the affairs of Camphere and Arnemuyden, he resumed negotiations with Geertrudenberg at the end of June. It was decided at the Hague that the disturbance should be settled by money—*i.e.* that they should try to satisfy the soldiers' reasonable demands for their arrears. The Count and the English General worked heartily together, and when affairs seemed to be adjusting themselves, Maurice, now back at the Hague, wrote Willoughby a grateful letter, thanking him warmly for all his care and toil. At the same time a vote of thanks was passed to him by the States of Holland.

But matters were not yet ended at Geertrudenberg. It was soon evident that the sum agreed upon would not be enough to satisfy the garrison, and until the garrison was satisfied, no order could be restored. Meanwhile, the enemy was at the gates of Ostend, and the service of her Majesty demanded Willoughby's departure. Finally, by means of Count Maurice's efforts and the zeal of the magistrates of Dordrecht, the needful money was procured, and Willoughby was free to set out for Zeeland.

While the parties in the Netherlands were disputing amongst themselves, the preparations in Spain went steadily on. There are not many notices of the great Armada in this report, nothing beyond a paper of intelligence, some examinations of ships' masters, and a few allusions in letters; also two intercepted letters, giving the Spanish point of view, rejoicing that their fleet, "terrible et esmerveillable," was on its way, and confidently hoping for God's aid in their fight for his glory and their own liberties.

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There are some papers relating to French affairs during the summer of 1588, including an account, rather confused as to dates, of the "jour des barricades" and of what followed it; and a narrative by Lord Henry Seymour of the visit of his fleet to Boulogne. There are also one or two reports from Scotland, as that both the King of Spain and Parma had offered the young King money and men "to revenge his mother's death," and large presents if he would suffer them to land forces in his country, but that he had refused to give ear to them; and an account of the pious and comfortable words given by the King to the people of Edinburgh on his return to the city in the month of May.

As regards the Netherlands, the main interest of the collection during the later half of 1588 centres upon Bergen-op-Zoom. When Willoughby was made Colonel-General, the government of Bergen was bestowed on Sir William Reade, but, in April, 1588, Willoughby appointed Sir William Drury to the post, and gave Reade permission to go home. The Queen was very angry, and at once sent orders that Reade was to be reinstated, and that Willoughby was not to dispose of the government of towns without her privity. She would hear no excuses, declared roundly that in her father's time such an offence would have been severely punished, and by a postscript in her own hand ordered her general to "leave to be unadvised in rash actions." Reade evidently did not wish to return, and the Queen appointed Sir Thomas Morgan.

The cloud which had so long hung over Bergen now daily threatened to burst. The enemy's forces were fast gathering in Brabant, and Parma was already at Brussels. Yet the town was still "utterly unprovided," and urgent appeals for help were sent to the States-General, the Council of State, and the Estates of Holland and Zeeland. But the States-General were not then sitting, and, though the Council made ample promises, they "continued in their wonted longness." Lord Willoughby wrote to ask the Queen's pleasure how he should act at this juncture, his own desire being to go personally to Bergen.

On September 10th the enemy sat down before the town, and a few days later Willoughby arrived there.

During the siege a journal was kept, and a copy of the first part (September 14th-20th) was sent to Burghley, and is amongst the State Papers, but in this collection we have the whole journal, up to the end of October, lacking only a page or two at the end, when the enemy had practically ceased operations. From it we can follow the proceedings of the beleaguered garrison from day to day; the measures taken for defence; the sallies made, and their success; and the difficulties Lord Willoughby had to surmount in persuading the burghers to help the all too small garrison with the fortifications.

There is a full account of the plot by which two prisoners in the town hoped to obtain an entry for the enemy, but which Lieutenant Grimstone and his friend Redhead, the former with

imminent risk to his own life, turned so signally to the advantake of the defenders. Earl of Ancaster

The Spaniards had never been able to prevent free access to and egress from the town, and at the end of October there was quite an assembly of notabilities there, including the new ambassador (Sir John Norris), the Earl of Northumberland, and the doughty old Welshman, Sir Roger Williams. They went out to view the enemy's camp, and rode almost up to the trenches, but the Spaniards merely fired some shots at them, and did not sally forth. Their spirit seemed entirely crushed by their want of success, and a few days later (Nov. 3, old style) they raised the siege.

After the raising of the siege of Bergen, Willoughby drew up a paper containing suggestions for making a winter attack upon Flanders and seizing Nieuport, Dunkirk, and other places. He proposed using Ostend as a base, but the Queen was very seriously thinking of withdrawing altogether from that place, the dykes having been so broken down by heavy winter inundation that it was in peril of being swept away, and lay open to any attack by the enemy. The states, however, agreed to send orders for the necessary repairs.

The month of January, 1588-9, was spent by Lord Willoughby at the Hague, and a journal of his doings will be found on p. 249.

Early in the month his help was sought in connexion with a romantic incident. A lady of high degree, of one of the "chiefest and noblest houses in the land," Marguerite de Pallant, Countess of Culenburg and Baroness de Merode Pieterfex, had two young daughters, Anna and Ottilia. The gallant Governor of Bergen, Sir Thomas Morgan, and his friend, Sir Thomas Knollys, ran away with these demoiselles from Dordrecht, carried them by boat to Bergen, and then married them. Their mother was exceedingly indignant, and wrote both to Lord Willoughby and to the States-General, demanding that they should be restored to her safe and sound, and that the "intolerable wrong" done to her and her family should have due satisfaction. The States-General and the Council of State sent honourable counsellers to Willoughby, and the agent, Richard Alin, was despatched to Bergen, but what Knollys called "the lucky exploit" was a *fait accompli* and could not be undone.

At the end of 1588 the garrison of Geertrudenberg, never wholly quieted, became once more very restless and turbulent, and seized the arms of the burghers.

In January, 1589, the States-General passed a resolution for satisfying the arrears of the garrison, and Count Maurice assured them of satisfaction for their demands; but they refused to be pacified, and the States, becoming alarmed, demanded the fulfilment of Lord Willoughby's promise that Geertrudenberg should not be separated from Holland. Upon this, he sent them an important state paper, recounting the whole business of Geertrudenberg. On his going to Geertru-

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denberg, the garrison offered a compromise, only, as they said, to show their fidelity and loyalty to her Majesty. When Willoughby was at Flushing, on the point of sailing for England, the news came that the forces of Count Maurice had laid siege to Geertrudenberg. Willoughby remonstrated with the Count; the Count protested that he was very sorry, but could do no otherwise, seeing that Sir John Wingfield had sent him a message that sooner than return to the obedience of the States they would appeal for help to the enemy; at the same time, the garrison sent Willoughby threats to the same effect, unless, within a month, the Queen gave them the aid which they declared she had promised them. This letter he must have received just as he was starting for England, where he arrived on March 14, old style. His last days in Holland had been embittered, not only by the affair of Geertrudenberg, but by the refusal of the States to come to any resolution concerning what was due to him, "much less concerning any recompense to be made to him," a treatment which had never before been accorded to any serving the Provinces against Spain.

The siege continued, and the garrison entered into communication with the Spaniards. Count Mansfeld marched towards them with a large force, Maurice was compelled to retire, and on March 31, old style, Geertrudenberg opened its gates to the enemy.

A letter written by a Dutch resident in the neighbourhood, just before the siege was abandoned, and giving some details of the proceedings on both sides, will be found in the Appendix.

Lord Burghley was anxious that Willoughby should return to his charge in the Low Countries, but he absolutely refused to think of doing so unless the States, who had blamed him in print, should clear him in print also. While the dispute with the States was going on, and they were still very far from "clearing him in print," Lord Willoughby was called elsewhere.

When, after the murder of Henry III., in August, 1589, Henry of Navarre appealed to Elizabeth for aid in establishing himself on the French throne, she sent him some troops, and Lord Willoughby was chosen to command them. They went over in September, but hardly had they reached France when the Queen began to urge their return. Henry naturally wished to keep them, heartily appreciating their valour, and the good service done by them, from their commander downwards. Her Majesty sent Willoughby a letter of thanks, and eventually agreed to allow the troops to remain until January. When they did return home, they were so weakened by the "contagion" that many of them got no further than Rye, and the Mayor there sent a most deplorable account of the state they were in, and of the very infectious nature of their disease, from which there died "every day four or five" of the nurses who attended on them.

After Lord Willoughby's departure from the Low Countries, he was supplied with news of the course of events there by Van

Houte, formerly his secretary. In one of his letters Van Houte alludes to the sad accident which had lately fallen out amongst Lord Willoughby's captains in France; Sir William Drury and Sir John Burgh having quarrelled and fought a duel, in which the former was mortally wounded. Earl of Ancaster.

Lord Willoughby evidently established very friendly relations with the French King's chief followers during his short stay in France. On p. 305 is a letter from the Maréchal de Biron, giving him news of the campaign. This is followed by a friendly letter from Henry IV. to Willoughby, and by several letters from the French ambassador in England, Mons. Beauvoir la Nocle, from the Maréchal de Turenne and others.

Lord Willoughby having now settled down in England, the subject matter of his papers is concerned with his private affairs, and especially with various disputes with his neighbours; notably with one Thomas Cecil (a servant or relative of Lord Burghley) and his son-in-law, Matthew Cheesman. Concerning this matter, and also in relation to an uproar in Stamford shortly afterwards, there are several letters from Lord Burghley, in one of which he emphasises his rights as lord of Stamford town.

In the spring of 1597, Willoughby wrote repeatedly to the Earl of Essex concerning his desire to have the government of Berwick (vacant by the death of the first Lord Hunsdon), and from his expressions of thanks it is evident that Essex did his best with the Queen, but for the time all efforts were unsuccessful. It may be mentioned here that Willoughby's letters to Essex are not drafts, but the originals, which were returned to the Bertie family at a later date. Meanwhile, Lord Willoughby lived a "Coridon's life," and interested himself in guarding the rights of the commoners and the poor as regards the draining of the fens. In the spring of 1598, he obtained his desire, and was made governor of Berwick and warden of the East March.

On June 25th, 1601, his life of active service and unremitting toil came to an end, and he passed away, with his last breath declaring his loyalty to the Queen, and his love, "as David's "was with Solomon," for Cecil, to whom he commended the care of his eldest son, and the supervisorship of his testament and estate. He left five sons, Robert, Peregrine, Henry, Vere and Roger, and one daughter, Catherine, who married Sir Lewis Watson, afterwards Lord Rockingham.

Robert Bertie, who now succeeded to his father's title, comes before us first in these papers as the writer of a series of boyish letters, in Latin and French, during his travels abroad with his tutor in 1598 and 1599. His headquarters were at Orleans, and from thence he duly informs his father of his progress in his studies, adding occasional fragments of court news.

In the summer of 1599, Robert Bertie was joined by his brother Peregrine, and the two young men made a tour

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in the west and south of France; at the end of which their tutor, Mr. Johnson, returned to England, but the brothers remained abroad, probably in Paris, until Robert was recalled to England by his father's death.

A letter of sympathy from Dr. Jegon, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, shows that Robert Bertie had been educated at that college, and had borne a good character there; while other letters written at this time testify to the affection and respect in which the late Lord Willoughby's memory was held. After a short stay at home, the young Lord Willoughby was sent abroad again, "for his further and better "education," and did not return to England until after the accession of James I.

In 1605 he attended the Earl of Nottingham into Spain, and in 1612, obtained permission from King James to raise levies for the King of Denmark. He was one of the Deputy-Lieutenants for Lincolnshire, and very diligent in matters touching the musters and training.

In 1617, the whole family was thrown into great trouble by the news that Henry (the third brother), who had been to Constantinople, had, on his return "into Christendom," been seized by the Inquisition. A long letter from Henry himself gives an account of his travels and their unlucky termination.

There are several documents about this date in relation to the draining of the Fens, in which Lord Willoughby took an active interest, and also an interesting letter from the Court.

Three newsletters, of 1620 and 1622, are chiefly concerned with the struggle in Germany, the first being written just at the time when the "Winter King," Frederic, was enjoying his short-lived dignity as King of Bohemia; after which follows a long and interesting letter from Sir Edward Vere, written at the camp before Bois-le-Duc in 1629, describing proceedings at this stage of the famous "siege of the Bosch." Of Lord Willoughby's own service in the Low Countries, no notices occur in these papers.

In 1625, Lord Willoughby's cousin, Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, died without children, and Willoughby claimed both the Earldom and the post of Great Chamberlain of England in right of his mother, only sister of Edward, 17th Earl. The Earldom went to the heir male, a distant cousin, but the Chamberlainship was adjudged to Lord Willoughby as heir general, and, as it was not usual for this dignity to be held by anyone of lower rank than an Earl, he was shortly afterwards created Earl of Lindsey.

In 1628, King Charles issued a warrant, granting a lease of the forests of Shotover and Stow-wood, near Oxford, to Lord Lindsey, but it does not seem to have taken effect, and a fresh one was issued in the following year. Certain "timber trees of "oak" were reserved to the use of the Navy, as also a park for the King's use; and the rights of the commoners were duly provided for. There are several papers about this matter;

the claims of the Navy, the stealing of wood, and the purchase by "the doctors of St. John's" of trees allowed them for the new buildings then being erected, under the fostering care of Bishop Laud, at their College. Earl of Ancaster

There are no papers in this collection relating to Lord Lindsey's services as Admiral and Captain General of the Fleet; indeed, very few of his papers are here at all. One or two letters remind us that he was Governor of Berwick in 1639-40, and in 1642 we come to the last scene, when, as Lieut.-General of the King's army, he was mortally wounded at the battle of Edgehill, and was only carried off the field a prisoner, to die after a few hours. His eldest son and successor, Montagu, who is said to have surrendered himself in order to be with his father, remained a captive in Warwick Castle, where he received a letter of sympathy, written in the King's own hand. He was exchanged in time to be present at the first battle of Newbury, and went with the King into the West.

In May, 1646, Lindsey, Richmond, and other personal servants of the King applied to Sir Thomas Fairfax for permission to travel to London or to their homes, if they so wished, "his "Majesty having thought fit to draw nearer to his Parliament," and they not wishing to remain behind. The tone of the letter is that of the moderate followers of the King, who desired a happy arrangement of the quarrel if possible Fairfax recommended the letter to the Lords, but whatever answer was received, Lindsey undoubtedly went to the King at Oxford. He was there at its surrender, and compounded on its Articles.

On p. 412 begins a series of letters from Capt. Martin Foster, a member of Lord Lindsey's household, to John Pridgeon, bear-leader to the young Lord Willoughby. The Earl was one of the King's Commissioners in the Isle of Wight, and Foster evidently attended him there. He gives divers scraps of news concerning the preparations of the Scots, the escape of the Duke of York, the many risings for the King (in the summer of 1648), the restoration of the impeached members to Parliament, the negotiations at Newport, &c.

Lord Willoughby and Pridgeon were at this time in France, and a diary, by the latter, contains an account of their doings from August, 1647, to August, 1649. They diligently visited "seats" and churches, and at St. Denis "my lord" had in his hand the sword with which the maid of Orleans drove the English out of France. After a few weeks of sightseeing, young Willoughby settled down at "Mons. Devaux' academy "in the fauxbourg of St. Jermins" for the winter. The next summer he went to St. Germain [en-Laie], where he kissed the Prince of Wales's hand and waited on Queen Henrietta Maria. Soon afterwards he fell ill of the small-pox. In the autumn they took a journey down the Loire and to Rochelle and the Isle de Ré, where they were shown the scene of Buckingham's hasty retreat, hence called the "route des Anglais." Thence they travelled at their leisure through Poitou, and so back to

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Angers. In March 1649, they resumed their wanderings and travelled through Brittany, returning to Angers at the end of April. In August they went to Blois, where Lord Willoughby met his brother, and the diary ends with his entering into pension there on August 21st. From this time, their doings are more or less indicated by letters addressed to Pridgeon by Foster and Edward Christian, another member of Lord Lindsey's household. At the end of 1650 and for some months afterwards, they were at Rome, whither Foster sends news of the young King of Scots' proceedings in the North, and of the strange sects which had sprung up in England, "monstrous "opinions such as will give you cause of astonishment and "laughter."

At this time Lord Willoughby's brothers, Peregrine and Richard, were in France with their tutor, Mr. Cordell, and hoping to join their brother. Foster often urged Lord Willoughby's return home, but from the addresses on his letters it is evident that he remained in Italy at any rate until the spring of 1652. His head-quarters were at Rome, but he paid visits to Venice and Padua.

The next time the brothers' names occur together in these papers is forty years later, in 1691, when Peregrine announces to Robert, now Earl of Lindsey, the death of Lady Abingdon, wife of their half-brother James, "a woman of the greatest "temper in the world, and one who has left the best character "behind her." There are several other letters from Peregrine Bertie, giving news of the war and of the Court, &c., and discussing family affairs.

In 1701 Lord Lindsey died, and disputes arose between the new Earl and his stepmother. Arbitration was proposed, and some rather nice points of legal etiquette were raised.

The writer of the letters on this subject also makes repeated mention of Sacheverell's trial and the excitement in London.

On p. 441 is a long letter in relation to the different parties in the Church, but the signature is torn off, and there is no clue to the writer. It reads somewhat as though it were a letter written for publication.

In 1711 Lord Lindsey (now a Marquis) was much annoyed to learn that Robert Harley was about to take the title of Earl of Oxford. Amongst the Welbeck Papers is the letter written by the Marquis's brother Peregrine to Harley informing him that they were assured by the best lawyers "that the earldom "was certainly in the heirs general, the heir male being "extinct." The sequel of the affair is given in the present volume, in a letter from Peregrine Bertie to the Marquis.

The next papers of any interest belong to the year 1745, when Peregrine, third Duke of Ancaster, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, had to take active measures for the defence of Lincolnshire. There is a letter from him to the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke's reply, and a list of subscriptions raised to defray expenses.

These are followed by holograph receipts by Sir Joshua Reynolds for the portraits painted by him of the third Duke and his Duchess, their little son, the Marquess of Lindsey, the Duke's sister, Lady Mary, and the Duchess's father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Panton. A warrant signed by William Pitt the elder comes next, and then a charming letter from the Princess Elizabeth, third daughter of George III., to the Duchess of Ancaster. Earl of Ancaster.

On the death of Robert, fourth Duke of Ancaster, in 1779, without children, the Barony of Willoughby d'Eresby fell into abeyance between his two sisters, Priscilla and Georgina, but in 1780 it was granted to Priscilla, the elder sister (wife of Sir Peter Burrell, first Lord Gwydyr), who thus become Lady Willoughby in her own right. In 1796, the Prince of Wales was desirous that she should become Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess, a position which, after some hesitation and with certain conditions, she accepted. The Prince's letters, all of which are holograph, show with what very high esteem and respect he regarded her.

Besides the family correspondence of the Berties, there are certain other papers belonging to the collection which have been included in this Report. In the muniment room at Grimsthorpe are many mediæval deeds, of which a selection is here printed. These chiefly relate to the monastery lands of Kirkstead and Vaudey, which, at the Dissolution, were granted to the Duke of Suffolk, and to the chantry of the Holy Trinity, Spilsby, the lands and rights of which were surrendered to the Duchess in 1547.

After the deeds follow inventories of various sorts. Those of household effects include many pieces of tapestry and rich fabrics. The presence of the Tudor rose and portcullis on the tapestry is no doubt due to the fact that the third wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Katherine Willoughby was his fourth), was Mary, younger daughter of Henry VII.

An inventory of plate at Southwark might at first sight appear to represent a portion of the spoils of the monasteries, but the date is 1535, at which time processions of the Canons of St. Mary's, with crosses and candlesticks borne before them, were still perambulating the streets of Southwark by express order of the King (Stow's *Chronicle*). It was not until two years later that the spoliation began, and St. Mary Overy, being one of the greatest monasteries, was only dissolved in 1539. The list must therefore belong to the chapel of the Duke's own magnificent house in Southwark, Suffolk Place.

Of about the same date is a list of debts owing to and by the Duke of Suffolk, written in his own hand.

On pp. 453 *et seq.* is a long list of the Duchess of Suffolk's horses, many of them named; then more inventories of clothes, furniture, &c., and one of Lady Wynne's plate, in which she mentions the names of many members of her family.

Amongst various miscellaneous documents is a mediæval

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volume, small quarto, in its old oak boards, containing several treatises written on parchment in double columns. The first two—a *Numerale* and *Speculum Penitentis*—have no author's name given, but through the courtesy of Mr. Cyril Bailey, librarian of Balliol College, Oxford, and Mr. C. W. Moule, fellow and librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who have in their charge undoubted copies respectively of William of Leicester's two treatises, they have been proved to be those of William of Leicester, called de Montibus, Chancellor of Lincoln. The other works are a miracle of St. Werburgh (taken from Goscelin the Monk's life of that saint), and a treatise by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. But the most interesting portion of the volume is a fragment (apparently inserted at the time of binding) of the obituary of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Newhouse in Lincolnshire. Only part of April and May are here, but even in these few weeks, two or three names are given which are not to be found in Hugo's *Annals* or in the Records of the English Houses of the Order edited by Abbot Gasquet.

A volume of considerable interest contains the certificate of the Commissioners appointed to execute Henry VIII.'s commission concerning musters and valuing of men's substance in the Hundred of Babergh, Suffolk.

With the Bertie MSS., although without relation to them, are some interesting papers of the time of James I., referring to the arrest and imprisonment of John Cotton, a Roman Catholic gentleman of Hampshire. He was the son of George, and the younger brother of Richard Cotton, of Warblington, and was related to the Gages, Copleys and Hungerfords.

A portion of the Ancaster collection was calendared some years ago (*Thirteenth Report, Appendix* 6), but so much more material has since come to light that a fresh Report was necessary, and it was thought better to re-calendar this former portion, and unite the whole in one chronological series.

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The papers which form the subject of this report are those preserved in the family of Grimston of Grimston Garth and afterwards of Kilnwick in the East Riding of Yorkshire. With one singular exception they refer to the eighteenth century, and, as here printed, belong for the most part to Vice-Admiral Medley, a relation of the family. The one exception, standing quite alone and without anything to explain its presence, is the remarkable letter on the first page, addressed by "P. C." to the Duke of Gordon. It seems impossible to determine who the writer was, but it may, perhaps, have been Patrick Cunningham, an officer in the army of James II., who was arrested on a charge of high treason and committed to Newgate on April 22nd, 1689; pardoned, January 13th,

1691-2, and on February 12th, 1691-2, given a passport with leave to go to France. The interest of the letter, as written by a warm partisan of the fallen monarch, must be considered as throwing a new and curious light on the domestic situation. Lady Du Cane

But the great bulk of the papers are those of Medley, whose connexion with Grimston brings out a quaint bit of family history.

Henry Medley, born, probably, about 1687, entered the navy in 1703. It is unnecessary to follow his early service in detail, but it is interesting to note that the *Somerset* led the van in the battle of Malaga (August 13th to 24th, 1704), was present at the relief of Barcelona (April 27th to May 8th, 1706), and narrowly escaped being wrecked in company with the *Association* in October, 1707; that in 1708-9, the *Royal Anne* was the flagship of Sir George Byng on the Lisbon stations and in the Mediterranean, and that from 1711 to 1713 the *Stirling Castle* was the flagship of Vice-Admiral Baker, in the Mediterranean and Eastern Atlantic. Towards the end of 1713 the *Stirling Castle* returned to England, and we may suppose that this approximately fixes the date of Medley's marriage. His daughter was born in 1714.

His service as commander of the *Poole*, and as captain of the *York*, and *Leopard* is outlined in the correspondence, though many interesting and important incidents are only just mentioned. Of these, by far the most important, from the historical point of view, is the summary seizure of the ship *Revolution*, at Genoa, which was not only a flagrant violation of the most elementary rights of an independent State, but seems to have been the actual cause of the Pretender's abandonment of the contemplated expedition. The order addressed to Medley by the Lord's Commissioners of the Admiralty is given on p. 12, and others, of a similar purport, were sent to Captain Scott; but though it appears from the papers immediately following that the orders were promptly and fully obeyed, nothing is said of the manner in which the seizure was effected. For this we have to go to the reports by the Foreign Office officials at Genoa.

The orders relating to Low, the pirate, and the account of the search for him and his fellow ruffians, call up the memory of the extraordinary state of things which prevailed in the southern and western parts of the North Atlantic in the years following the peace of Utrecht, when vast numbers of licensed robbers—men of all nations—were, through no fault of theirs, suddenly thrown out of employment. It is only by reference to existing circumstances that we can understand how it was that the pirates met with so much sympathy, not only in the West Indies and the Bahamas, but on the coast of North America, at New York and Rhode Island more especially.

The orders for salutes, the frequent orders to put the ships' companies on three-fourths of the established

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allowance of provisions—"six upon four"—and the circulars printed in abstract, relate to administrative details which, though most familiar at the time, are now most difficult to ascertain. Copies of the circulars were everywhere, but were not preserved, and, naturally, no one wrote of the minutiæ of his daily life. It is only by a rare chance, such as the present, that they can now be recorded.

The circulars on slop clothing show that, from 1706 onward, the seamen were dressed, with some approach to uniformity, in grey faced with red. From the dawn of naval administration, slop clothing for the seamen had been generally—not always—provided; but, with the exception of the green and white liveries of Henry VIII., the colour and pattern of the earlier dress are unknown. Though there was no order compelling the seamen to wear these clothes, it may be assumed that, as no others could be bought on board, and these were to be got on long credit—charged against their wages, which they were glad to make sure of when they could—grey and red became, in fact, a uniform. Of course, the respective captains could and often did insist on a uniform of their own; they dressed their galley's crew in fancy dress—a practice that was kept up, occasionally at least, till within the last fifty years; the men, on joining, were allowed to wear out such clothes as they had, and the purser, while providing the slops according to pattern, provided also, as a private venture, such cloth as his experience showed him the men would take up, to make for themselves. Green baize seems to have been an especial favourite; and to be a capable tailor—in all branches, cutting out, fitting, and sewing—was, even thirty or forty years ago, an essential qualification of "the perfect seaman."

The letters from Hosier at the Bastimentos, in 1726, relate to the blockade of Porto Bello, where the ships' companies suffered so terribly from yellow fever. When we notice how many of them were "at six upon four," or an even still more reduced allowance, and how bad the food was reported to be, we may suspect that the weakened constitution of the men was, in part, the cause of the fearful mortality. The actual fact is widely known, but the policy of the Government in keeping the fleet there has been very generally misunderstood and condemned. It was, of course, the cue of Walpole's opponents, both then and a dozen years later, to represent the whole business as a cowardly truckling to Spain. In reality, all that our Government then required was yielded to the pressure of the blockade; and the loss of some 4,000 men, who so sadly perished, was but trifling in comparison with what the loss might have been, had the Government launched out on an aggressive policy.

The correspondence is silent during the rest of Medley's time as a captain; but with his promotion to flag rank (June 19th, 1744) and his appointment to a command in the Mediterranean, at first as second to Vice-Admiral Rowley and afterwards as

commander-in-chief, the interest of the papers becomes historical in a broader sense, though they continue to give details of naval service not easily to be found elsewhere. Lady Du Cane.

In 1745, the navy was still smarting under the disgrace that had befallen it in the previous year, when—on February 11th-22nd—the fleet, though considerably superior in numbers, had been virtually defeated by the combined fleets of France and Spain; and though it could boast that one of the enemy's ships had been captured and burned, the bitter facts were patent to the meanest intellect that the blockade of Toulon, which had been maintained for nearly two years, was fairly broken, that the enemy's communication with the north of Italy was open, that reinforcements and military stores were being sent into Italy pretty much at their good pleasure, and that the war had taken a new turn entirely favourable to them. Lestock, the second in command on that miserable day, had been sent home under arrest, and Matthews, the commander-in-chief, had followed. There were bitter recriminations, charges, and counter-charges.

Rowley, who had commanded the van in the battle, had, by the recall of Matthews and Lestock, been left commander-in-chief. There was no imputation on his courage, and though the friends of Lestock talked of including him in the charge of misconduct laid against Matthews, it came to nothing.

In these papers this selfishness comes into perhaps unexpected prominence, and gives them a peculiar interest as showing how, in his relations to Medley, the question of prize money hampered the public service, which, in too many instances, was lost sight of in the greed for reward.

The point was that the flag officers got among them one-eighth of all prizes. If there was only one admiral, commander-in-chief, he took to himself the whole one-eighth; but if there was a second in command, he got one-third of the one-eighth, and the commander-in-chief only two-thirds; if there was also a third admiral, the commander-in-chief got a half, the juniors each a fourth of the one-eighth allotted to the flag. The difference was very great, and it can easily be understood that Rowley, who had been previously alone, as commander-in-chief, was annoyed that a colleague should be sent out to deprive him of a large share of the prize money. The irritation did not show itself in the correspondence between the two, which seems amicable enough, but by deeds, Rowley could and did protest against Medley's arrival.

The curious case of Captain Cooper was another development of this quarrel. As he was leaving the station, sore with Medley's refusal to give Morn, his secretary, a warrant as purser of the *Princess Caroline*, Rowley attempted to revenge himself by ordering Captain Cooper to wear a broad pennant as commodore of the first class. As soon as Medley knew of it, he ordered Cooper to haul the broad pennant down, on which Rowley repeated the order, which was again disallowed

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by Medley, and by that time Rowley had quitted the Mediterranean, where he had needlessly prolonged his stay for several months.

All of which is an interesting story of how two admirals could abuse the service for the gratification of their sordid spite. The claim afterwards made by Captain Cooper in respect of his share of prize money, brought up a very curious, probably unique difficulty. On the grounds that his pay as commodore, by the approval of the Admiralty, continued till midnight, though he struck his broad pennant at 1 p.m., he claimed to share as a flag officer in a prize made at 5 p.m. The claim was disallowed, and seems, in fact, to have been contrary to equity; but even at the present time there is no abstract rule for such a case, which—if it occurred—would have to be settled by the Admiralty, on taking into consideration the particular circumstances.

But leaving these purely professional questions on one side, the letters of Thomas Grimston, of Stephen Thompson, of James Henshaw, the navy agent, and of John Le Keux, an official in "the Grievance Office," which seems to mean the Treasury, give a view of naval opinion in London during the "forty-five," and of the Matthews-Lestock courts-martial, which is in many respects novel. The strong feeling against Matthews, which, indeed, was fully justified by the evidence before the court, will be new to many readers. The mention of Capt. Mostyn's court-martial as uppermost in Admiral Vernon's mind is, as far as it goes, a confirmation of the opinion that Vernon was the author of the *Enquiry into the Conduct of Captain Mostyn*.

The suggestion, hinted at rather than made, that the young Pretender's retreat from Derby was due to the overwhelming force we had in the Channel, may be thought an exaggeration, and will certainly be new to many. But we know that the French Government did propose to support the rebellion by a direct invasion of the South of England, and that, in the opinion of the French it was prevented from doing so by the ineptitude of the Duc de Richelieu, though the true reason was very certainly the close guard of the Channel by our home fleet.

The constantly recurring question of the respective rights of belligerents and neutrals here assume a concrete form which cannot but be both interesting and valuable. But it was a curious complication in these that the neutrals were closely bound to one or other of the belligerents; that the Dutch, whilst allies of the English, claimed the right to carry naval stores to French ports—as Toulon, or food stuffs to a blockaded port—as Genoa; that the Neapolitans, almost openly recruiting the Spanish army, and the Tuscans, subjects of the Emperor, equally claimed to pass free to the ports of the enemy. Still, notwithstanding these difficulties, the number of good

prizes made was very great, and largely contributed to the very handsome fortune which the admiral accumulated. Lady Du Cane.

The several letters of Villettes, Maricone and Horace Mann, relating to the operations of war in the valley of the Po, round about Genoa and in Corsica, must be considered as interesting notes to the technical histories of the campaign.

One incident alone of the war stands out as especially English, the story of which is, by inference, a very painful bit of reading. It is impossible even to glance over the letters of Rear-Admiral Byng without remarking their strong resemblance in tone to another very notorious letter of his dated nine years later. The point is that the allies, after crossing the Var, and in their advance on Marseilles, occupied the Isles Lerins, which were still held after they had been forced to retreat; and when they were threatened by the French, who were certainly not likely to tolerate a foreign occupation of islands so clearly French by their situation, Byng was sent with a small squadron to assist in their defence, just as nine years later he was sent to assist in the defence of Minorca. His assistance was absolutely *nil*; and in his letters to Medley, we note the same despondency, the same iteration of inability, the same assumption that the French had taken such measures as must prove fatal to the English cause, which pervaded his letters of 1756, and which, in inducing his inaction, cost him his life. It is impossible now to say whether anything could have been done to prevent the French regaining the islands; it is quite certain that Byng did not attempt even to delay them; and we may be quite sure that there were many officers in the navy fifty years later, when our fleets were again on that coast, who would have at least done something to make the French conquest less easy.

After Medley's death, the interest of the papers is mainly dependent on questions arising out of his will and his estate, especially the lawsuits undertaken by Hardwick and threatened by Cooper. But the great majority of the letters are of purely family interest, and continue till well on into the nineteenth century. It has not seemed necessary or even advisable to notice these, with the exception of those relating to the "Mutiny" at Harrow in 1771, the story of which, though not new, has not been told elsewhere in such full and lively detail.

Among the papers of Vice-Admiral Medley is included a large bundle of French correspondence which the fortune of war threw into Medley's hands. With few exceptions, these letters belonged to M. de Caylus, a knight of Malta and a captain in the French navy, who, in 1745, was appointed Governor of Martinique. When he sailed for his Government, some of his effects were, presumably, left behind, to be sent on afterwards; and among these must have been a box filled with letters—many of them official, from the Comte de Maure-

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pas, *secrétaire de la marine*—of no great importance for the most part, but interesting from the light they throw on the internal history of the French navy in the Eighteenth Century; a history which, in England, at any rate, is very obscure, and of which, even in France, little seems to be known beyond what is contained within the covers of Brun's *Guerres Maritimes.*

With these are mixed up many letters of a more private nature; and added to them a few business letters from merchants at Marseilles to their correspondents at Martinique or Cape Français. It is not absolutely certain that these were all captured at the same time, but the probability is that they were; that after examining them, and possibly retaining any of importance at the moment, Medley had them all tied up together, and that so they remained till now.

And as to the commercial letters, the indication of their capture is happily very clear. They are dated in December, 1745, January, and down to 3rd February, 1746, and all say, practically in so many words, that they are going by the *Vainqueur*, Captain César Martin. M. Ollive, of Marseilles, writing on 3rd of February, does not name the *Vainqueur*, but describes her as a Malouin ship which he and some others have lately bought. The Gulf of Lyons was swarming with Medley's cruisers; and though a year later, they were unable to find the French squadron and convoy returning from the Levant, they succeeded in stopping a merchant ship out of Marseilles, of whose sailing, it may very well be, they had private information. As the *Vainqueur* carried a letter dated 3rd February, she cannot have sailed before the evening of that day. On the afternoon of the 9th she was captured by the *Feversham*, as noted in the latter's log.

M. de Caylus, who here comes into a prominent position, was the second son of Mme. de Caylus, daughter of the Marquis de Villette de Mursay, captain of the 44-gun ship *Assuré* in the actions on the coast of Sicily in 1676.

Mme. de Caylus was left with two sons, the elder, now Comte de Caylus, born in 1692; the younger—Charles de Tubières de Grimoard de Pestel de Lévis—born in 1698, was admitted at a very early age as a Knight of Malta, and appears always as the Chevalier de Caylus. Both of them entered the army; and under the protection of Mme. de Maintenon on the one hand, and on the other of the Duc de Villeroi—between whom and the boys' mother the relations were exceedingly close, if not scandalous—it would have been surprising if their advancement had not been rapid. In the letters of their mother, there are frequent references to the purchase of a regiment for them; and though the editor of the *Souvenirs et Correspondance de Madame de Caylus* has avoided dates as carefully as chronological arrangement, it appears that in 1711 the Comte de Caylus distinguished himself at the head of his regiment in Catalonia; and that in

1714, the old King appointed the sixteen-year-old Chevalier to the command of a regiment of infantry. Lady Du Cane

From their earliest years the difference between the two boys seem to have been strongly marked; the elder, steady and sedate, earning from his mother the name of "*mon Philosophe*;" the younger, on the contrary, wild and boisterous, always in some scrape, or getting out of it. His mother generally speaks of him as "*mon Brindi.*"

In the entire absence of dates, it is impossible to speak with any certainty, but shortly after the Chevalier's return from Majorca he must have gone to Malta, and may have stayed there six or seven or eight years—possibly from 1718 to 1726.

The exact date of his return to France is nowhere stated, but in April, 1727, he exchanged his rank of colonel in the army for that of captain in the navy, and was appointed second captain to M. de Rochallart, *chef d'escadre.* Fifty years before, this intrusion of a soldier into the navy had been common, but at this time it was more rare, and the appointment of Caylus gave rise to a good deal of discontent.

Of the service of M. de Caylus with Rochallart, there is no other mention than that at p. 247; but in the following year, September, 1728, he was appointed to the independent command of the *Nymphe*, for a cruise in the Levant. During the following years, his very nearly continuous service is traced in the letters here printed. For the most part it lay in the Levant. His service on the African coast and the instructions he received as to the Isle of Tabarca, mark a connecting link between the crusade of Louis IX., the failure of the Duc de Beaufort at Jijelli, and the final occupation and conquest of Algeria. The mention of Du Guay Trouin as commanding a squadron in 1731 will come as a surprise to those who only remember his exploits as a corsair in the time of our William III. or the early years of Queen Anne. In fact, however, in 1731 he was only fifty-eight, and sixty-three at the time of his death in 1736.

It is much to be regretted that with these letters we have not also those of Caylus to Maurepas; letters which would have had a great and peculiar interest from the naval point of view.

After 1737 the state of his health and, possibly, also his inclination kept him on shore for nearly three years. The Comte de Maurepas had engaged a new Secretary, M. de Salley, the illegitimate son—according to D'Argenson— of Mme. Desmares, a celebrated actress of the first quarter of the century. Whether that was true or not, we recognise at once that the man had the gift of writing pleasant chatty letters, and his correspondence with Caylus, beginning in June, 1740, at once marks the intimacy which Caylus had permitted him, and gives a new zest to the pages. Salley's letters, in fact, give not only valuable discussions on points of service but also the gossip of the town and court, and notices of new plays and new books. Many of his allusions are, indeed, obscure, and must be so to everyone who has not made a very special and

Lady Du Cane.

exhaustive study of the court life in France during the "harlotocracy"; but on the other hand, many of them illustrate or clear up points in the Memoirs of the Duc de Luynes or the Journal of Barbier. As a theatrical critic, Salley must have been very well qualified, but in respect of literature, his taste is distinctly pornographic. He describes, for instance, *Dom Bougre*—a book which "dame le pion aux auteurs licen-"tieux" as "bon livre, pardieu," "un des meilleurs livres qui "se sait fait dans le genre libertin," and regrets that he cannot get hold of a copy to send his friend. Even this mention of it, however, must be interesting to book-collectors, for it appears that it was first issued in March, 1741, whereas the earliest known edition is of 1745; and the note as to its authors, which accounts for the unique character of their work, is probably new.

To many, the discussion of the question of promotion of naval officers to flag rank will seem among the most interesting in the volume.

About the middle of January, M. de Caylus, as captain of the *Borée*, 64 guns, with the *Aquilon*, 48 guns, and the *Flore*, 28, under his orders, sailed from Toulon for Martinique. The letters here are especially tantalising; for, from the Comte de Maurepas and the King, they lead up to his instructions, which are missing. Neither have we any information as to the object with which he was independently sent to Martinique whilst the Marquis d'Antin was commanding a large fleet in the West Indies. But we know, from other sources, that in D'Antin's expedition, hostility to England was contemplated; and several of the letters here given permit us to believe that the instructions given to Caylus suggested the probability of this. Rémond, in his letters of March 20th and June 1st, seems to take this as a matter of course, and himself expresses an intensely hostile feeling, the more remarkable in the brother of a man whose merit had been cordially recognised in England by his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The rough copies of Caylus's letters betray the same feeling and anticipation of hostility, which alone can explain his account of a meeting with the English squadron after passing through the Straits of Gibraltar. The English were then blockading Cadiz, and necessarily examined every ship—ship of war, especially—that came near. With his mind full of English enmity, the meeting to Caylus would seem to have threatened danger, and he congratulated himself and Maurepas on the "ardeur" of his men. To the English, it was very much a matter of course, and was not even officially reported to Admiral Haddock, the commander-in-chief, in whose despatches there is no reference to it. It is, however, mentioned in the logs of the ships forming the detached squadron under Commodore Martin in the *Ipswich*, from which alone we know the date of the meeting, February 23rd.

So M. de Caylus pursued his way to Martinique, where he presumably carried out his instructions, and where he certainly

laid the foundation of a trade for his private interest. A few months later, on his return voyage, he again met some English ships of war as he approached the Straits. His account of what happened is here given on pp. 295-8. It agrees, as to the main fact, with that written by Captain Barnett, the commander of the English squadron, but differs from it in many particulars, and more especially in the report of the conversation that passed both before the skirmish and afterwards. Lady Du Cane.

We have now no means of saying; but the letters leave little room to doubt that Caylus went to Marseilles to arrange his private business with M. Roux, even if he had not brought home a quantity of merchandise in the *Borée*. We know that he was deeply in debt; that he was worried even by small creditors, and his later history shows that he was quite unscrupulous as to his ways of raising money.

The Comte de Maurepas, however, was his intimate friend, and not only bore him clear of blame, but had him appointed to command the escort of the Turkish Ambassador on his return to Constantinople. His letter and the letters of Pellerin show that there was a good deal of anxiety about the English, who had now established themselves in the roadsteads of Hyères, and might easily interrupt the voyage and do open discredit to the French navy. It was hoped that by sailing at dusk and getting clear of the land before daybreak, Caylus might escape notice; but in case he did not, he was given very clear instructions as to his conduct. They are doubly interesting from their contrast with the orders under which he presumably sailed in January 1741.

M. de Caylus did not, however, succeed in evading the English blockade. Brun tells us that, sailing on August 15th, he met some English ships, and what really took place is told by the log of the *Bedford*, Captain James Cornewell.

On the return of Caylus from Constantinople in January, 1743, his friends had already procured him leave of absence, and he seems to have spent the greater part of the year in Paris, returning to Toulon only in December, when orders were already given to the fleet to prepare for sea. Very few of the letters of this time have been preserved, and, of these, quite the most interesting is that of Père Pousache, a Jesuit who had served with him in the *Zéphire* in the double capacity of chaplain and naval instructor.

In the battle of Toulon M. de Caylus commanded the *Trident;* but though he wrote an account of it to M. de Maurepas, no copy has been preserved. With this battle the correspondence of M. de Caylus virtually ceases.

J. B. FORTESCUE, ESQ.: DROPMORE MSS., VOL. IV.

The confidential letters and documents composing Volume IV. of the Dropmore correspondence relate chiefly to two subjects, one foreign and one domestic, of great historical interest. Those belonging to the series which comes first in point of Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

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date are concerned with the political and military projects and the secret negotiations that led up to the third coalition against France in 1799. The second series deals with the outbreak of civil war in Ireland in 1798, and the abortive attempt of Pitt's Government to pass an Act of Legislative Union through the Irish Parliament in January, 1799. The correspondence on both subjects is so voluminous that the volume embraces a period of little more than sixteen months; extending from the middle of November, 1797, to the renewal of hostilities between Austria and France towards the end of March, 1799.

The close of Volume III. left the British monarchy in a situation as dangerous as it was humiliating. Strenuous national efforts, continued without intermission for five years, to maintain European settlements of vital importance to Great Britain, had resulted in military defeat, an enormous burden of debt, financial embarrassment, impaired credit, political isolation, and popular discontent.

British credit collapsed at the end of 1796, and Austria, beaten in the field and unable to pay her armies, accepted terms dictated by Bonaparte, at Leoben, in April 1797. But the British Government, dissatisfied with the conduct of Austria, sent Lord Malmesbury to Lille to treat on its own account with the French Directory. But while negotiations still proceeded, a successful *coup d'état* at Paris lodged dictational powers in the hands of three Directors representing a small but ruling Jacobin faction, that owed its supremacy to war and the support of armies living on the plunder of conquered countries. These Directors broke up the Conference at Lille in September 1797, by putting forward extravagant demands. Bonaparte dissociating himself from Jacobin policy, in disregard of instructions from Paris, signed the definite treaty of Campo Formio with Count Cobentzl on behalf of the Emperor, in the following October. The Directory did not venture to repudiate an act which nearly all France applauded. But they announced for the coming year the assembling of a great armament for the invasion of England, under the command of the conqueror of Austria.

During the course of 1797, British Consols had fallen to 48; and public confidence had sunk to a point unknown in England since the end of the War of American Independence. Pitt's Budget at the opening of the Session of Parliament in November showed a deficit of 22,000,000*l*. He trebled the assessed taxes; an unproductive measure which deepened the ill-humour of the people. But national spirit rose to repel invasion. Voluntary subscriptions, initiated by the King and his ministers, flowed in freely from all ranks and parties to supply the wants of the Exchequer and arm the country for defence.

The political situation wore its gloomiest aspect when news reached George III. in October 1797, of the approaching death of Frederick William II., King of Prussia. The Prince Royal, heir to the Prussian throne, had been carefully educated in

orthodox principles. His wife, who exercised great influence over him, was a niece of Queen Charlotte. He had always listened with great deference to the political counsels of George's brother-in-law, the Duke of Brunswick, who saw with unconcealed dismay the progress of French arms and opinions in Germany. On these circumstances the English monarch founded a belief, which Pitt and Grenville seem to have shared, that if Brunswick could be persuaded to exert his influence at Berlin at the opening of a new reign for the overthrow of Count de Haugwitz, to whose ascendency the Treaty of Basle and the subsequent inaction of Prussia were ascribed, the young sovereign might be made the chief instrument in forming a Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Austria, Great Britain and Prussia, to accomplish aims for the salvation of Europe, which the defection of his father in 1795 had, in their opinion, done so much to wreck. In the beginning of November they sent M. de Luc, a trusted member of Queen Charlotte's household, on a secret mission to Brunswick, to lay the scheme before the Duke, and enlist his aid. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV

The King, in order more effectually to cloak his political mission to Germany, appointed him Professor of Natural History in the University of Göttingen. Travelling in this capacity, but accredited by a letter from his royal master, and instructions from Lord Grenville, he reached Brunswick late in November, a few days after the arrival of news of the King of Prussia's death; and took counsel with General de Stamfort, a soldier and politician of merit, closely bound to him by private friendship and unity of political purpose, who played a still more prominent part than his own in the negotiations now set on foot.

The friends joined in urging the Duke of Brunswick to go at once to Berlin and rescue from the malign guidance of Count Haugwitz a young prince, of good principles indeed, but utterly without experience in the business of government. The Duke appears to have been a man of unusual ability, both for war and politics, but in temper cautious, even to timidity.

While still debating the subject with de Stamfort, an invitation came to him to attend the funeral obsequies of the deceased King; and the Duke deferred an answer to his brother-in-law until he should have conversed with the leading personages of the Prussian Court.

In this interval of silence reports received by George III. from his Hanoverian envoys at Berlin of the Duke's timid bearing there, and careful avoidance of political discussion, completely dispelled the hopes entertained in England of good effects to be produced by his personal influence over Frederick William III. Haugwitz, in an interview he asked of the Duke, succeeded in altering his unfavourable opinion; and the latter having conferred again with the young King, despatched a messenger to De Luc with a *mémoire* for George III. The circumstances and motives, it declared, which had led the late

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King of Prussia to conclude the treaty of Basle, still operated at Berlin with undiminished force.

The peace party represented at Court by Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of Frederick the Great, and famous for his exploits during the Seven Years' War, and by the military members of the King's household, was now all-powerful at Berlin. And although the principles and views of Frederick William III. were all that could be wished, he could not at once emancipate himself from the influences and conditions that environed him.

The urgent need of the present moment was to deliver the Empire from the French armies now living on it and propagating anarchical opinions, by concluding peace with France on the best terms that could be obtained at Rastadt.

On returning to Brunswick, the Duke spoke freely to De Luc and de Stamfort about the incidents of his visit to Berlin. Count Haugwitz sent the Duke a written statement of his political views, of which the latter gave a copy to De Luc for transmission to Lord Grenville.

The Duke also suggested to De Stamfort and De Luc that they should go to Berlin; the former in the capacity of agent for the Prince of Orange, with the purpose of using the opportunities the appointment would give him of easy access to the King, whose military tutor he had been, to confirm Frederick William in his good dispositions; the latter in the character of a scientific explorer to confer secretly with Count Haugwitz.

Lord Grenville's answer dealt with the various suggestions contained in the Duke's *mémoire* for George III., or thrown out in his conversation with De Luc. It cordially adopted the idea of sending General de Stamfort to the Prussian Court; gave a colder approval to the mission assigned to De Luc, and earnestly besought the Duke not to relax his own efforts at Berlin for the salvation of Europe. A political memorandum in answer to that of Count Haugwitz accompanied this letter.

In that paper Lord Grenville, for the British government, disclaimed any intention of drawing Prussia into war. They desired only to form a Quadruple Alliance, which should settle the conditions of a general peace, and maintain them. They were willing also to enter into a concert with the King of Prussia for the defence of Northern Germany from French aggression; and, if necessary, to grant a subsidy for the purpose. After receiving these communications at the beginning of February, 1798, De Luc, carrying with him a letter of introduction from the Duke of Brunswick, set out for Berlin, ostensibly to collect materials for a scientific treatise, and secretly to present the English memorandum to Count Haugwitz.

The Count gave him a warm welcome; expressed great satisfaction on reading Lord Grenville's memorandum; and discussed the situation of Prussia and of Europe with a frankness and unreserve which had all the appearance of sincerity.

During the following ten days, De Luc lived in complete seclusion, only stealing out at dusk to hold long conferences with the Prussian Minister. The mystery in which he shrouded himself excited the suspicions of the Berlin police; and Haugwitz, in answer to an appeal for protection, paid him a secret visit to instruct him to rid himself of their importunity. Of the conversations that passed at these and many subsequent interviews between himself and the Prussian statesman, De Luc sent detailed statements, either to George III. or to Lord Grenville. His long letters, diffuse in style, and written with pale ink, in a very small but clear hand, appear to have severely tried Lord Grenville's patience, and his eyesight. But they enhance the value of his reports as historical material. In fact, his letters are the only confidential communication from Berlin in Lord Grenville's correspondence which clearly reveal forces and motives underlying Prussian policy, apart from private influences and personal rivalries. They have particular interest on account of the light they throw on the character and conduct of Count Haugwitz, a statesman who acted a leading part on the political stage of Europe from the beginning of the Revolutionary Wars in 1792 to the battle of Jena in 1806. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

When Frederick William had recovered sufficiently to attend again to business, Haugwitz sent De Luc his reply to Lord Grenville. De Luc, being now released from restraint, was writing a report for the information of Lord Elgin, then confined to his house by illness, when he was interrupted by a visit from Mr. Garlike, British Secretary of Legation. Elgin had just seen an announcement in the official Gazette of the arrival at Berlin, some days before, of the Professor of Natural History at Göttingen. At once suspecting some secret practice on the part of Haugwitz, whom he thoroughly distrusted, he sent to ask De Luc to call on him on the following day. The interview seems to have been stormy. Elgin wrote to Lord Grenville complaining of De Luc's secret negotiations as an insult to himself as British Minister. And De Luc having despatched Haugwitz's letter to Grenville, returned to Brunswick to report his proceedings to the Duke, who gave them unqualified approval.

The Duke repeated the same views in a letter to George III. But Lord Grenville supported Elgin, and refused to countenance anything that bore the semblance of double negotiation. He returned Count Haugwitz's letter in order that it might be sent to him through the regular official channel. At the same time he asked De Luc to go back to Berlin to co-operate with General de Stamfort in an effort to win the adhesion of the King of Prussia to a Quadruple Alliance.

De Luc returning to Berlin in the character of a vagrant philosopher, found De Stamfort about to relinquish his mission in despair. Disheartened by unlooked-for neglect, De Stamfort had decided to return to Brunswick. The favour of the Queen of England and the introductions she gave him to members of the House of Mecklinburg Strelitz, placed De Luc on

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an intimate footing at the Prussian Court. At his solicitation Queen Louise induced her husband to receive De Stamfort. But the interview from which so much had been expected, produced no perceptible result.

De Stamfort, looking at the matter through the glasses of Prince de Reuss, saw in the policy of Count Haugwitz, compounded of fear of France and distrust of Austria, the evil influence that counteracted his efforts. He impressed this view on the mind of De Luc; who, in a special audience, at which Queen Louise was also present, implored the King, as he valued the safety of his kingdom and of Europe, not to be guided by the counsels of any single minister, but to form a Council of Ministers to advise him on questions of foreign policy. Frederick William listened patiently to his long harangue, praised his honesty and good intentions, and dismissed him with gracious words. Then seeing that the question of an indemnity for the Prince of Orange, and the estrangement of their envoys from Count Haugwitz, prevented any approach to an agreement of the other conservative powers with Prussia, as desired by the British Government, De Luc returned to London at the end of March, 1798, to explain to George III. the causes of the political deadlock at Berlin.

De Luc's zeal for religion and established order had been stimulated of late by the aggressions of the French Directory, which excited alarm throughout Europe and had brought his native land under Jacobin rule. One French army invaded Switzerland, and, after a prolonged struggle, abolished its ancient constitution, and substituted another of the latest Parisian pattern. With the support of a second French army, a democratic system of the same character was established in Holland. A third army entered Rome, dragged the Pope from the Vatican to a French prison, and converted the Ecclesiastical States into the Roman Republic. By these acts of violence Austria saw the balance of interests lately established by the treaty of Campo Formio, overthrown to her great disadvantage. The King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, near relatives of the Emperor, fearing to be overwhelmed in the revolutionary torrent, appealed to him for protection. Baron Thugut, Imperial Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs, was an implacable foe of the French Revolution. He had disapproved of the treaty of Campo Formio concluded by Count Cobentzl, and had only remained in office at the urgent entreaty of the Emperor, and with the purpose of renewing the war in circumstances more favourable to Austria. Unfortunately provocation came from France before the condition of Austria had much improved.

The resources of the Austrian monarchy had long been exhausted, and its relations with the only power able to supply its needs had become strained to the point of breaking. At the very time when Lord Grenville urged the King of Prussia to enter into an alliance with the Emperor, it appears from a letter written to him by Count Starhemberg on February 18th,

1798, that he meditated withdrawing the British Minister from Vienna. The cause of complaint was twofold: concealment by the Austrian Government of certain articles in her late treaties with France, thought to be prejudicial to British interests; and refusal to fulfil a financial engagement.

It was under these unpromising circumstances that in the beginning of April, Count Starhemberg communicated to Grenville the substance of a despatch he had just received from the Imperial Chancellor. The overtures of the King of Prussia to the Emperor, Thugut wrote, were a perfidious manœuvre of Count Haugwitz. The Austrian Government had declined discussion with that of Prussia, and had referred all matters in dispute between them to the arbitration of the Czar. It was still doubtful whether peace would be made between Germany and France at Rastadt. Even if it were made, the treaty would be worthless, as the aggressions of the Directory could only be restrained by superior force. Such being the case, Thugut suggested that the British and Imperial Governments, having first come to an understanding with each other on certain essential points, should fix the basis of a Quadruple Alliance against France, and propose it for acceptance to the Czar and the King of Prussia. After the proposal had been considered in all its bearings for a fortnight, Grenville replied that the British Government concurred as to the importance of forming a Quadruple Alliance; was in a condition to sustain a prolonged conflict; and would send a fleet to the Mediterranean if the King of Naples would open his ports to it, and the Emperor would undertake to defend him against France. But it declined to discuss the question of a subsidy until the Emperor had ratified the convention of May, 1797; and it declared that confidence could only be restored between the two Governments by a frank disclosure of the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio. While this reply was still on its way, the situation of Austria had become exceedingly critical. A Viennese mob assailed the French Embassy and hauled down the tricolour flag; and the satisfaction he demanded being refused, General Bernadotte, the French resident Minister, quitted Vienna. War being now imminent, Thugut again pressed Grenville for a subsidy; but the British Government would not move from the ground it had taken up. And although the Austrian Chancellor sent an agent named Ransonet to London to try and arrange for the paying of arrears of interest on the Austrian loan of 1795, he flatly refused to ratify the convention of May, 1797. A confidential letter of Starhemberg to Grenville, dated July 8th, 1798, throws light on this attitude of Baron Thugut. It was due, Starhemberg explained, to irritation caused by the peremptory tone of the British Government; to doubt as to the sufficiency of the supplies England would agree to furnish; to fear of provoking France without adequate means of resistance; to a still greater fear that the British Government might insist on a right to control the movements of Austrian armies. If the British Govern-

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ment would only state the amount of subsidy it was prepared to grant, and would pledge itself not to meddle with Austrian military plans, his sovereign, Starhemberg said, would ratify the convention. Grenville in reply merely availed himself of the freedom of a private letter to point another denial by contrasting British honour with Austrian bad faith.

In the meantime George III. had induced the Prince of Orange to renounce all claim to compensation for his losses in Holland, out of secularized domains in Germany. De Luc returned to Brunswick at the end of April, bringing a commission from the Prince to General de Stamfort to announce this renunciation to the King of Prussia and to the Emperor. He also gave Stamfort a letter of instructions from Lord Grenville to endeavour, in discharging his new mission, to bring the great German sovereigns into direct communication with each other, so as to get rid of the rivalry of Haugwitz and Thugut, who represented national animosities and distrust. When De Luc, after a short stay at Brunswick, found himself again at Berlin, everything promised well for the success of English policy. But a change for which the British Government was in some degree responsible suddenly clouded the prospect. The Austrian Government, on failing to obtain a subsidy from England, had found it necessary, in order to avert war, which it could not support, to concede most of the demands made by Bernadotte at Vienna; and to undertake besides to send Count Cobentzl to Rastadt for the purpose of settling with a special envoy of the Directory the more complicated questions at issue between the two powers.

The Conference of the four powers opened on May 28th, with unfavourable auspices. At the first sitting the question of compensating the Prince of Orange by enlarging his Principality of Nassau came up for discussion. Prince de Reuss unexpectedly opposed the suggestion, and debate on it was adjourned. De Stamfort started at once for Vienna to ask an audience of the Emperor. Lord Elgin went in search of health to the baths of Töplitz; and soon after returned to England. The King of Prussia, accompanied by Count Haugwitz, set out on a tour through his provinces. The Duke of Brunswick returned to his capital; and De Luc made an excursion into Saxony for geological investigation.

During the winter and spring, Dundas, as Minister for War, had been strenuously engaged in organizing the national forces to repel invasion. The only enemies, however, he had had to encounter were those of his own political household. He wrote to Grenville on February 12th that if relieved by Pitt from the meddling obstruction of the Duke of Portland's office, "I will in three months hold an invasion in derision; or "rather, I shall devoutly pray for the attempt being made."

Later on, a plan for making the militia more serviceable brought the whole government into conflict with the Marquis of Buckingham.

Lord Buckingham sent Lord Grenville a letter for Pitt,

announcing his intention to oppose this "silly German project" in the House of Lords, and to resign his command if it were carried. Some way seems to have been discovered of pacifying Lord Buckingham, as the crisis passed without further recrimination. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

All Dundas's colleagues in the Cabinet did not share his own sanguine views as to the efficiency of his defensive measures. Windham wrote to Grenville on May 17th. Lord Cornwallis also, in a letter to General Ross, expressed little confidence in plans of defence adopted solely on the advice of the War Minister's kinsman, General David Dundas. Long before these letters were penned, however, all danger of invasion had passed away. Bonaparte had reported to the Directory before the close of February that the miserable condition of the French navy made any attempt of the kind impracticable; and had turned his whole attention to preparations for a magnificent scheme of conquest in the East. Two interesting letters from M. Dolomieu, one of the most distinguished savans of the age, sent to De Luc from Switzerland, and forwarded by him to Lord Grenville, give us some idea of the vast range of scientific research comprehended in the aims of the expedition.

Later on, we have a long narrative, dated October 10th, by Chevalier de Thuisy, one of the expelled Knights, of the capture of Malta by Bonaparte.

That the British Admiralty had to overcome immense difficulties in manning additional ships, before they could so reinforce Lord St. Vincent's fleet as to enable him to detach Nelson with a naval squadron to scour the Mediterranean, is abundantly evident from letters of Pitt and Lord Spencer. A still greater impediment in the way of maintaining a British fleet in the Mediterranean was the want of access to a friendly port for needful supplies and repairs. But a letter from the Queen of Naples to Lady Hamilton, dated June 11th, forwarded to Grenville by Sir William Hamilton, gave assurance of covert help. And soon afterwards a defensive treaty concluded with Austria encouraged the King of Naples to open his harbour to the British navy in defiance of France.

A letter, dated July 31st, to Grenville, from Rufus King, Minister of the American Republic in London, gives some particulars of a rupture of friendly relations between France and the United States. The quarrel was not made up until Bonaparte became First Consul.

The expulsion from Malta of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which he was Protector, had inflamed the anger of the Czar, already kindled against France by earlier aggressions. Towards the end of July he instructed Count Woronzow to make an overture to the British Government for an offensive treaty on the lines of that almost concluded by his mother when she died in October, 1796. Pitt, in a letter to Grenville, eagerly welcomed this proposal. It appears, however, from a letter of Dundas to Grenville, dated August 19th, that doubts, probably suggested by Dundas himself, subsequently arose in

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Pitt's mind as to whether a return to the system of subsidizing foreign powers would be tolerated by the country.

The undated letter addressed to Pitt which Dundas sent Grenville, with Pitt's concurrence, as expressing his own sentiments on the subject, gives us a striking picture of a rapid recovery of national prosperity and public spirit in the course of a single year. But however Pitt may have wavered for a moment, Lord Grenville's policy prevailed in the British Cabinet, only to meet with an unexpected obstacle at St. Petersburg. Within a few days of his arrival at the Russian Court, Count Cobentzl had so worked on the mind of the Czar as to win his support for the two main objects of Austrian diplomacy, in anticipation of war with France. In a letter dated August 30th, Paul instructed Count Woronzow to offer his mediation on the points at issue between Austria and Great Britain, in order that the two powers might act in concert against the common foe. Lord Grenville stated the case of the British Government in a conference with the Russian Minister, on whose friendship he could rely to place it in the most favourable light before his Sovereign. A letter from Woronzow, dated July 6th, besides giving us an interesting sketch of the character of the Czar, traces the origin and growth of this friendship, now firmly established on common ground of patriotic motive and personal esteem.

Count Cobentzl's influence being still in the ascendant at the Court of St. Petersburg, the British answer to his offer of mediation did not please the Czar. Sir Charles Whitworth, the English resident Minister, reported that Paul postponed co-operation with the British Government until it was prepared to enter into concert with that of Austria. And Whitworth took on himself the responsibility of signing a new convention, drawn up by Cobentzl, which deferred discussion as to the mode of repaying old debts, until the question of a subsidy had been settled. This turn of affairs at St. Petersburg, as appears clearly from their letters of October 28th and 29th, placed Pitt and Grenville in a most embarrassing situation. From this strait they were rescued by the good offices of Count Woronzow, who, in despatches revised by Grenville, assured his master that the British Parliament, which made and unmade Ministries at its pleasure, would not permit any new dealing with Austria until old engagements had been fulfilled. Woronzow also saved Whitworth from being recalled, in addition to being disavowed, by warning Grenville that his own recall from London would inevitably follow. And the storm blew over without having any worse effect than a little soreness of feeling at St. Petersburg.

In the meantime news had arrived of the landing of Bonaparte in Egypt. The Porte declared war against France in the beginning of September; the Czar sent a fleet and army to the Sultan's aid; and Lord Grenville took measures for despatching Sir Sidney Smith and Colonel Koehler, an artillery officer of repute who had served in the East, to help the Turks

on sea and land. Intelligence of Nelson's great victory at Aboukir encouraged a spirit of resistance in countries overrun or threatened by French armies; and desponding letters, intercepted at sea, from officers of Bonaparte's army, seemed to presage the entire destruction of his expedition. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV

The Maltese rose against their French garrison, and shut it up in the fortress of Valetta, which a British fleet blockaded by sea.

Naples began to arm openly, General Mack having come from Vienna to organize and lead the levies. A party of Dutch Republicans attached to the old Federal Constitution, which had been lately abolished, applied to the British Government through Rufus King for aid in freeing Holland from a French occupation. But as they insisted on excluding the Prince of Orange from the country, a condition which Lord Grenville would not accept, the negotiation fell through. About the same time hopes inspired by disaffection to the French Government in Belgium were also doomed to disappointment; an appeal from Count Starhemberg to his brother-in-law, the Duke d'Ursel, to organize an insurrection with the support of Great Britain, meeting with no response.

In September, 1798, however, a change that seemed big with the most important consequences came over the policy of Prussia. We have numerous indications of it in letters from M. de Luc and Mr. Garlike to Lord Grenville, from Count Panin to Count Woronzow, and in reports from Brunswick to the Count d'Artois, at Holyrood House, communicated to Lord Grenville through the agency of Lord Minto. The aggressions of the French Directory had thrown the King of Prussia, the Duke of Brunswick and Count Haugwitz into a state of profound alarm for the safety of North Germany. When the conference at Seltze terminated without result, war between Austria and France seemed to be inevitable. And during the Duke of Brunswick's visit to Potsdam in September for the military reviews, he and Haugwitz succeeded in persuading Frederick William that the course of events might soon enable him, without much risk, to take a bolder line for the assertion of Prussian interests. In order to pave the way for the movement contemplated, they had recourse to the resident minister of Russia, Count Panin.

The Duke cautiously inquired of Panin whether in the negotiations for a coalition, the question of new territorial arrangements at the conclusion of peace had been considered. Haugwitz opened his mind more freely in several unofficial conversations. The only object, he said, that could induce Prussia, in the absence of direct provocation from France, to depart from an attitude of neutrality, was the expulsion of French troops from Holland. But even for this object, Prussia would not move until hostilities had actually begun between Austria and France. "It remains to know," he invariably concluded, "what price England attaches to this work; what "help she would give to facilitate it," Panin enclosed a note

Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV. of these remarks in a letter to Count Woronzow, dated October 18th, for the consideration of Lord Grenville. Following close on Panin's letter we have a scheme of operations in Holland for the restoration of the Prince of Holland by the combined action of Great Britain and Prussia, drawn up by the Duke of Brunswick.

It did not, however, suit British purposes in the existing posture of affairs to enter into any separate engagement with Prussia. Lord Grenville wrote to Count Woronzow on November 2nd that it was only by joining to form a Quadruple Alliance that Prussia could derive benefit from the 2,000,000*l.* which was all Great Britain had to give to foreign powers. But he used the information supplied by Panin in drafting new proposals which Sir Charles Whitworth was instructed in a most secret letter, dated November 16th, to submit to the Czar.

Before, however, this communication reached the Czar, news received at Berlin that Austria had opened fresh negotiations with France, through the mediation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and had stopped the Russian army advancing to aid her, checked a growing inclination in the King of Prussia to quit the safe ground of neutrality.

British interests at Constantinople had been hitherto so insignificant as only to require a diplomatic mission of the lowest rank. But Turkey's quarrel with France and alliance with England opened such a prospect of political influence, and so expanded trade to the Levant, that in November Lord Grenville sent Lord Elgin, at his own request, as British Minister to the Sublime Porte, with the rank and appointments he had held at Berlin. Some weeks later Sir Sidney Smith, after many objections had been overcome, started for the Turkish capital in order to concert operations with the Porte and M. Tomara, the Russian resident Minister, before proceeding to take command of a naval squadron then blockading the Nile. His letters to Grenville in January-March, 1799, contain interesting accounts of his reception by the Sultan and other incidents arising out of his mission to the East.

At Naples the presence of Nelson's fleet had thrown the direction of affairs into the hands of the war party, led by the Queen. General Mack taking advantage of the enfeebled and dispersed state of the French army in the ecclesiastical states, crossed the border in November, at the head of 40,000 men, and occupied Rome. The enemy, hastily concentrating under Generals Championnet and Macdonald, drove back the Neapolitans to the line of the Volturno. Though this position was very strong, Mack, losing heart, gave it up on ignominious conditions, and had to fly to the French camp from the fury of his troops. The King and Queen of the two Sicilies embarked by night on Nelson's flagship, and were carried over to Sicily. The Neapolitan army disbanded. The lazzaroni defended Naples with splendid valour; but though they saved the city from being plundered, they could not save the monarchy; and Naples became the capital of the Parthenopian

Republic. Austria, in spite of the Czar's remonstrances, looked on while the Kings of Sardinia and the two Sicilies were stripped of all their Italian dominions. Baron Thugut, not being as yet ready for war, would not allow his hand to be forced. Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV.

On December 30th the Czar replied to Lord Grenville's last proposals. He had spared no effort, he said, to form a strong coalition against France. He approved generally of the territorial settlement recommended by Lord Grenville, but would not limit the Emperor to the recovery of Lombardy lest he should find it more for his interest to come to terms with France. The Pope also, he said, must be restored. He had pressed Austria to defer hostilities no longer; and he declared himself ready to take any further steps for the advancement of their common aims that the British Government might suggest.

Lord Grenville had already despatched his brother, Thomas Grenville, as Minister Plenipotentiary to Berlin to support the Russian proposals. But this mission was much impeded by contrary winds and weather of extraordinary severity. At a first attempt in December to reach Cuxhaven, Mr. Grenville found the German coast completely ice-bound, and the ship, after beating about for nine days on a stormy sea, returned to Yarmouth. A second voyage in the beginning of February proved still more perilous. Floating blocks of ice, swept down the current of the Elbe, caught the vessel and wrecked it on a sandbank. The passengers and crew made their way over a frozen sea to the little island of Nework; and thence, by walking for six hours, in intense frost, through water which gradually rose above their waists, reached Cuxhaven with little loss of life. Mr. Grenville managed to save most of his official papers, but recovered none of his personal effects for some weeks afterwards. When he arrived at Berlin on February 17th, the Czar's proposals were still under the consideration of the Prussian Government; Count Panin having orders to quit that capital if they were not accepted. Count Haugwitz and Count Finchenstein, feebly sustained by the Duke of Brunswick, supported them against the opposition of the King's family and the majority of his advisers, of his personal scruples, and of national sentiment.

During the struggle of parties Haugwitz's supremacy in the department of foreign affairs had been severely shaken. When it became known that he inclined towards a breach with France, the peace party, headed by Prince Henry, which had hitherto given him his staunchest adherents, conspired to overthrow him. A charge of encouraging the patriotic aspirations of Poland brought against Prince Radzivill, who had married in to the Royal family of Prussia, afforded a pretext to the Prince's relatives for accusing Haugwitz of misconduct in office. Count Schulemberg also, an old and able antagonist, whom Haugwitz had supplanted in the post of Foreign Secretary by advocating peace when Schulemberg advocated war, now turned his successful tactics against himself. Haugwitz,

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however, found no difficulty in exculpating himself to the King, but he had forfeited the confidence of powerful classes. And the equivocal conduct of the Austrian Government strengthened the arguments of the peace party, incessantly poured into Frederick William's ear by Colonel Kökeritz, its mouthpiece in the Royal household. Panin, Grenville, De Stamfort, and De Luc earnestly besought the Duke of Brunswick to cast the weight of his influence into the scale of a Quadruple Alliance. But the Duke after several interviews with the King relapsed into a state of doubt; and then Haugwitz, being of pliant disposition and tenacious of office, gave way to please his sovereign. In reply to the Czar's proposal of an offensive concert against France, he brought forward the counter-project of a defensive concert for the protection of North Germany, Sweden and Denmark. The discussions that followed turned chiefly on the significance of the phrase *agir au besoin*.

As Mr. Grenville rejected the idea of paying for such limited co-operation, the negotiation came to an end. Mr. Grenville seems at first to have found consolation for the failure of his negotiation in a belief that the loss of Prussion aid would make Austria more tractable to British demands. But the political attitude of Count Dietrichstein, who came from Vienna as successor of Prince de Reuss, quickly dispelled this illusion. Napper Tandy had arrived at Hamburg in November, 1798; and although a French general, and on neutral ground, had been arrested by order of the Senate and handed over to the British Government. As the Directory threatened vengeance for this insult, the Czar sent a proposal to Berlin that an army composed of Russian, Prussian, British and Danish troops should assemble in the vicinity of the menaced city for its defence. And Mr. Grenville instructed Sir James Craufurd, the resident British Minister, secretly to persuade the principal inhabitants to receive a part of this composite force within their walls. But while Haugwitz gained time by an evasive answer to the Czar's proposal, the citizens of Hamburg spoiled the project by refusing to admit a garrison.

Mr. Grenville could no longer hope to accomplish the principal objects of his mission to Germany. In announcing it to the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville had written: "He (Thomas Grenville) will have, if I mistake not, very much "the glory of signing the overthrow of Jacobin France." He had signed nothing at Berlin; and he saw no prospect of advantage from a journey to Vienna. Instead of a Quadruple Alliance of powers acting in concert to achieve objects determined beforehand, there was only a disjointed sort of Triple Alliance, of which two of the partners were mutually estranged, and shaped their plans in entire independence of each other. Under these circumstances, Mr. Grenville decided to remain at Berlin to watch and, as far as possible, influence the course of events. He vented his chagrin freely, if not altogether

justly, in bitter reproaches against Sir Morton Eden, his colleague at Vienna.

In the meantime hostilities had begun between France and Austria. Baron Thugut's dilatory tactics at length wore out the patience of the Czar, who threatened to withhold his aid if they were persisted in further. And the march of Russian troops into Germany drew a declaration of war from the Directory.

The minor States of Southern Germany appealed in vain to the King of Prussia to include them in the neutral zone protected by his guarantee. A French army commanded by General Jourdan overran them early in March, while another under General Massena invaded the Grisons. But though the French pursued the same system of incessant attack which had carried them everywhere to victory in the last war, it was no longer with the same superiority of numbers and of military skill. The defeat of Jourdan by the Archduke Charles at Stockach on March 25th, followed by the retreat of the beaten army in confusion across the Rhine, was only the first of a series of Republican reverses which signalized the opening of the campaign, and promised a rapid accomplishment of the aims of the coalition.

The Editor has thought it right to give a rather full account of the secret negotiations for the formation of a third coalition against the Revolutionary government in France, because the papers relating to them, now printed for the first time, illustrate a somewhat obscure chapter of modern history. The second long series of letters contained in this volume, concerning the state of Ireland at the close of the 18th century, and the Act of Union, add little of importance to what has been told already in the Cornwallis, Castlereagh, Auckland, Pelham, Wolfe Tone, and other contemporary records, and call for comparatively brief notice. The great majority of them were written by the Marquis of Buckingham to Lord Grenville. Grenville's letters to the Marquis during the same period are sparingly given in the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos's work, *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*

The other papers comprised in this Volume which claim particular attention are:—

(1.) Reports, dated March, 1798, by M. Bornes, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, of conversations in Switzerland with General Carnot, after the revolution of the 18th Fructidor in France.

(2.) A letter from Mr. Dundas to Lord Grenville, dated July 21st, 1798, relating to the establishment of a military college for the education of British officers under the superintendence of General de Jarry, a distinguished French strategist, of whose services mention is made in the Introduction to Volume III.

(3.) Letters from Lord Mornington, dated November 18th,

Dropmore MSS. Vol. IV. 1798, and February 21st, 1799, discoursing familiarly to Grenville of his conduct and policy during the first year of his term of office as Viceroy of India.

Vol V. The papers contained in Volume V. relate almost exclusively to the campaigns of 1799 between the forces of the European Powers forming the Third or, as it is sometimes called, the Second Coalition, and those of Republican France. They are a frank revelation of the policy of the British Cabinet, its hopes, fears, projects, efforts, and failures, in connexion with the important events crowded into seven months, from the end of March to the end of October, of that year.

Paul I., Czar of Russia, had no material interests to serve by waging war against France. But coveting the glory of being everywhere acclaimed as the champion of conservative principles and the saviour of Europe, he yielded to appeals from the Emperor Francis II. and George III.; and spared no effort not only to bring the King of Prussia into the Coalition, but to strengthen it by reconciling the estranged Governments of Austria and Great Britain. Frederick William III., however, clung tenaciously to the neutral policy adopted by his father in 1795. And Lord Grenville, with Pitt's support, refused to subsidize or enter into concert with Austria, until the financial convention, signed in London in 1797, had been ratified at Vienna. The matter in dispute was apparently of little real importance. Austria acknowledged her debt; Great Britain did not ask for immediate repayment. But angry reproaches, wounded pride, mutual resentment and suspicion aroused by diplomatic methods, had magnified what seems to have been little more than a formality into a point of national honour, on which neither party would give way. The consequence was that, at the breaking out of war, France found herself confronted by a coalition so loosely constructed as to afford little promise of long life. It was a triple league, of which the Czar was centre and connecting link; his allies, the Governments of Austria and Great Britain, forming plans in concert with him but without communication with each other; each intent on pursuing a line of action against the common enemy according most with its particular views and interests.

Lord Grenville, partly in deference to his brothers' complaints from Berlin, sent Lord Minto to replace Sir Morton Eden at Vienna, with some expectation of being able to influence Austrian counsels through a stronger minister. But he seems to have much underrated the danger to the Coalition likely to result from his own antagonism to the Imperial Chancellor, Baron Thugut, on whose position and character foreign letters included in the correspondence throw considerable light. Thugut having acquired complete ascendency over the mind of the Emperor Francis II., exercised absolute control over the armies, as well as the policy of the Austrian Monarchy. Even Archduke Charles, the Emperor's brother, and already reputed the ablest Austrian commander since Prince Eugene,

seems to have been during this campaign, however unwillingly, a mere puppet in his hands. And he pursued his plans with a silent and stubborn tenacity which all remonstrances of an unfriendly or interested character only served to harden.

From the very beginning of the war, and even before Russian succours reached the scene of hostilities, the Austrian generals and armies showed decisive superiority over those of France. Archduke Charles defeated General Jourdan at Stockach and drove his army in headlong confusion across the Rhine. Then passing into Switzerland he dislodged Massena from fortified positions which seemed to defy attack. In Italy the Austrian General Kray opened the campaign by a brilliant victory over General Scherer at Magnano. Immediately afterwards Marshal Souvarow entered the field with a body of Russians and assumed supreme command of the allied troops. Marching from triumph to triumph he routed in succession the three French armies of Moreau, McDonald, and Joubert, captured the fortresses of Alessandria and Turin, and expelled the French from the entire peninsula, with the exception of the City of Genoa and a few positions on the Maritime Alps. These splendid successes changed the face of the political situation, and stimulated the hopes and efforts of all the enemies of France. Even the King of Prussia allowed Count Haugwitz to resume the discussion of a project, proposed earlier in the year by Mr. Grenville, of joint intervention in Holland for the restoration of the House of Orange. But the British Government distrusting the King's timidity—and justly, for soon after he suffered the French Directory to entangle him in an elusive negotiation—now framed bolder plans, embracing the same object, but based mainly on the co-operation of the Emperor Paul. These, as unfolded and discussed in Lord Grenville's correspondence with his brother, resolved themselves into three distinct series of military operations: (1) A joint expedition of British troops and Russians in British pay, to recover Holland and Belgium from France, and restore the Prince of Orange as ruler of the whole Netherlands, or of the Dutch Republic only, as riper knowledge and experience might determine, but on terms exceedingly advantageous to Great Britain. (2) The assembling in Switzerland of a larger army, composed of Russians, Swiss, Wirtembergers, and Condé's corps of *émigrés*, also in the pay of Great Britain, but under the command of Marshal Suvarow, who had nearly finished his work in Italy. (3) Later in the year, when the Netherlands had been conquered, the landing of a strong body of British and Russian troops in Brittany, to capture and destroy Brest, and aid a Chouan revolt which Georges Cadoudal was organizing with funds supplied from the British Treasury.

The first of these enterprises, requiring the co-operation of the Russian Emperor only, moved smoothly forward through all its preparatory stages. Paul granted a contingent of 18,000 troops, and procured from the King of Sweden an offer of 6,000 more, which the British Government declined. The

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Hereditary Prince of Orange, who had been living at Berlin in constant communication with the adherents of his House in the Dutch Republic, repaired to Lingon. With full powers from his father at Hampton Court, and money furnished by Mr. Grenville, he despatched trustworthy agents to all parts of the Netherlands to rally and organise the Orange party, collect information, and arrange for simultaneous risings when the time for action should have come. Their reports left no doubt of a general desire among the people of every shade of opinion to rid themselves of the oppressive yoke of France; of disaffection in the Dutch army and navy; of the reduction of the French garrison to a mere handful of troops; of the hopeful activity of the Orange party, and the discord and deep discouragement of the party in power. To muster the troops and provide means of transport for them would require many weeks. But neither Lord Grenville nor his brother seems to have entertained a doubt that, should existing conditions hold good for that period, the occupation of the entire Netherlands by a powerful Anglo-Russian force, boldly led, would be rather a triumphal march than an arduous military operation.

The Czar also readily adopted the British plan of campaign in Switzerland, pressed its acceptance at Vienna, and sent a body of Russian troops to Zurich, under the command of General Korsakow. In this plan Austrian co-operation was an essential ingredient. Baron Thugut at first raised no difficulty. Suvarow's victories in Italy had excited to a very high pitch the jealous anger of the Austrian generals under his command. The Marshal, finding his orders disobeyed, his plans thwarted, and his Russian troops, which had borne the brunt of the fighting, reduced to a mere remnant, complained to his sovereign of the slights put on him, and asked to be recalled. His letter and a disposition already shown by the Austrian Government to aggrandize itself in Italy at the expense of the Pope and the King of Sardinia, whom the Russian autocrat had taken under his protection, incensed Paul. Sharp remonstrances from the Russian Chancellor Rostopchin to Count Cobentzl greatly perturbed the Court of Vienna. And in his anxiety, as it would appear, to remove Suvarow from Italy, without any rupture of friendly relations with an imperious ally, Thugut acquiesced in the British plan of campaign. Assured, as he thought, on this point, Lord Grenville sent back Mr. Wickham as British Minister in Switzerland to reopen communications with the Royalists of Eastern France, and hasten the enrolment, already begun, of 20,000 Swiss. Later on, he despatched Lord Mulgrave as military commissioner to the Russian headquarters at Zurich, to bring Suvarow or Korsakow, as the case might be, into concert with the Archduke, and to take command of the Swiss levies; and he held Count d'Artois in readiness to join Suvarow at the opportune moment. Hardly, however, had the Russian Field-marshal been ordered to march

into Switzerland, when Baron Thugut began to show his hand. having been refused a subsidy, and even concert, by the British Cabinet, he seems to have resolved to reserve Austrian armies as much as possible for the accomplishing of Austrian aims, and, where these were not involved, to allow armies subsidised by Great Britain to bear the brunt of the war with France. With this view he had checked the Archduke's advance in Switzerland, and kept him inactive for two months. On several important points Austrian policy clashed with that of Great Britain. The Court of Vienna had lost all sympathy for the Royalist cause in France. It disliked the French princes, and would not risk a man or a florin to make the Count of Provence Louis XVIII. Neither was it willing to abandon Belgium, which had been for so long a period a possession of the Emperor, and where he still had powerful partisans, to be disposed of as the British Cabinet might determine. Under the pretext that Suvarow's army alone would be strong enough to expel the French from Switzerland, Baron Thugut suddenly announced the intention of withdrawing the Archduke's army to protect Germany against a French attack, recover the fortress of Mayence, and, as Lord Grenville surmised, open the way for an Austrian occupation of the Netherlands. It was in this manner, he declared, that the Emperor could give most effectual support to the movements of his allies. Even if all the other conditions of the British plan had been fully satisfied, this decision must have proved fatal to it, Massena's army having been largely reinforced. But the Swiss recruiting had failed. Owing in a great measure, as Wickham reported, to the faults of British officers employed as commissaries, 2,000 men only out of 20,000 had been enrolled. The Wirtembergers had not arrived. The effective strength of Korsakow's Russian army did not exceed 40,000 men. Lord Mulgrave on reaching Zurich found that military rivalries had already spread from Italy to Switzerland, Austrian and Russian generals being on terms that almost forbade any hope of cordial co-operation. While he laboured to improve their relations, the Archduke, in obedience to orders from the Austrian War Office, moved off to Mayence, leaving General Hotze with an Austrian division in the Grisons, as a link of connexion between Suvarow and Korsakow. Massena, seizing his opportunity, fell with superior force on the armies of Korsakow and Hotze, routed them completely, and sent them flying in wild confusion into Germany. The Archduke hastened back to repair these disasters only to find them irreparable. Suvarow crossed the St. Gothard by forced marches only to find the Austrian positions and magazines on which he counted for support, in the hands of the French. He extricated himself from the trap into which he had fallen unawares, by a wonderful retreat over frightful passes, amidst almost incredible hardships and privations, to Coire; and skirting Lake Constance, joined the wreck of Korsakow's army. A letter from Mr. Wickham, dated September 30th, describes the earlier incidents of the

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battle of Zurich, of which he was an eye-witness. Other letters from him of later date, most of which, having been published by his literary executors, are not included in this volume, give accounts of Marshal Suvarow. The eccentricities and occasional roughness of the famous old warrior seem to have shocked Mr. Wickham's sense of propriety, and clouded his judgment.

While reverses thus tarnished the arms of the Coalition in Switzerland, the Anglo-Russian expedition made little way in Holland. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with the leading British divisions, after tossing about for a fortnight on the North Sea, beaten off by contrary winds from more eligible points of the Dutch coast, had effected a landing at the Helder towards the end of August. A fleet of Dutch warships in the Texel, on being summoned by Admiral Mitchell, hoisted the Orange flag and surrendered. Dutch soldiers deserted in bands, growing larger every day after the arrival of the Hereditary Prince at the Helder. General Brune, the Republican Commander-in-Chief, had as yet under his orders only a small body of French soldiers, the only troops on whom he could count with any confidence. But contrary to the intention of the English ministry, Abercromby, although reinforced by 10,000 Russians, remained strictly on the defensive for another fortnight, until the arrival of the Duke of York with other divisions brought up the strength of the invading army to a total of 48,000 men. It had been decided in England that four or five thousand of these should be detached from the main body to aid insurrections in Groningen and Friesland. But this design was not carried out. Nor were six thousand Dutch deserters, who joined the Hereditary Prince, turned to any use, no vessel being available to transport them across the Zuyder Zee. After the Duke of York's arrival there was another considerable pause for preparation, during which Brune's army continued to grow in strength and in power of vigorous resistance. Then followed nearly three weeks of alternate advance and retreat along a narrow neck of land, resulting in a convention which allowed the Duke to return with the allied troops to England, on conditions which gave it, in Lord Grenville's view at least, too much the character of a capitulation.

Thomas Grenville had left Berlin in the beginning of September to aid the Hereditary Prince of Orange in organising revolt in the Provinces of Groningen and Friesland; and thence proceed to Holland as British Ambassador Extraordinary to take charge of the political objects of the Anglo-Russian expedition. The sudden departure of the Hereditary Prince from Lingen to the Helder partly upset his plans. Want of certain intelligence from England or Holland, owing partly to adverse gales, kept him for many weeks in painful suspense at Hamburg. And contrary winds delayed his passage for some weeks more from Emden to Holland. His letters during this trying period betray the feelings of astonishment and dismay which the dilatory tactics of the

British generals seem to have excited in all well-wishers of the expedition. The staunchest friends of the House of Orange in the two provinces most faithful to it, Friesland and Groningen, refused to run any risk so long as the armed aid they had been taught to look for was withheld. Other letters contain passing references to General Brune's activity and decision in turning to account every available means of defence. His resolute energy saved a situation which, in the beginning, had seemed to men of all parties desperate. Mr. Grenville only reached the Helder to learn that the Anglo-Russian army was about to evacuate Holland, and he returned at once to England. In a letter to Mr. Dundas, dated October 28th, Lord Grenville protested against the ratification of an article of the convention signed in Holland by which the Duke of York conceded the release of some thousands of French prisoners whom he had not taken, as exceeding the powers of a general-in-chief. Dundas, however, as Minister for War, assumed the responsibility for giving more palatable advice to the King. Dropmore: MSS. Vol. V.

When active hostilities ceased at the end of October, 1799, France had lost Italy, but remained mistress of all the Netherlands, and of Switzerland. Internal discord had already brought the Coalition to the verge of disruption. On the other hand, it was very doubtful whether the French Directory, incapable, divided against itself, bankrupt, and representing only a small minority of the French nation could continue to wage a most unpopular war. The determining fact of the situation, Bonaparte's return to France, was still unknown in England; and for a long time after it became known there, was very imperfectly appreciated.

The Appendix to this volume contains two confidential reports from Mr. Liston, British Minister at Stockholm, of considerable historical interest. They relate to the assassination of Gustavus III., King of Sweden, and the Regency of his brother the Duke of Sudermania; and came to light after the publication of the volume to which they belong chronologically.

DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WELLS.

The chapter library at Wells consists of a long gallery above the eastern cloister, built during the fifteenth century, largely from a bequest made by bishop Bubwith. From the south transept of the cathedral a spiral staircase leads to the vestibule, which contains an overflow of books, several show cases, and other exhibits. Next is the library proper, with books in presses, upon most of which may be seen sockets intended to receive the iron rods to which each volume was once chained. At the further end is a square chamber, in which are now kept the manuscripts and muniments of the dean and chapter, consisting of:— Dean and Chapter of Wells.

Series i.—Original deeds, 835 in number, ranging in date from 958 to 1680 A.D.

Dean and Chapter of Wells.

Series ii.—Original papers, 86 in number, dated 1680-1812.
Series iii.—Other papers, 251 in number, dated 1510-1779.
Series iv.—Miscellaneous papers, of various dates to the present time, collected by the present librarian.

Register Books: *Liber Albus* i and ii, and *Liber Ruber*, of which a description is given below.

Chapter Acts.—The series begins with the second section of the *Liber Ruber*, which covers the period 1487-1513. It is continued from 1571 to 1644, and again from 1664 to 1743, in ten volumes of Act Books. Others of later date than 1743 are in the keeping of the chapter clerk.

Ledger Books. These volumes, 15 in number, extend from 1535 to 1813. They contain principally a register of leases granted by the chapter, with some other entries.

Ministers' Accounts—

The Communar: in 35 rolls, 1327-1652, continued in books to the present time.
The Escheator: in 36 rolls, 1372-1560.
The Master of the Fabric: in rolls, 1390-1589, continued in books to the present time.

Court Rolls. Halmote Books.

The manors of the dean and chapter: various dates, 1690-1713. (1 vol.)
The manors of the vicars choral: 41 Elizabeth to 12 James I.
Note of registers [registrars] sworn before Henry Bonner, J.P.
A Register of Marriages, 1653-1656, before Henry Bonner at Waston.
Matter of a different character at the other end.

Miscellaneous paper documents; including office copies, bundles of vouchers, etc.

Also the following manuscript books:—

Dean Cosyn's MS. Collections, 1506.
Bishop Creyghton's MS., "*Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis "Wellensis*," seventeenth century, annotated by Canon Robert Wilson in the eighteenth century.
Nathaniel Chyle's MS. "History of Wells," *circa* 1680.
A book containing copies of the charter of Queen Elizabeth, Bishop Bekinton's rules for the choristers, and new statutes of Henry VIII., signed by Thomas Cromwell as vicar general.
Archdeacon Archer's MSS., eighteenth century.
Chronicon Wellense, sive Annales.
Note Book.
The Long Book.
Rev. Richard Healy's MSS., seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Jenkyns MSS., in 3 volumes, eighteenth century; compiled by Canons John and Richard Jenkyns. Dean and Chapter of Wells.
Canon Payne's Note Book, eighteenth century.

The library contains also some theological MSS., such as a copy of the Vulgate in a very minute hand (wanting Genesis, i-xxv); two large books dated 1514 and 1517, with illuminated first pages and initials, the work of Peter Einauge (Petrus Magius Unoculus), presented to Hayles Abbey by Sir Christopher Urswyke, high almoner to King Henry VII., in memory of Sir John Huddleston, whose executor he was, the first a Psalter, the other a Latin version of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom on St. Matthew's Gospel; *Isidori Junioris Etymologiarum Liber*, an early copy, it is said, of an Exeter MS.: and legal books, such as Clarke's *Praxis*, 1596 (two copies), one entitled *Brevia*, with forms of writs, others containing legal forms, procedure, etc.

This valuable and interesting collection of manuscripts has long engaged the attention of the Commissioners. Many years ago the late Mr. Henry Thomas Riley was deputed to visit Wells on their behalf, and he printed (*First Report*, 1870, Appendix, pp. 93, 94) a brief description of the Registers and of a few other MS. books. After a subsequent visit, he added (*Third Report*, 1872, Appendix, pp. 350, 351) a catalogue of some of the original deeds, which had been, he reported, "brought to light since his previous visit." Mr. Riley also examined and briefly reported on the archives of the bishop's registry, the corporation of Wells, and the college of vicars choral.

In 1885 the Commission issued a further and more detailed *Report on the MSS. of Wells Cathedral*, in a separate volume of 373 pages with an index. This report necessarily treated the materials in a very summary manner. Whole classes of documents were represented by a few brief extracts; and even in those calendared many details of general interest had to be omitted, while of some instruments a mere heading was all that could be given. This Report being out of print, it was decided not to reissue it, but to publish instead fuller abstracts of a part at all events of the collection. Accordingly the present volume contains a calendar of the register books, properly so called. The original intention was to include with them a catalogue of the original deeds now in possession of the dean and chapter; but owing to considerations of space it has been found advisable to hold these over for the time being.

The register books of the dean and chapter are three in number, commonly known, from the colour of their covers, two of them as *Liber Albus*, the third as *Liber Ruber*. For the sake of brevity, they are referred to by numbers, in the order of their date, namely as R. I (*Liber Albus* i.), R. II (*Liber Ruber*), and R. III (*Liber Albus* ii).

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Liber Albus I. (*R. I.*) is a parchment book of 292 leaves, bound in oak boards, and named from its white cover. The contents range in date from the reign of Edward the Confessor to 1393. At the beginning is inserted an index by Mr. Healey.

This book was evidently begun as a chartulary, and the earliest entries are the charters with rubricated numbers and titles, copied in a fair engrossing hand of the thirteenth century. The scribe did not, however, cover all his parchment, but (besides the fly leaves) left sometimes part of a page, sometimes the back of a leaf, sometimes several leaves in succession; and these blank spaces have most of them been since filled, partly with copies of other documents, some in similar writing, others in a later hand, partly also with contemporary memoranda in a small current hand. Seeing that none of the rubricated charters seem to be later than 1240, while those with interpolated numbers in black bear date 1242, and the earliest dated memorandum is of 1246, we may with confidence infer that the book itself dates from 1240 or very shortly after. The remaining part of this register was gradually filled from time to time with matter of a more miscellaneous description, including many acts of the dean and chapter, and at one place a number of public charters and statutes. The book was kept, it appears, during the fourteenth century at all events, by the chancellor, who acted as registrar.

Liber Albus II. (*R. III.*) is a larger book with similar cover, written on vellum. On a fly leaf are certificates shewing that the register was produced in court on several occasions. Next comes a list of the contents, covering 10 folios, after which has been inserted an index by Mr. Healey. The register consists of 451 leaves; but ff. 313-328 are of different material to the rest, some of them cut, pieced and restored, and the last quire (f. 449 to the end), being again of different material and in a different hand, would seem to be an addition. The entries appear to have been written consecutively for the most part, not by a single hand, but in a fairly uniform script of about 1500. Handwriting of a different type however will be found on f. 448, and again from f. 449 to the end. The contents range in date from the eighth century to the end of the fifteenth, the supplement dated 1529 on f. 164 being apparently an interpolation.

As a chartulary, this volume covers a good deal of the same ground as R. I, but contains much new matter besides. Wanting the chapter acts and proceedings of the former register, we have here many additional charters, some of very early date, a number of papal documents, all defaced at the time of the Reformation, but fortunately still legible, perambulations of the Somerset forests, and custumals of several manors belonging to the dean and chapter, another copy of which Mr. Riley seems to have found in a book kept at the bishop's registry. In this register again may be observed a more or

less systematic attempt at classification or grouping of subject matter. Thus deeds relating to Pucklechurch, Winscombe, Warminster, Shipham (with which some Chippenham deeds are mingled in manifest confusion), Stogursey, Whitchurch Canonicorum and other properties will be found together. One section contains a number of pardons and other patents, another consists of the custumals already mentioned, another of institutions of vicarages, another again of daily masses founded in the cathedral, while a number of apparently miscellaneous deeds occurring together towards the middle of the book have this in common that under each of them some rent or pension is payable to the church of Wells.

Liber Ruber (*R. II.*) is a volume named again from its cover, which is now of dark red morocco of no great age. Next to the oak boards the binders have placed eight leaves and four strips of parchment (four leaves and two strips at each end), covered with writing in a book hand probably of the thirteenth century, with capitals in four colours. The last four leaves are cut along the upper edge. Examination shews that they once formed part of a *collectarium*; and mention may be made of two English saints, St. Aidan and St. Ceolfrid, whose names are found on the sixth leaf in the collect immediately preceding that for St. Denis (October 9).

This volume consists of two separate books bound together. Section i, dating from the fourteenth century, is a parchment book, or rather a collection of 77 parchment leaves of different sizes and two strips of parchment sewn together, an index on paper by Mr. Healey being first inserted. In it is found a list of the rubricated charters in R. I, and a number of deeds and statutes, together with a collection of cases, visitation rolls, and other materials bearing especially upon certain vexed questions of jurisdiction. These belong, most of them, to the first half of the fourteenth century; but a later entry will be noticed on f. 30. The order to compile a new chartulary, which is found among the statutes of 1331, was perhaps never carried out; at all events no such chartulary is known to exist, or to have ever existed.

Section ii, not dealt with in this calendar, is not a register but a book of acts of the chapter. The acts extend from the year 1487 to 1513.

In this calendar instruments known to be already accessible in print are in most cases noticed somewhat briefly, references being added to shew where a fuller text may be found. It happens again not infrequently that the same instrument is repeated, sometimes in all three register books, most often in R. I and R. III, occasionally more than once in the same register. In such instances the plan here followed has been to print an abstract at the first place where the entry occurs, collating the text of other copies, noting their variations, if

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any, and appending exact references to them, and to omit all notice of it on the later occasions. Exception has been made in the case of one or two mutilated copies which are found later in more perfect condition, and in that of a few charters in R. III, grouped with others bearing upon the same subject, where for completeness' sake a short notice is given with a reference back to the fuller abstract.

The three books are, on the whole, in good condition, and most of the text is not difficult to decipher. Exception must however be made in regard to portions of R. I, where the writing is small and the ink faint. One entry on f. 97 is completely gone, and so is another on f. 99. Just a leaf or two has been torn. Passages will be noticed which proved illegible, wholly or in part, others in which a word or words are lost. There are a few also in which the text is manifectly corrupt. The later copyist is caught tripping in regard to proper names, as when he misread Maurice de Creon and gave Oreover instead, and also in regard to capital letters, writing Oxford for Exeter, spelling Lodhuish with a D, and chief justice Belknap with the same initial, or calling the same person Bele on one page and Gele on another. There are one or two more names about which he was apparently unable to make up his mind. Other difficulties of interpretation may perhaps occasionally be due to some error of the kind.

The contents of these registers are of very varied interest. On the one hand they furnish a history of the cathedral body in its internal and external relations; on the other they are a mine of information upon local history, while at the same time they afford constant illustrations of mediæval life in its different aspects, social and ecclesiastical. Much may be learned here about the rich pasture lands of the Somerset levels, their drainage, water rights and enclosure, with occasional estimates of the value of labour and of live stock. We read of vain attempts to establish a market town on the edge of the marshes at North Curry, and a port upon the Axe. We have also many notices of monastic institutions, and still more of the parish churches of the diocese, as well as of a few outside. Nor are materials for manorial history lacking. Of Combe St. Nicholas there is a conveyance from the Edwardian tenant named in Domesday. Those whose concern is with local families will find much to their purpose, as for example a correction of the Stourton pedigree, a clue to the true origin of the Rodneys, and a very remarkable hint as to the early history and connexions of the powerful house of the Marshals.

But the main interest centres in the church of Wells. Here may be traced its growth from the comparatively small and obscure community of bishop Giso into a rich and important body, after the new constitution of bishop Robert, and the benefactions lavished upon it especially in bishop Joscelin's time. The neighbouring churches of Bath and Glastonbury, with their wealth and prestige, were formidable rivals. No doubt

as a counterpoise to the latter, efforts were made to set up a local shrine, and secure a saint of their own, by the canonisation of one of their bishops. Unfortunately, while a general statement of his claims to the honour was copied in the register, the schedule of miracles performed at his tomb was not. Questions arose from time to time with rival churches, with the bishop, the crown, and with Rome: domestic differences, questions of jurisdiction, pecuniary troubles, difficulties of discipline. Like other churches, Wells suffered under the increasing burden of the papal provisions. Separate communities, such as that of the vicars choral, grew up in time under the shelter of the cathedral. Of all this, and much besides, details will be found in the Calendar. Dean and Chapter of Wells.

AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ROYAL INSTITUTION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The American Manuscripts preserved at the Royal Institution, London, sometimes spoken of as the Carleton or Dorchester Papers, are, briefly, the Headquarters Papers of the successive British commanders-in-chief in the American War of Independence. American MSS. at the Royal Institution: Vol. I.

The complete collection comprises 58 bound volumes and four cases or rolls—62 in all.

The larger portion of these manuscripts concerns the later period of the war, more than one-half in reality being dated in the years 1782 and 1783. This is probably accounted for by the large number of accounts, returns, lists, pay-rolls, pay-warrants and similar papers, which in that period of the suspension of hostilities pending negotiations for peace might naturally accumulate in the hands of the last commander, Sir Guy Carleton. The earlier papers, during the command of Sir William Howe, are largely copies or duplicate signed letters, which, it is supposed, on his leaving America in May, 1778, he transferred to his successor, Sir Henry Clinton. With Sir Henry Clinton's appointment, Philadelphia was abandoned and the army established at New York, which, from that date (June, 1778), remained its Head Quarters till the last of the British troops sailed thence in December, 1783.

While the official correspondence of the Commander-in-Chief with the Secretary of State and with the War Office is also in the Public Record Office, his instructions to his subordinate officers and their letters to him are not generally found elsewhere than in this collection, and afford many valuable and interesting details of the war. As the Southern Colonies remained longest in the British interest, and were the great hope of the Government, the correspondence is largest with the commanding officers of the different posts there. Colonel or Brigadier-General Augustine Prevost being commander of the forces in Florida dates his correspondence first of all from

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Saint Augustine; afterwards, being ordered to co-operate with Lieut.-Col. Archibald Campbell and Captain Hyde Parker in the military and naval expedition to capture Savannah, Georgia, in the winter of 1778-9, he successfully effected the junction and established himself in that garrison, maintaining it against the combined attack of the Americans under General Lincoln and the French under Comte D'Estaing in the autumn of the same year. Georgia was reckoned amongst the most loyal of the colonies, and was the only one in which the royal civil government was actually re-established, the Governor (Sir James Wright) and the crown officers being sent over from England to resume their functions. The letters of both Prevost and Wright are continual requests for military reinforcements.

The third expedition to the southward, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person and by Admiral Arbuthnot, which sailed from New York for Charlestown, South Carolina, in December, 1779, and from which Sir Henry returned in June, 1780, leaving Earl Cornwallis in command, opens up correspondence with that general and with Major-General Alexander Leslie, Lord Rawdon, Lieut.-Colonel Alured Clarke, and other officers. The letters from or to Earl Cornwallis are largely repeated in the Public Record Office or are printed in the two volumes edited and published some years ago, entitled "The "Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy, or, The Campaign in "Virginia, 1780-1781." After the surrender of York Town, General Leslie was appointed, in October, 1781, to take command of "all hitherto held by Earl Cornwallis," and the letters written by him from Charlestown are especially interesting.

There are many letters and papers referring to the evacuation of Charlestown, where Leslie remained till towards the end of 1782, the post being finally occupied by the Americans on the 17th December.

The correspondence with West Florida is maintained with Brigadier-General John Campbell, who commanded there, and with the Governor, Peter Chester, till, in May, 1781, Pensacola was obliged to surrender to the Spanish General, Don Bernardo de Galvez. General Campbell was allowed to sail to New York and there are numerous papers relative to the adjustment of accounts and payment of the Waldeck and Provincial troops which had served with him, as well as to a dispute with Galvez over the detention of prisoners. There is a curious Spanish document from Don Bernardo conferring upon an Indian Chief a commission and decoration with the small medal of merit. It is written on parchment with a painted red and yellow border and a brilliantly coloured coat of arms, two sides, wherein may be easily recognised the castle and lion of Spain.

Governor Patrick Tonyn, of East Florida, appears indefatigable in his efforts to save his province for the King; and in 1778 and 1779 particularly, to defend St. Augustine from threatened attacks of the Americans and Indians, his corps of

Rangers being a continual bone of contention with the military authority—Brigadier Prevost. In later years his labours to make the province an asylum for the homeless or propertyless loyalists of North and South Carolina and Georgia are well shown in this collection.

To the north of New York the main post was of course Halifax, the only one, indeed, after Boston and Rhode Island were abandoned, and accordingly the letters from the successive commanding officers—Major-General Eyre Massey, Brigadier-General Francis Maclean, Lieut.-Colonel James Bruce, Lieut.-Colonel John Campbell, Major-General James Paterson, and Brigadier-General Fox, as well as from Lieut.-Governor Hughes and Governor Parr, are frequent and full of detail. The military affairs of the island, the fortifications of Halifax, and the fact of its being a base of supplies are all dealt with in this correspondence until, with the advent of Governor Parr and the close of the war, the removal to Nova Scotia and the settlement there of the loyalists and the disbanded Provincial, German, or other troops became the engrossing topic.

An interesting side-study is that of Penobscot. General Sir Henry Clinton was ordered in September, 1778, by the Home Government to take post on that river with the idea of erecting a province to which the loyal adherents of the crown might ultimately repair. In October, 1782, the German troops were withdrawn, and assistance was provided for those loyalists who wished to remove to Nova Scotia; and by October the last of the British troops and stores were withdrawn.

Several papers relate to the Island of St. John (afterwards Prince Edward Island). The letters are from Phillips Callbeck, President of the Council and commander of the island, Timothy Hierlihy, major-commandant of the Independent Companies, Captain Spry of the Engineers, Lieut.-Governor Desbrisay, and, after June, 1780, from the Governor, Walter Patterson.

The colliery on Cape Breton Island is frequently mentioned in connexion with the military stores at Halifax and New York.

A few papers relate to Bermuda and the Bahamas.

The case of the loyal adherents to the Crown would be largely represented in these papers. While most of the Crown Officers of the various provinces and many of the wealthier loyalists repaired to England and taxed the time and resources of the Treasury, many more remained behind. The embodying of the loyalists into the provincial corps developed with the war until, at its close, leaving out of the question those which came under the administration of General Haldimand in Canada, there were more than twenty regiments under the commander at New York. The bi-monthly pay-rolls of these for 1782 and 1783 are in many cases complete. They give the names of the officers, but not of the men. Quarterly lists of the widows of those officers who fell in the service, with the amounts paid to each, appear under the control of Beverley-Robinson of New York and of Robert Alexander of Maryland.

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There are also numerous accounts and papers of Alexander Innes, Inspector-General of the Provincial Forces.

But besides the numerous loyalists in military service, or who obtained such posts as were available in the city of New York, a large and increasing number drifted within the lines as the confiscation acts of the various States or local animosity drove them from farms and townships, who could only be described as "distressed refugees." The problem of dealing with these persons, who became thus dependent on the army for protection, housing, rations, and fuel, was met by establishing an office under the authority of Colonel Roger Morris with the title of "Inspector of the Claims of Refugees."

Refugee applicants were required to state their losses, services, and needs, in writing, to the Commander-in-Chief or other officer, which in the form of petitions or memorials were then certified or recommended by a loyalist of good standing. If approved of, they were either supplied by the Commander-in-Chief's order with a sum of money and so disposed of, or were placed on the quarterly list for rations or fuel or a stated allowance. After Sir Guy Carleton's arrival Colonel Morris was replaced by a Board appointed "to consider the circum-"stances and claims" of these loyalists. The lists of persons recommended by them for support for the first quarter in 1783, January to March, called for the sum of 9,500*l.* New York Currency, or more than 5,000*l.* sterling, for the second quarter 7,374*l.* New York Currency, and for the third quarter 5,471*l.* These amounts do not appear to include the allowances to more prominent loyalists nor salaries or sums paid for services rendered; all of which were settled by special warrants from the commander-in-chief direct, and which amounted to some thousands of pounds more. The houses vacated by the Americans in 1776 were classed as derelict property, and, for the city proper, were in the care of the vestry, Philip J. Livingston being appointed superintendent of such property on Long Island. These were apportioned to the King's service or to the housing of the various loyalists and refugees. Some of the returns are explicit as to the names of the original proprietors and to the then present occupants, even to the number of rooms or of acres appointed. As the removals of the loyalists to Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Bahamas began to take place, the sums paid for support naturally decreased and there are several lists of names of the persons so removing. William Franklin, the royal governor of New Jersey, son of Dr. Franklin, was very active in all these matters, and organized and presided over a board called the "Board of Associated "Loyalists."

In the year 1781 an inquiry was instituted into the expenditure of the different departments of the army, resulting in much correspondence, the deliberations of a board of officers, and a number of muster rolls showing the numbers employed.

As intimately connected with the Royal Institution, the name of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, should not be

omitted. He appears in these papers twice in 1781, in his capacity of Under Secretary of State, writing by direction of Lord George Germain, and, later, in 1782 and 1783, as commanding the regiment of King's American Dragoons and in forming plans for some light infantry companies to be attached thereto, as well as for a corps of volunteers to be raised out of the Provincial Forces to serve in the West Indies. On his return to England in 1783 he appears to have taken pains to represent to the Government the case of the provincial officers, as he recounts his proceedings to Sir Guy Carleton on 6th July, 1783. A paper entitled: "Precis of all the correspondence "between the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-Chief "relative to the Provincial Forces, with other authentic in-"formation upon that subject"—containing connecting remarks and marginal notes and endorsed "B. T., 23rd June, 1783," is also attributed to him.

Amongst other papers which may be particularly noticed are the Orderly Book of Sir William Howe at Boston and Halifax, from 17th June, 1775, to 26th May, 1776; an Army List of the British, Foreign, and Provincial troops serving under Clinton, printed at New York by Macdonald and Cameron in 1779; a set of coroner's inquests in that city from April to November, 1783; the almost daily reports of the numbers of the vessels entered and cleared from November, 1782, to November, 1783, and some returns of the Provost; some lists of American prisoners; a book of negroes embarked at New York from April to November, 1783, having been previously inspected and registered; correspondence, accounts and pay warrants for the German troops of Anhalt, Anspach, Brunswick, Hesse Hanau. Hesse-Cassel and Waldeck, as well as bi-monthly accounts for many of the British regiments. A personal touch is given by some few tradesmen's accounts to Sir Guy Carleton, for groceries, tailoring, domestic servant's wages, and clothing for an orphan or two.

The first volume comprises the papers to the end of July, 1779.

Where it has been ascertained that any particular paper is also in the Public Record Office a reference to the series, volume and page is given. Similarly, reference is made to the Haldimand Collection in the British Museum.

The letters from the Treasury give some idea of the great pressure on that Board in furnishing the stores, provisions, forage, fuel, and money required by the forces (specie being sent out to keep down the exchange) hampered as their lordships were by lack of conveyance—"the country drained of "ships for transport purposes"—by combinations of workmen, carelessness of paymasters, confusion of accounts and by fraudulent contractors in supplying bad bread or flour, as well as by the dangers and uncertainties of the sea voyage.

Numerous papers in this volume relate to the captivity of the Troops of Convention, as the army of General Burgoyne after its surrender at Saratoga on 17th October, 1777, was called.

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The two letters of Burgoyne to Howe upon his capitulation are given here in full. The friction between the subsequent commanding officer, Major-General Phillips, and the United States authorities and Major-General Heath, while at Cambridge in 1778, is well told from the British point of view in the various letters. On page 298 is Sir Henry Clinton's formal requisition to General Washington on behalf of the troops. Their chagrin, disappointment, and distress for want of money and necessaries, when, instead of the exchange so fully expected, they received from Congress order to march to Virginia, are shown in the months of October, November and December, 1778.

Vol. II.

The second volume begins with the month of August, 1799, and ends with June, 1782, shortly after the departure of Sir Henry Clinton from New York for home, and the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton to take his place. It includes within these dates such events as the occupation of Penobscot by Colonel Maclean and the destruction of the American fleet by Sir George Collier in 1799; the siege of Savannah by the French fleet under Comte d'Estaing, and the American land forces under Major-General Lincoln in September and October of the same year, a siege successfully withstood by Brigadier-General Prevost; the expedition to Charlestown, South Carolina, undertaken by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot from New York at the beginning of 1780; the siege of that town and its capitulation on the 12th of May. In June, Sir Henry returned to New York, leaving the command in the South to Earl Cornwallis, whose march through South and North Carolina into Virginia, and its disastrous ending at Yorktown are indicated by numerous entries. The outbreak of hostilities with Spain was signalized in America by the proclamation of American Independence at New Orleans, and followed by the invasion of West Florida by the Spaniards under Don Bernardo de Galvez and capture of the forts on the Mississippi in the autumn of 1779, the taking of Mobile in March, 1780, and the surrender of Pensacola to them in May 1781, all of which are described in the letters from the military commander there, Major-General John Campbell.

The correspondence with the port at Halifax is continued, as is that with the Governor of Georgia, Sir James Wright, and of East Florida, Governor Patrick Tonyn; while the letters of Lieut.-General Alexander Leslie, who succeeded Earl Cornwallis in the southern command at Charlestown, record the progress of events at the latter place.

In March and April, 1782, the question of assisting the West Indies, and especially Jamaica, attacked or threatened as they were by the French or Spanish forces, led to discussions in the council of General Officers at New York as to whether detachments should be made from New York or Charlestown. The decision to detach from Charlestown met with opposition from General Leslie and the inhabitants of that port generally, and when finally a detachment under General O'Hara sailed,

Rodney's victory over the Comte de Grasse on the 12th of April had for some time been an accomplished fact. An attempt on Jamaica was still, however, fully expected.

The resolution of the House of Commons against continuing the war leads, towards the close of the volume, to preparations for the evacuation of the southern provinces, but the retention of East Florida as a refuge for the loyalists of the neighbouring provinces is being ardently pressed.

REPORTS ON VARIOUS COLLECTIONS. VOLUME IV.

I. *The Records of the Bishop of Salisbury.*—The records of the Bishop of Salisbury are stored partly in his lordship's muniment room adjacent to the gateway opening from the palace grounds into Exeter Street, partly in a strong room in the Diocesan Registry. The loose parchments and papers, including those which have subsequently been bound in volumes, together with the Act Books and similar records, are kept in the former; while the Registers and other volumes, as well as modern documents required for current reference, are preserved in the Registry. Of the whole collection there exists a brief inventory in manuscript.

The Bishops' Registers begin with that of Simon of Ghent, 1297. Forty-six volumes are complete; the forty-seventh, at present in progress. There is a gap from 11th August, 1646, until 31st October, 1660.

Other official volumes are the Deposition Books, 1551-1816; Visitation Books, from 1585; and Procuration Books, 1680-1851. To these should be added the series of Act Books, which range from the sixteenth century onwards; the earlier portions consist of loose leaves and are very dilapidated.

The Vetus Registrum Ecclesie Sarum, commonly known as St. Osmund's Register, was written *c.* 1220-1240. It was edited by the Rev. W. H. Rich Jones in the series of *Chronicles and Memorials* published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, 1883-1884. The Consuetudinary from this book has been more recently edited by the Rev. W. H. Frere (Cambridge, 1898), where the volume is fully described by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth (intr., pp. xliv.-xlix.).

A volume of the Statutes of the cathedral church, written in the fourteenth century and bound in an old binding with an iron hasp for a chain, bears an old foliation and has also been paged. It is marked *Tomus 16* in an early seventeenth-century hand. The book contains, first, a calendar, which has been printed by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 231-242; secondly, statutes, &c.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Bishop of Salisbury.

The Liber Evidentiarum *B.* (thus called, as the Bishop's book, to distinguish it from a similar volume, *C.*, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter) is a volume begun not long after 1308 and bound in oak boards. It stands in a close relation to the Registrum Rubrum, a volume also written in the early part of the fourteenth century.

The two books have indexes prefixed, and these agree as far as art. 419. *B.* then proceeds with 420, the agreement between Reginald Tudeworthe, mayor, and the bishop. *R.* on the other hand here inserts the mandate of Edward I. to the sheriff of Wilts to summon the mayor and citizens of Salisbury to attend at Westminster on Midlent Sunday to show cause why they should not be tallaged, Lent 33 Edw. I. [1304-5], with the record from the parliamentary roll printed in W. Ryley's *Pleadings in Parliament* (1661); after which comes the agreement between Reginald Tudeworthe and the bishop, ending imperfectly at the end of a gathering. The mandate is the last document numbered in *R.*

B. proceeds, from the point last mentioned, with No. 421 a list of citizens arranged under the Aldermanries of the new town [of Salisbury]. Then, after some entries of later date, are, No. 427, a composition between the bishop and his archdeacons *super probacionibus testamentorum*, 8th Jan. 1292-3, and three other deeds, written in a hand of the original date. Then follow deeds and memoranda added at various times in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Registrum Rubrum has already been described so far as its contents correspond with those of the Liber Evidentiarum *B.* At the beginning are some pages written in the fifteenth century and foliated by letters of the alphabet. On f. *c* is the charter noticed above in *B.* p. 44. Then comes the index of contents, after which on f. 1 begins the original portion of the book (*i.e.*, that which is transcribed from *B.*), its articles being numbered from 1 to 420, and ending on f. 104*b*. What follows is of the fifteenth century.

F. 104*b*.—Documents on the liberties of the church of Salisbury, and its property.

F. 113-140.—A series of forty papal bulls ranging in date from the pontificate of Honorius II. (1125) to that of Calixtus III.

F. 140.—Bishop Beauchamp's ordinance for the Hungerford foundation, followed by miscellaneous documents transcribed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, down to f. 197, where the volume ends.

The Liber Niger episcopi Sarum, drawn up for bishop Richard Beauchamp, opens with a memorandum of his consecration as bishop of Hereford, 9th Febr., 1448, but proceeds at once with documents relating to Salisbury. It contains mayor's oaths, charters concerning episcopal property, ordi-

nances about weights and measures, royal writs for assessing talliages, &c., documents on the relations between the bishop and the city of Salisbury; measures of arable land, *exposicio terminorum* ("Sok hoc est secta de hominibus," &c.), extracts from the plea rolls, *peticio facta illustrissimo principi domino E. iiij^to^ per inconsultos et maleuelos maiorem et confederatos ciuitatis noue Sarum* [1466-1468], with the king's reply (21st Oct.), and charters relative to the bishop's property in London.

A Chartulary of the Abbey of Reading, found 29th Jan., 1688-9, in the archives of the Bishop of London and then, as it is expressed, restored to the See of Salisbury. Its date is of the early sixteenth century.

In a deed-box in the Registry, marked *Ancient Documents*, are several volumes, including a thin quarto book entitled Excerpta ex Registris Veteribus, written in the seventeenth century and later.

Of greater interest is the Liber Notitiæ of Bishop Seth Ward, a pocket volume measuring 9 × $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches and bound in leather. It is a commonplace book begun when Ward was Bishop of Exeter and continued and added to from year to year. It is almost entirely in the bishop's handwriting, and occasionally a few words are entered in a cipher. Such notes, for instance, are appended to the names of contemporary prelates and of many of the clergy of the diocese. Of this volume a transcript, entitled *Notitiæ Episcopi Sarum*, was made at the expense of Bishop Thomas Burgess and presented by him to the Dean and Chapter, and is a fine specimen of trained calligraphy. The principal contents are:—

(Part i.)—Astronomical and chronological tables and rules, tables of regnal years, lists of Anglo-Saxon Kings, days for sheriffs and others to account at the exchequer, geographical lists, Irish bishops in 1663 and 1667, Scottish bishops in 1663, list of parliamentary abbots, list of English bishops with statistics, notes concerning jurisdiction, visitations, ordinations, archdeacons' acts.

(Part ii.)—The history of the See and Bishops of Salisbury, with extracts from and references to Registers, &c.; the church and its prebends, and the benefices in the diocese, with their occupants and values; the bishop's patronage and revenue, &c.; tables of interest and memoranda concerning leases.

(Part iii.)—Statistics of the parishes in the diocese; notes on the Order of the Garter, with a list of knights (1669, with additions to 1683) and poor knights; accounts; tables of fees; recipes for various ailments; list of prorogations and adjournments of Parliament from 18th May, 1661, to 28th March, 1681-2.

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Articles of Bishop Ward's Primary Visitation (Oct., 1671), with the answers; followed by transcripts of documents concerning the restoration of the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter to the Bishop of Salisbury, 1669.

In the same deed box are the Charters of James I. and Charles I., and other deeds of modern date, relating to the Bishop and See of Salisbury. It also contains an assessment of an aid in the city of Salisbury, 1667.

The documents preserved in the Bishop's muniment room may be grouped in the following sections:—

1. Ordination papers, from 1662.
2. Testimonials, presentations, resignations, sequestrations and mortgages of livings; documents concerning tithe rent-charge, arranged under parishes.
3. Marriage licence bonds and affidavits, and register books for marriage licences.
4. Transcripts of parish registers, beginning at various dates between 1566 and 1712. In consequence of alterations in the extent of the diocese, the transcripts for the Archdeaconry of Berkshire are not preserved here beyond 1836, and those for the Archdeaconry of Dorset begin in 1837. But parishes in the bishop's peculiar jurisdiction in each case form exceptions.
5. Terriers for Berks and Wilts.
6. Visitation papers; mandates, presentments, intimations, &c.
7. Convocation papers, from 1684.
8. Consecration papers, from 1749.
9. Dispensations; meeting-house certificates, returns of dissenters and others presented (*Quorum nomina*), from 1671; returns of papists, from 1706; certificates of surgeons, schoolmasters, &c.; rural deans' returns, and other miscellaneous papers.
10. Faculty papers.
11. Court papers; libels, citations, excommunications, depositions, &c.

Bishop of Exeter.

II. *The Records of the Bishop of Exeter.*—The records of the Bishop of Exeter are preserved in three separate places; firstly, in a strong room in his lordship's Registry in Palace-gate; secondly, in his muniment room, above the chapel of St. James on the south side of the choir of the cathedral church; and, thirdly, in a chamber above the north porch of the church. The first of these alone calls for detailed description here.

The long series of Bishop's Registers begins with that of Bishop Walter Bronscombe, which opens with the record of the death of Bishop Richard [Blondy] on 26th December, 1267.

On the second flyleaf of Bishop Bronscombe's Register is a memorandum of the boxes and hampers containing muniments,

which Nicholas Braybroke handed over to Bishop T. [Brantingham] at Clist (*Register*, p. 287). Apparently he had placed another chest in the exchequer at Exeter which was believed to contain jewels, books, evidences, and muniments belonging to the See; and this was claimed by Bishop Stafford in 1401. Then follow a modern and an old table of contents; the latter containing only a selection; then the title *Quoddam Registrum*, &c. (*Register*, p. viii.). After this, before the actual register begins, a series of charters are stitched into the volume.

The earlier Registers are numbered in a continuous series from I.-XXII., the last of which contains the second part of the Register of Bishop Joseph Hall and the Register of Bishop Ralph Brownrigg from his consecration on 3rd May, 1642, to 23rd June, 1646, where it ends.

Vol. XVII. is of irregular composition. It begins (after a title page dated by Thomas Germyn, Registrar to Bishop William Alley) with the *Registrum commune* of Bishop Miles [Coverdale], 10th Sept., 1551.

Reg. XVIII. contains the Register of Bishop James Turbervile, beginning Sept., 1555.

Reg. XIX. contains Bishop Alley's Register; it contains chiefly institutions, 1563-1569/70, followed by cautions.

Reg. XX., which is that of Bishop William Bradbridge and the first part of that of Bishop John Woolton, no longer contains ordinations.

For this purpose there is a separate series of Registra de Ordinibus, 1571-1878, in six volumes lettered A to F. Vol. G is still in progress.

In succession to the twenty-three volumes of Registers is a modern series of Registers of Institutions, beginning with the Restoration.

Another series of Registers is that known as the Act Books, the earliest of which lettered A1, A2, B, &c., as far as H, run from July, 1568 to 1734. They are followed by other series bearing a new numeration. The contents are almost entirely licences for marriage, preaching, curacies, faculties for holding seats, erecting galleries, &c.; but in the earlier volumes miscellaneous documents are occasionally entered.

A series of Patent Books, which contain also acts of the bishop, articles of visitation, &c., begins in 1628.

A volume containing subscriptions to the acts of supremacy and conformity, 25th July, 1662—23rd Sept., 1679.

Books of visitation of the diocese, beginning in 1622.

A book containing a series of transcripts of inquisitions *post mortem* on the death of Henry [Beauchamp], Earl of Warwick, taken 14th Nov., 25 Hen. VI. [1446], preceded by notes relative to the family of Montague, Earls of Salisbury, and followed by other documents connected with the Warwick family

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In a deed box in the Registry are the following volumes:—

1. *The Treasurer's Book*, a transcript of the statutes of Bishop John [Veysey], dated 1st July, 33 Hen. VIII. [1541]; followed by later rules, &c., concerning the duties and powers of the treasurer, and the statutes of Bishop Seth [Ward], 1663, for the augmentation of the stipend of the prebendaries. In an eighteenth-century hand, beginning on p. 97, is a collection of statutes and ordinances from Bishop William Warlewest to Bishop John Woolton.

2. A small quarto book of precedents, drawn up under Bishops William Cotton and Valentine Cary. The date 1634 appears on one page; 1639 on another; also the name of Bishop Ralph Brownrigg, (2nd Jan., 1642/3, a consecr. 1). It is followed by documents of Bishop Jonathan [Trelawney], 1692, &c., and of Dean Lancelot Blackburn. Then come lists of benefices in the diocese in the King's gift, and in the Bishop's gift; and miscellaneous forms and extracts, and a few notes of births, journeys, &c. At the end are forms of documents from 1698 to 1731.

3. *Formulare ecclesiasticum penes registrum principale episcopi Exon.*, a folio book of precedents drawn up, as it seems, during Bishop John Gauden's tenure of the See.

4. Collection of charters relative to St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter. Seventeenth century.

5. An interleaved copy of the Appendix to some History of Exeter, with notes in the handwritings of Pitman Jones and Ralph Barnes. Nineteenth century.

6. Two printed tracts, (*a.*) *Constitutio Pii PP. V. ne in popularibus concionibus disputetur de conceptione gloriosæ Dei genetricis Mariæ* (Louvain, 1572), (*b.*) *Pii secundi Bulla retractationum omnium* (Louvain, 1563): followed by an anonymous treatise in manuscript on the authority of councils, the Papal power, &c., extending to 86 pages, *c.* 1600?

Among the documents contained in the deed box the following inventories may be mentioned:—

1. *A note of Leases, Counterpartes and other Deedes remayninge in the Register of the Lord Bishop of Exeter*, in which bound volumes are included. Written soon after 1640.

2. *Dr. Stuart's List of Muniments of the Bishoprick of Exon. delivered by Mr. Webber from Mrs. Blackall c.* 1717. This list does not include the Registers.

3. *Catalogue of Books in the Principal Registry*, made in 1833, with some additions in pencil.

The Bishop's muniment room contains a mass of documents sorted and tied in bundles. In shelves against the end wall are presentations, tied in bundles bearing the number of the year in which they were made. They appear to begin in the sixteenth century, but the earliest bundles are stored in top shelves

beyond the range of the ladder kept in the room. In other shelf stacks are transcripts of parish registers, petitions for non-residence, deeds of exchange, sequestrations, letters testimonial, ordinations, and marriage-affidavits. There are also four volumes of Acts of the Consistorial Court, Tuesday, 8th Jan., 1683/4-1777. Other volumes of Acts of the Court are preserved in a very neglected condition in a chamber over the north porch of the cathedral (reputed to be the muniment room of the Archdeacon of Barnstaple); these stand greatly in need of attention. In the same chamber are also numerous leases belonging to the Dean and Chapter, but there are no signs or labels to distinguish their ownership.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Bishop of Exeter.

III. *Muniments and Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter.*—The muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter are preserved in two repositories. The great bulk of the charters and single documents are stored in the Exchequer Chamber above the chapel of St. Andrew on the north side of the choir of the Cathedral Church. The remainder, chiefly the fabric rolls, are kept with the bound volumes of Acts, &c., in the Muniment Tower over the new cloister. A few of the books and charters are exhibited in the Cathedral Library. The collection at Exeter has one peculiar feature, that all manuscripts (including service books and the famous "Liber Exoniensis") are deemed to belong not to the Library but to the Muniments; and all are massed together in a uniform series of 6,075 numbers. In this, however, the use of numbers is purely conventional. A single number may indicate one charter or letter, a book, or an entire drawer full of documents. nor does the number of 6,075 in any sense give a correct total; for there are (as was no doubt inevitable) a good many duplicate numbers, marked *a.* and *b.*, while on the other hand the author of the numeration thought fit to leave an arbitrary number of gaps free at intervals for accruing documents or volumes. These blanks amount to no fewer than 747.

Dean and Chapter of Exeter.

Before entering upon the description of the collection, a few notices of lists and inventories of the possessions, muniments, and other manuscripts, reliques, and commemorations of the church follow. In PART I. is explained the system of arrangement and notice taken of the books of historical interest; PART II. is an account of the charters, letters, &c. (including those bound up in the volumes numbered 3498 and 3499), which come within the sphere of this report, in a single chronological series, the earliest dated about A.D. 1025.

2570.—An English version of Bishop Leofric's gifts to the church. Fifteenth century.

2861.—Roll of Exeter reliques, shorter than that printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* ii. 529-531, with a few omissions and additions of later acquisitions.

3671.—A volume containing an inventory of books, vestments, and ornaments in the church, 1327.

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3720.—A fragment of what appears to be the same inventory as the preceding, but more finely written. It has been used apparently as a bookbinding, but is now repaired and mounted. Fourteenth century.

4614.—Fragment of an inventory of muniments Fourteenth century. Much decayed.

571.—Schedule of muniments. Fifteenth century.

2864.—A form of bidding bedes in the church of Exeter, written *c.* 1460 and revised down to 1478 and later. The name of *Thomas Selyngh, a brother of this place*, has been twice added.

2860.—Inventory of church goods. *c.* 1500. It agrees to a large extent with the far more complete inventory of 1506 printed by Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 320-376.

2862.—Catalogue of muniments: *Tabula diuersorum Munimentorum in Scaccario Ecclesie Cathedralis Exon., videlicet de diuersis pixidibus, hampers, skebettis, et aliis locis, ut hic patet sequenter* [*c.* 1500].

4679-4682.—Inventories of plate, &c., from 1668 onwards.

4605.—"Catalogue of muniments by Chapter Clerk [Nicholas] Webber" [*c.* 1700].

4606—"A Catalogue of the MSS. in Exon Library remaining anno 1751," endorsed, *Catalogue of the MSS. and other Books in the Press at the East End of the Library by Dean Lyttelton in* 1752.

The scheme of the classification of the muniments and manuscripts is as follows:—

No. 1-580.—Deeds relating to property, &c., in Exeter.

No. 600-2066.—Deeds relating to property, &c., in other places, arranged alphabetically under the places to which they relate.

No. 2070-2513, distinguished as Miscellaneous Deeds, and comprising, according to the Catalogue, "Saxon charters, "royal grants, licences of mortmain, statutes of the bishops, "agreements, appropriations, wills, and all loose documents in "the nature of deeds which could not be classified under any "particular head or place."

Of the sixteen Anglo-Saxon diplomas in the collection of the Dean and Chapter (including one of William the Conqueror, and one record of boundaries), which are reproduced in the Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, issued by the Ordnance Survey Office, at Southampton, part ii. (1881), only three are noticed in the Catalogue. The omission of the other thirteen is explained by the fact that at the time when the Catalogue was made they were deposited in the Albert Museum at Exeter. They are all now exhibited in the Cathedral Library.

No. 2570-2586.—Supplement to the preceding division. Among these No. 2582 contains three leaves of an early thirteenth century custumal, possibly of Sidbury, which have been used for a book-binding.

No. 2600-2982.—Rolls, among which may be mentioned:—

No. 2600-2704.—Fabric rolls, some of them imperfect or fragmentary, but forming a remarkably continuous series from 1279 to 1514. They are described by Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 183-189, with extracts, pp. 379-391. The roll of Michaelmas 1299-1300 is printed in full, pp. 392-407.

No. 2705-2776.—*Rotuli Debitorum*, or bailiffs' accounts, 1332-1519.

No. 2777-2844.—*Rotuli Compotorum Seneschallorum Scaccarii*, or accounts of the stewards of the Dean and Chapter, 1296-1525.

No. 2849-2857.—Rolls of visitations of churches and manors belonging to the Dean and Chapter, 1313-1381.

No. 3000-3215.—*Congés d'élire* and documents of a similar nature.

No. 3498, 3499.—Two albums containing miscellaneous letters and documents, ranging from the fourteenth century onwards. These seem to have been selected on the ground that most of them bear the autograph signatures of persons of importance, as of sovereigns, bishops and dignitaries. Among others may be named John lord Scrope, chamberlain to the queen [Elizabeth, consort of Edward IV.]; [Alice] duchess of Suffolke, [wife of William de la Pole]; [Henry] duke of Exeter; Thomas earl of Devonshyre; lord Hastynges; Thomas Crumwell; Edward duke of Somerset; Thomas Seymour; J. Russell, lord privy seal; William earl of Essex; J. Stanhope [afterwards first baron Stanhope]; [James first earl of] Marleburgh; [Sir] Francis Windebanke; Sir Edward Nicholas; William Morice, [secretary of state to Charles II.]; W. Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury; [Henry] lord Arlington; Henry Coventry, [secretary of state]; [Sir] J[oseph] Williamson; [Sir] Edward Walker; [Daniel] earl of Nottingham; Robert Harley [afterwards earl of Oxford]; [Charles] earl of Sunderland. The documents have been mounted and bound together recently, and are numbered continuously through the two volumes. The contents having no organic unity, such of them as call for notice have been described in their chronological sequence among the separate documents in part ii. of the Report.

No. 3500-3548.—Manuscript volumes representing the old Cathedral Library, with the addition of some service books and one volume (the Exon Domesday) which probably was originally deposited among the muniments.

3500.—The Exon Domesday. Ff. 532. Printed by the Record Commission in Domesday Book [vol. iv.], Additamenta (1816).

3501.—The Exeter Book of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The *Liber Exoniensis*. Ff. 130. Tenth century. Published by B.

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Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, London 1842, and in part by I. Gollancz, London, 1895.

3502.—*Ordinale secundum usum Exoniensis ecclesie*, prescribed for the church of Exeter by Bishop John Grandison and approved by the Dean and Chapter, 1337. Ff 105.

3504, 3505.—*Legenda de usu Exoniensis ecclesie secundum ordinacionen et abreuiacionem Iohannis de Grandissono episcopi.* Fourteenth century.

3508.—A Psalter, with canticles, &c., of the thirteenth century. The calendar prefixed is a Sarum calendar, probably written for the church of St. Helen, Worcester, between 1228 and 1244. Inserted in it are notes of various historical events of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

3509—*Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden.

3512.—*Excerpta ex decretis Romanorum pontificum*, a volume of selections from the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

3513.—Pontifical of Bishop Edmund Lacy. Fifteenth century. Quarto. Printed by Ralph Barnes, 1847.

3514.—A volume of historical and other collections, written about 1285, viz.:—

(1) The spurious *Liber de initio et fine seculi* (ascribed in the University College, Oxford, MS. xcix., p. 138, to Methodius, Bishop of Patara and martyr), entitled in a fourteenth-century hand *Methodius de fine seculi.*
(2) Pedigree of Edward I.
(3) A summary of English history, entitled in a fourteenth-century hand in the upper margin, *De aduenta Anglorum in Brittanniam*, and apparently abridged from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica.*
(4) The letter of Cuthbert to Cuthwin.
(5) Genealogy of the Kings of France.
(6) Diagrams of the spheres, zodiac, &c.
(7) A treatise entitled in a later hand in the upper margin *Beda de ymagine mundi.*
(8) Rubr.: *Genealogia uirorum ab Adam usque ad Brutum.*
(9) Rubr.: *Genealogia Anglorum.*
(10) *Genealogia regum Francie*, [the title added in the upper margin, in the same hand as the text].
(11) *Dares Frigius*, with the prefatory letter, *Cornelius nepos Salustio Crispo suo salutem.*
(12) [Initial and rubric not filled in.] The dedicatory letter prefixed to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (lib. i. 1, ed. J. A. Giles 1844).
(13) List of Archbishops of Canterbury [down to Hubert], Sens and Tours, Bishops of Le Mans, Poitiers, Nantes, Amiens, Beauvais, Paris, Orléans, Senlis, and Angers, and abbats of Jumièges and Fontan[elle] [St. Wandrille,] followed immediately by the *Hystoria Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon, in ten books. Chapters not numbered.

(14) History of the Norman Dukes and Kings of England, perhaps the Chronicle attributed to John Bever.

The rest of the volume is in a later hand, of the time of Edward I.

(15) [Heading supplied subsequently.] *Cronica de Wallia.*

3527.—Speeches, petitions, and letters, belonging to the first year of James I. and ending with the articles of peace with Spain. April, 1604. A contemporary collection transcribed in one hand. The contents are given by Bernard.

3530.—Collections concerning the city of Exeter by John Hooker, by H. E. Reynolds, *s. l. aut a.*

3533.—A volume (lettered *Miscellanea*) containing two distinct compilations:—

(1) A formulary, or book of precedents, for drawing up deeds. Written *c.* 1450.

(2) Rules as to courts and other legal texts, with treatises on heraldry and falconry. Temp. Edw. IV.

3546.—*Statuta Collegii Balliolensis Oxon.*, a late sixteenth-century copy of the statutes of 1507 (printed in the Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford, vol. i., London, 1853).

No. 3550-3582[d].—Chapter Act Books:—

(1) 1382-1434.
(2) 1531-1535, with a Register of the Chapter, 1543-1563.
(3) 1537-1562, with a Register of Grants, 1555-1565.
(4) 1607-1628, partly transcribed from No. (6).
(5) A draught of a portion of No. (4).
(6) A draught Act Book 1622-1630.
(7) 1630-1635.
(8) 1635-1643.
(9) 1643-1646, and 1660.

Twenty-eight more volumes carry the series down to 1876.

No. 3601-3605.—Chapter Registers, containing deeds, orders, letters, &c., passed by the Chapter. The first two registers are bound up with the Chapter Act Books 2 and 3. These five volumes extend from 1612 to 1821.

No. 3611-3620.—Chapter Sealing Books, containing entries of documents sealed, with notes of the fines for renewal of leases, 1597-1873.

No. 3625-3631.—Statutes of the Church.

No. 3631-3666.—Chapter Clerk's Minute Books. 1676-1882.

No. 3671-3811.—"Miscellaneous books in the nature of "official records of the D. & C., as Inventories, Chartularies, "Visitation Books, Obit Books, Excrescence Books, &c."

3672.—Chartulary lettered *A Leidger or Transcript of Evidences.* Early fifteenth century, with additions.

3673, 3675.—The Obit Books contain the names of the clergy present at obits, with the sums divisable, receipts from the endowments of orbits and from offerings at them. The first (No. 3673) is contained in a *taxatio c.* 1300, beginning at f. 59

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with the accounts from 1306-1312. The second (No. 3675) contains also the ordinances of obits.

3679.—Book of a rate made by the mayor and commonalty of Exeter, Easter 24 Hen. VI. *ad usum et sustentacionem cuiusdam placiti dictarum maioris et communitatis de quodam debat' inter dominum Exoniensem episcopum et prefat[os] maiorem et communitatem* for three years.

3680.—Views of the monies found deposited in the *cista fabrice*, 1482-1549.

3721.—Fragment containing the end of a statute on the duties of a canon, with his oath; with a rental of property in Exeter, which is not certainly part of the former. After 1225. The rental may be a few years earlier.

No. 3812-4036.—Rentals, surveys, &c.

No. 4501-4726.—Miscellaneous papers in bundles.

4679.—An inventory taken the 20th day of October, 1668, of what plate and other things belong to the Cathedral Church of St. Peters, Exoñ.

4683-4693.—Papers relative to the repair of the organ, 1664-1819.

4700.—Orders about Repairing the Church, &c., from the 28th of April, 1763.

4718.—Four folio leaves headed *Speaking in the howse* and beginning *If any of the howse bee desirous to have any new law made.* The rules of debate here given are numbered from 1 to 35. There are many corrections, and marginal notes. The writing is of the time of Charles I., but the text mentions *Sir Henry Crisp his bill* 21 *April*, apparently referring to 1558.

4724-4726.—Papers relating to disputes between Bishop Lamplugh and the Dean and Chapter. 1679-1680.

No. 4751-5264.—Court rolls and bailiffs' accounts.

No. 5301-5366.—Documents relating to the vicars choral.

No. 6000-6027, 6032-6074.—Leases and counterparts of leases.

No. 6028-6031, 6075.—*Rotuli solutionum ministrorum*, citations, &c., of modern date, and papers of no value.

Major Money-Kyrle.

IV. *Manuscripts of Major Money-Kyrle.*—This collection, preserved at Homme House, Much Marcle, Herefordshire, comprises a large number of early documents relating to parishes in Wiltshire, especially those of Calne, Bishop's Cannings, and the neighbourhood. They came into the possession of the family of Money-Kyrle by the marriage of Vincentia, daughter of Sir John Kyrle, of Much Marcle, in the year 1674, to Sir John Ernle, Knt., son of Sir John Ernle, of Whetham Hall in the parish of Calne. This Hall (still one of the seats of the family), and the lands connected with it, originally belonged to the family of Fynamore, whose name eventually assumed in other branches the form of *Phillimore*. Many of the earlier deeds here preserved were in consequence communicated by Major Money-Kyrle's father to Mr. W. P. Phillimore when that gentleman was engaged in compiling his *Memorials of the family of Fynamore*, privately printed in 1886, and are there

cited by him. The documents are all in good condition, and in their long and connected series are valuable alike for local history and genealogical researches. Several names of heads of the monastic houses of Bradenstoke and Brecon occur, which are not found in Dugdale. Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Major Money-Kyrle.

A few papers which came from Sir John Ernle, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1679 to 1688, are described at the end of the Report, but there is no such collection of his correspondence or official papers preserved here as might have been looked for. They include several letters of Lord Lauderdale, of which one, containing an indignant refutation of a complaint on the part of the Spanish ambassador, is a document of public interest. The ambassador had charged the Privy Council of Scotland with delaying the publication of a proclamation forbidding the levying men for the service of France, in order to ensure the safe departure of some such levies which had been already made. Lauderdale's account of the rejoicings at Edinburgh upon the public announcement of the marriage of the Princess Anne with William of Orange will also be found interesting.

A small parcel of familiar letters, written by F. Grahme to John Kyrle Ernle, extend from 1717 to 1724, and are chiefly written from Liège and Bois-le-Duc, ending with London and Kendal. Those written from abroad are unsigned, and reference is made to his obtaining permission to return to England; It may therefore be that he was a Jacobite exile, but there are no political allusions in the letters. In one dated 10th Sept. 1717, he mentions the procuring an organ for Mr. Ernle. Can this refer to an organ which was given to Calne church by Mr. Ernle?

Another small parcel of letters is from one William Roseingrave, second secretary to the Lord Justices of Ireland, written from Dublin to Mrs. Soame, with whom he claimed relationship, in 1761-6; with one to Colonel Money in 1772. He sends in 1763 a newspaper which, he says, "falls under my inspection "and direction as compiler thereof," and in 1764 mentions that he has with him his uncle "Mr. Thomas Roseingrave, whose "name stands highly respected in the musical world; . . . "his mother's virtues are his frequent subject, which he "imputes to her education under her uncle Bishop Fell." In a subsequent letter not dated, but probably written in 1766, he announces his uncle's death.

In 1575 there was a great land-slip at Much Marcle Hill, commemorated by Camden in prose and by Drayton in verse, amongst other writers. In its progress it completely buried a small chapel at Kynaston, of which not a vestige was left visible. But a good many years ago the chapel-bell was dug up, and it now hangs in the tower of the stable-yard at Homme House.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: F. H. T. Jervoise, Esq.

V. *Manuscripts of F. H. T. Jervoise, Esq.*—The manuscripts preserved at Herriard Park, Hampshire, consist of:—

1. Early charters concerning, among others, Wintney Priory, Hants; Mottesfont Priory, Hants; Newstead Priory, Notts; Wantage, Berks; St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester; Hyde Abbey; Chicksand Priory; Selborne Priory; Winchester Cathedral; and property at Gretford in connexion with the Abbey of St. Mary at Winchester.

2. A series of documents relating to a claim of the Vicar of Enford, co. Wilts, to have the sole right to examine and admit chaplains to the Chapelry of Combe; 1365-1395.

3. Court Rolls of the Manor of Herriard, *temp.* Edw. II. and III.

4. Papal Bulls; 1231-1267.

5. Miscellaneous papers; 1522-1650.

Glemham Hall, Suffolk.

VI. *Manuscripts preserved at Glemham Hall, Suffolk.*—The Manuscripts preserved at Glemham Hall, one of the seats of the Earl of Guilford, are of interest principally with regard to two very different subjects. The one is the long series of deeds relating to property in the manor of St. Briavel, in the Forest of Dean, which in the early part of the fourteenth century belonged chiefly to a family named Malemort, succeeded by descendants who bore the name of Gayner. The other is that, in virtue of an ancestor, Sir Dudley North, being one of the Sheriffs of London in 1683, the warrants directed to him for commuting the sentence for high treason on Lord William Russell to simple decapitation, dated two days before his execution, and for the delivery of his body to his wife, dated on the day itself, are here preserved. And a third item deserving some special notice is the Bristol rent-roll of the Carthusian monastery at Wytham, Somerset.

A record of expenses in an uncontested election of Members of Parliament for Thetford in 1710 has some interest. It is headed, "An Account of expenses at the Election of the "Honble. Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., and Dudley North, Esq., "for Members of Parliament for the town of Thetford, Oct. 7, "1710."

A letter from Elihu Yale (from whom, on account of his liberal benefactions, Yale College in Connecticut took its name) to Dudley North, dated 3rd May, 1720, is concerned only with private family affairs. A full-length portrait of him exists in Glemham Hall. Dudley North, Esq., of Glemham, son of Sir Dudley North, third son of Dudley North the fourth Baron North of Kirtling, married Catharine, daughter of Elihu Yale.

City of Salisbury.

VII. *Muniments of the Corporation of the City of Salisbury.*—This collection comprises:—

1. Letters Patent of 30 Ed. III. (June 6, 1356) releasing the City of Salisbury from a fine of 3,000 marks;

2. A parchment volume entitled, *Domesday, Liber Tertius,*

containing enrolments of wills proven and deeds witnessed in the Court of the Subdean of Sarum, 35-41 Ed. III.; Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: City of Salisbury.

3. "Kalendar of all charters and other memoranda enrolled "in the Book called *Domesday* in the City of Sarum from the "11th year of King Edward, son of King Edward, to the present "day": *i.e.*, from 11 Edw. III. to 9 Hen. V.: ff. 36: followed by a continuation of *Domesday* to 11 Hen. VI., ff. 132;

4. Many deeds of date subsequent to the reign of Edw. III.;

5. Accounts of the Chamberlains of the city and other documents relating to civic affairs from the fifteenth century onwards;

6. Copy of letters patent of 1 Edw. VI. confirming charters granted by his predecessors to the Bishop, Dean and Chapter of Sarum;

7. Book of Presentments at the Court Baron of the Bishop of Sarum, 18-24 Eliz., ff. 140;

8. Pleas in the Court of the Bishop of Sarum, 43-44 Eliz., ff. 316; 2-4 Car. I., ff. 130; 4 Anne-4 Geo. I., ff. 169;

9. "*Statutorum Recognitorum apud Civitatem Nove Sarum* "*Liber Tertius*, 43 Eliz.-21 Jac. I.: *Liber Quartus*, 21 Jac. I.-"35 Car. II.";

10. Letters patent of 33 Eliz., constituting the weavers of "the City a body corporate;

11. "Orders and Constitutions for the Companie of Butchers "made and agreed on at the Common Councell of this Cittie of Newe Sarum by the Maior, Recorder and Commonaltie of "the said Cittie, 26 March, 6 Jac. I."

12. The like Orders and Constitutions for the Company of Glovers, 20 March, 1613;

13. The like Orders and Constitutions for other companies within the city (Merchants, Mercers, &c., Smith, Armourers, &c., Joiners, Clothworkers, Bakers, Barber-Surgeons, Silk-weavers, &c.) made 1612-13, revised 1675-6;

14. The city charters of 9 Jac. I., 6 Car. I., Cromwell, 1656 (*copy*), 27 Car. II., 6 Anne, and 6 Will. IV.; and

15. Besides the usual books dealing more specifically with civic business, the *Legers* or Minute Books of the Town Council in regular sequence from the reign of Richard II., which alone call for detailed notice. Of the first *Leger* little, however, is legible before the reign of Hen. V., nor do any of the volumes shed quite as much light on public affairs as might have been anticipated in the records of so important a municipality as Salisbury, while after the accession of the House of Brunswick they become singularly uninteresting.

The *Domesday* and its continuation, which are on the whole in good preservation, are of considerable local interest.

VIII. *Records of the Dissolved Corporation of Orford, Suffolk.*—The small, but interesting town of Orford dates back in its municipal history to the time of Henry III., who granted it to his men of the place to hold under the Crown at a fee-farm rent, excepting the castle, the central tower of which still Orford.

stands up in grand massiveness, showing externally few marks of decay. Confirmations of this original, but lost, charter were granted by successive sovereigns down to James I., enlarging privileges and powers, and establishing a corporation of Mayor and Commonalty. The fishery trade flourished, and became sufficiently important to enable the town to enter into an agreement with Newcastle-upon-Tyne with regard to duties levied there, as well as to contribute to the providing and putting forth a ship for the Royal Navy. But, as with others of the small ports on the east coast, so with this, which was always at some comparative disadvantage by its situation on the river Ore; its trade, and consequently its population and wealth, diminished. First, it lost its Members of Parliament, who had become merely the nominees of the Lords of the Manor, and then in 1886 the abolition of its Corporation came by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1883, in default of any application for a new Charter. As neither the population nor the revenues justified such an application, in due course the Corporation was dissolved, and the administration of the property provided for by a scheme framed by the Charity Commissioners entitled *The Orford Town Trusts.*

Of the records described in the Report, the charters and registers are (pending the completion of a strong room in the Town Hall) in the custody of the Clerk of the Trustees, formerly the Town Clerk. The early deeds and miscellaneous papers are preserved in an iron chest in the Town Hall at Orford, under the care of the Trustees.

The insignia of the Mayor and Corporation, preserved at Orford, are described in Jewitt's and St. John Hope's *Corporation Plate*, 1895, vol. II., pp. 342-3. One seal dated 1579 is also there described which does not coincide with any of the forms noted in the Report; it represents the castle with two lions rampant as supporters, and bears the legend "Sigillum officii "maioris burgi Oreford."

The records consist of:—

1. Charters, &c., 1421-1700.
2. Deeds; 1361-1625.
3. Wills; 1468-1614.
4. Registers; 1574-1886.
5. Evidences concerning the manor of Orford.
6. Proceedings at the Court of Sessions of the Peace; 1704-1758.
7. Special papers relating to the town and corporation; 1521-1889.

IX. *Records of the Corporation of Aldeburgh, in the County of Suffolk.*—The history of this town as a corporate borough goes no farther back than to the reign of Edward VI. Originally it formed part of the possessions of the See and Priory of Ely, as witnessed by charters of Bishops Hervey and Nigel in the twelfth century; it, however, at some later period became attached to the adjacent Priory of Snape, and appears among

its possessions in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas in 1292, but only two documents remain among the records of Aldeburgh that testify to this ownership. On the suppression of the priory by Wolsey in 1524, he transferred its possession to his new foundation of Cardinal College in Oxford, but on his fall it was granted by Henry VIII. to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. Reverting to the Crown upon the Duke's attainder in 1547, it was at last created a borough by a charter of incorporation granted by Edward VI. in the same year. The original of this charter is lost, but it is recited in an *Inspeximus* by Philip and Mary in 1554. A fee-farm rent of twenty shillings was reserved to the Crown, which appears to have been subsequently granted to Bishop Ward's College of Matrons at Salisbury.

The early records are preserved in a fire-proof safe in a cupboard in the Moot Hall, a most interesting and picturesque building standing conspicuously near the sea, from incursions of which it is protected by the shingle-bank. The rooms on the ground-floor of this small but precious relic of the latter half, probably, of the 16th century, were, within memory, used as dark prison-cells, while the upper room, the Hall, is reached by a wooden staircase on the outside. A worm-eaten chest, coeval with the building or older, is not now used as a repository, but in the lower room two chests are filled with papers of the 18th century, leases, rolls of certificates of the taking the oaths on admission to offices, indentures of apprenticeship, bonds, and other formal documents. A large mass of similar papers of the 19th century is in the office of the Town Clerk, Mr. H. C. Casley, at Ipswich. That gentleman has also in his office the two Order-Books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the Chamberlain's accounts for 1649-50, as described below, together with lists of freemen, and a folio volume containing the forms of oaths taken by the burgesses, translations of the charters of Queen Elizabeth and James I., opinions of counsel upon cases arising therefrom, declarations against the Solemn League and Covenant from 1685 to 1711, copies of the wills of benefactors to the town, and other official entries. The late and current minute-books are also, of course, in his custody. The town is now governed by a mayor and corporation, by a new charter granted in 1885 under the Municipal Corporation Act of 1883, 46 Vict.

The records consist of:—

1. Charters of Letters Patent; 1524-1637.
2. Order Books of the Bailiffs and Burgesses; 1549-1746.
3. Acts of the Assembly of Bailiffs and Burgesses; 1697-1817.
4. A copy-book of letters to and from the Corporation; 1625-1663.
5. Chamberlains' Account Books; 1566-1856, incomplete.
7. Sessions and Court Books; 1606-1734 (incomplete).
8. Miscellaneous documents; 1448-1744.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Earl of Leicester.

X. *Charters, Early Conveyances, Court Rolls, &c., of the Earl of Leicester.*—Shortly after the Report upon the Manuscripts deposited at Holkham was drawn up by the late Mr. Horwood [*IXth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners, App. p.* 357], it occurred to Lord Leicester that it would be desirable to arrange and classify the immense mass of mediæval charters, rolls and other documents which were lying in disorder, uncalendared and uncatalogued, in the muniment room. A beginning was made by Mr. Scott, of the British Museum, who drew up a calendar of nearly 4,000 ancient charters, dating back to the time of King John, and only a comparatively few of which are concerned with so modern a date as the reign of Elizabeth. The examination and cataloguing of the rolls, maps, manorial extents and similar apparatus was entrusted to other hands; while the large mass of correspondence has not yet been arranged, though it contains many letters of great historical value and interest.

When it is remembered that Lord Leicester's estates in the county of Norfolk stretch over an area embracing more than fifty parishes, and that the records which are concerned with this great tract of country deal minutely not only with the transfer of land but, directly or indirectly, with the social, economic and religious life of the people during more than six centuries of our history, it will be obvious that the value and importance of so large an assemblage of original documents can hardly be exaggerated, and that it would be impossible to say what may be the results of a patient and searching examination of the Holkham archives.

Though the ancient family of Coke were possessed of considerable landed property in the county of Norfolk for at least three centuries before they became the owners of the Holkham estate, none of them had served any of the great offices in the county until Edward Coke was returned knight of the shire in the Parliament of 1593, having been appointed Solicitor-General in the previous year. Two years later he appears to have bought up all the smaller manors in Holkham, and so consolidated the estate. The note of hand on which he borrowed 750*l.* from Thomas Fermour, of Basham, on the 8th September, 1595, is still preserved, and appears to represent that portion of the purchase money which "Edward Coke of Godwick, Attorney-General," required, as a temporary loan, to complete his purchase.

The charters concerned with the parish of Holkham number 289, dating from the time of Henry III. to the year 1688. Of these 108 are connected with transfers of land during the reigns of the first three Edwards. The plots of land are often exceedingly minute; and the subdivision of the land is evidenced by other documents such as the Court Rolls in which surrenders and exchanges are abundantly recorded. The names of the inhabitants which appear in the earliest charters of the reign of Henry III. indicate that the Danish element in the population was strongly preponderating.

One of the most valuable of the rolls pertaining to the manor of Holkham is an *Extent* drawn up by the lord of the homage shortly after the death of Warin de Monte Canisio (*Montchensi*) in A.D. 1255, which appears to show that the Montchensis were lords of the principal manor at least, and that the number of their tenants, free and bond, exceeded a hundred. The document though in parts very dilapidated is one of very great interest, giving as it does a minute account of the holdings of the tenants, the quit rents they paid and the services they rendered.

The series of charters constitutes a remarkable and close succession for more than a hundred years down to the year 1348, after which there is a sudden and marked break, and a change of personal names, beginning with the 15th century, as if the district had been well nigh depopulated by the visitation of the plague.

To the west of Holkham and separated from it by a portion of the parish of Harpley, in which the Coke family have never had any but a small interest, stretches a tract of country of some thousands of acres, including the parishes of Appleton, Anmer and Flitcham. The charters which concern these parishes, the earliest of which is of the date 1205 and the latest of the time of Queen Elizabeth, exceed three hundred in number and are of great value for the curious light they throw upon some obscure chapters in English history.

The charters of Flitcham of which 14 are of the time of King John and at least 40 are anterior to the close of the 13th century, illustrate the way in which a small house of Augustinian Canons in an obscure parish grew up to a certain local importance.

The collection of charters referring to the parish of Sparham is one of extraordinary richness, remarkable not only for their number and wonderful continuity but for the varied interest of their contents. Though the Earl of Leicester is lord of the manor his estate does not exceed 1,500 acres in extent; yet the Holkham archives present us with nearly 450 charters which are concerned with transfers of land in this small area anterior to the close of the 15th century.

The Sparham charters, as in the case of Flitcham, throw some light upon the early history of another small Augustinian house in Norfolk—the Priory of Beeston ad Mare. From a series of five early charters, it is certain that Isabella de Cressy, widow, was the real, and, apparently, the only founder of this monastery. Among the curiosities of these Sparham charters may be noticed charter 1754, which is a grant of lands in Sparham to Robert Marshall and John Clyffe, Gentlemen of London, Minstrels to King Edward IV., and William Mustarden, Clerk, and John Popy, of Sparham, dated 20th Nov., 4 Edw. IV. (A.D. 1464).

The charters of Tittleshall are 152 in number—five of these

Var. Coll. Vol. IV.: Earl of Leicester.

are of the reign of Henry III. No. 2012 is the award of a commission issued by William Ayermin, Bishop of Norwich, dated vi. Kal Febr. 1328. The commissioners met at the Premonstratensian Abbey of Wendling. It appears that a presentation had been made to the Church of Tittleshall actually when the benefice was not vacant. The Bishop's Register shows that the dispute between the rival rectors went on for twenty-five years; and though this award was supposed to be the settlement of the quarrel, yet Charters 2013 and 2014 prove that the rival claimants were still at feud five years later.

The large number of gentry resident in the Norfolk villages during the 14th and early part of the 15th century is very noticeable in the charters of this period, and an instance of this is furnished in the Tittleshall Charter No. 2035—early in the reign of Henry IV.—where, attesting a small grant of land in the parish, there are no less than four knights among the witnesses, viz., Sir Hamon Chevers, Sir Robert de Hulme, Sir John de Munfinchan and Sir Hamon de Pattesle.

The Weasenham Charters amount to no fewer than 686, of which 167 were issued before the close of the 14th century: two of them are of the time of King John.

It is well known that the Jews were very numerous in East Anglia during the 13th century, and there are some indications in these charters of Jewish bankers or money-lenders being found even in the country villages, and acquiring and holding land there. But Charter 1547, which cannot be later than the reign of King John, bring us decisive evidence on the point. It is a grant by William Costio and Roger his son of a piece of land in Sparham to John son of Gerard de Folesham and his heirs—to be held in fee of the grantors. The charter is endorsed in mediæval Hebrew characters with a memorandum of the contents.

All the charters of the Parish of Castleacre, which formed an important part of the domains of the Earls of Warenne, are of a comparatively late date and uninteresting. There are none earlier than the 15th century. The Earl of Exeter probably retained the more ancient documents when the site of the monastery and manor passed into the hands of Sir Edward Coke in 1615. On the other hand the Court Rolls of the Warrens' manor number many hundreds at least. The earliest of these bundles makes up an unbroken series from the 55th year of Henry III. to the 30th Edw. I. They are in almost perfect condition, and even a cursory glance at them shows how many side lights they would throw upon the domestic, judicial and economic history of the time and the relations existing between the monastery and the lord of the manor.

There are no less than 105 maps of parishes and manors which form part of the estates of the Earl of Leicester in Norfolk, the earliest of which is of the date 1581. The latest is a survey of the East and West Marshes of Wells (Norfolk), made in the year 1804, whereby it may be seen how great has

been the reclamation of waste lands from the incroachment of the sea during the last century. Forthy-seven of these maps belong to a time long anterior to the inclosures of commons carried out at the close of the 18th century, and all exhibit more or less minutely the bewildering subdivision of land in the "open fields." Sometimes the names of the tenants of the little strips are inserted and illustrate the confusion that prevailed in the tenure of these multitudinous patches of land scattered over a wide area. Map 36 sets out a kind of pictorial history of encroachments upon the common lands in the parish of Flitcham—apparently in consequence of the suppression of the Priory there. This seems to have been drawn up in preparation for the Special Commission issued from the Exchequer to inquire into the disputes in the 42nd year of Queen Elizabeth. [*38th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, p.* 63, *No.* 2954.]

In a collection of Miscellaneous Charters which deserve little notice, is one which must not be passed over. It contains the original Letters Patent of James II. confirming the Patent of Charles II., whereby the latter altered the title of the Corporation of the Town of Buckingham from *Bailiff and Burgesses* to the *Mayor and Aldermen* of the Borough and Parish of Buckingham, and appointing Henry Robinson as "Primus et modernus" Mayor, and twelve burgesses, whose names are given, to be Aldermen; appointing also George, Lord Jeffreys, Lord High Chancellor of England, to be the first steward and to hold the office for life; and John Upton to be the first *Serviens ad clavum* (sub-bailiff).

The manor court rolls in the Holkham muniment rooms must amount to several thousands. They are admirably arranged in parishes and can be referred to without difficulty. They constitute an immense mine of information which has been only partially worked by the students of English social history and economics.

II. The number of Letters hitherto discovered among the MSS. at Holkham of the 16th and 17th centuries has been inconsiderable. It still remains unexplained what became of Sir Edward Coke's large collections of MSS.—more or less of a personal interest.

For the most part the letters examined are, with a single exception, of very little interest or value. That exception however can hardly be passed over without a line. It is asserted by Camden that among those supporters of Robert Earl of Essex, in his mad attempt at rebellion in February, 1601, who escaped hanging, a certain Sir Edward Baynham's life was spared, "which Baynham redeemed with a sum of money paid to Raleigh." Hitherto the assertion has been accepted as founded upon little more than current rumour. A letter among the Holkham MSS. in Raleigh's own hand throws some light upon Camden's story.

Var. Coll. Vol. IV. Sir William Clayton.

XI. *Manuscripts of Sir William Clayton, Bart.*—Among the manuscripts belonging to Sir William Clayton, preserved at Harleyford, Marlow, are some early and interesting deeds. The earliest dates from 1177. They relate to Garendon in Leicestershire; Tandridge, in Surrey; Totnes, in Devon; Englefield, in Berkshire; Lynford Magna, in Buckinghamshire; the City of London; and various other places.

SCOTLAND.

THE EARL OF MAR AND KELLIE.

Earl of Mar and Kellie.

The documents dealt with in the Report are those relating only to the period of the Erskines, Earl of Mar. Their family muniments consist of a large collection of feudal charters connected with the various estates throughout Scotland, in the counties of Clackmannan, Stirling, Aberdeen, Fife, Berwick, and others, which are not here included, with the exception of an old Latin rental—which notes, somewhat incorrectly in certain cases, some of the oldest of these and a few other documents. To one of these, dated in 1639, attention may be drawn as giving the vassalage of the Earl of Mar at that time, which included no less a personage than the Marquis of Huntly, and other members of the powerful house of Gordon, and also of those of Forbes, Seton and others. A considerable number of the earlier Mar charters, however, were printed in the minutes of evidence taken in the House of Lords during the hearing of the claim made by the late Earl of Kellie to the Earldom of Mar. There is also a large collection of historical letters and papers, which date from 1522, and extend over two centuries, touching in their course more or less minutely, almost every successive change in the national life during that period. But the reigns of King James the Sixth, his son, Charles the First, and that of Queen Anne, are those chiefly illustrated. In the two former reigns the principal actor, so far as the papers under consideration are concerned, was John, the second Earl, and in the last, John, the sixth Earl of Mar. It is with this collection of letters and papers that this report deals.

Several important and interesting documents occur in the time of John, fifth Lord Erskine, first Earl of Mar, who was Regent of Scotland. Some of these refer to the arrangements made or the safe keeping and education of the infant Kings, James the Fifth and James the Sixth, which will be adverted to presently. Others are letters addressed to this Earl of Mar, and include several from Queen Elizabeth on State business, including the case of Queen Mary, and the care of the infant King James. This Earl was well known to the English Queen, owing to his frequent visits to her Court. There are also some letters concerning Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox, just

after she had been left a widow by the murder of her husband, the Regent. Earl of Mar and Kellie.

Many of the earlier papers are concerned with the arrangements made with the Earls of Mar for the keeping and upbringing of the royal infants, for, for more than a century, the Lords Erskine and Earls of Mar were successively the guardians of the monarchs of Scotland during their infant years. John, fifth Lord Erskine, had the care of King James the Fifth, who later appointed him one of his own son's tutors and governors. He had also for a time the care of the infant Princess Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots. And to the son of this Lord, whom she ennobled as Earl of Mar, she in turn committed the keeping of her infant son James. Subsequently, King James the Sixth himself could find no better guardian for his own infant son and heir, Prince Henry, than the son of his own guardian, with whom he himself had been brought up, and with whom he was on terms of great familiarity.

After the death of the Regent Mar in 1572, his widow, Annabella Murray, continued to have the guardianship of the infant Prince, who had as his pedagogues George Buchanan and Peter Young. The Regent's son, John, second Earl of Mar, was in minority at the time of his father's death, but he soon rose to political importance, and his correspondence and papers occupy a considerable space in the Report. He was educated along with King James the Sixth, and consequently there was a lifelong affection between them. The King wrote often to him with his own hand and in a familiar strain. But amid the ever-changing political situation it was an almost impossible task to keep free of entanglements, and on one occasion this Earl fell under the strong displeasure of his Majesty for taking part with the Earl of Angus in the latter's efforts to save the life of the Regent Morton. The estrangement, however, did not long endure. This Earl had in his charge the keeping of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and with them the custody of the political prisoners confined therein. The arrangements made with him on receiving the charge of the King's infant son, Prince Henry, may be seen, while the King's entire confidence in him on many grounds is often expressed, and he had also recourse to him in his difficulties in matters of finance. This Earl was sent as ambassador with the Abbot of Kinloss to Queen Elizabeth in 1601. In 1603 her Majesty's death took place, and King James succeeded to the crown of England. The King at once removed to London, leaving his wife and children to follow. The Queen and the Earl of Mar, who had by this time been relieved of his office of guardian, with Prince Henry, and the Princess Elizabeth, and the infant Prince Charles, followed and arrived in London on 27th June, 1603.

The union of the Crowns lifts matters into a wider plane. There is a letter from King Henry the Fourth of France, in which he desires the Earl to continue to assist his ambassador

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at the English Court with his good offices, and the two following letters are gossiping epistles from Lord Northampton to the Earl. The fit of anti-popery taken by the King at this time, most markedly manifested in his relentless persecution of Lord Balmerino, is here reflected in some letters dealing with the imprisonment of the Earls of Huntly and Erroll.

An interesting note with respect to a conference at Whitehall upon the then proposed marriage of Prince Charles with a daughter of France will be found at p. 74 of the Report.

It was on the overthrow of the Earl of Somerset, who had, in succession to the Earl of Dunbar, held for some years the post of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, that in December, 1616, the Earl of Mar was selected by the King to fill this important position. This office he continued to hold without a break for the period of fifteen years. From this date there are many papers, letters and warrants directed to him in this new charge. Even prior to 1616 some of these appear; and one is a somewhat important table, apparently compiled in 1614, of the produce exported from Scotland at that time. Notice of the visit of King James to Scotland in 1617, with a list of his daily journeys, will be found at p. 80 of the Report.

A confidential letter written with the King's own hand directs his treasurer to pay to the Marquis of Hamilton 3,000*l.* sterling; a sum so large that the King had to apologise for such a demand upon an exchequer which could never boast of repletion.

Other letters directed to this Earl in his capacity of Treasurer are of so miscellaneous a character that of a few only can mention be made here. One deals with the preservation of the estates of the Earl of Argyll, which owing to his conversion about this time to the Church of Rome, might have been forfeited, but which the Scottish officers of State successfully exerted themselves to save from this fate. Another notes the bestowal by the King upon Prince Charles, of the lordship of Dunfermline and other lands which had been the jointure lands of his now deceased mother, Queen Anne. By the death of his brother, Prince Henry, Prince Charles became the heir to the throne, and his father, for the development of his administrative capacity, placed him in possession of the principality of Scotland, that is, of the estates set apart for the support of the heir-apparent to the throne.

Attention may also be called to a letter from the Duc du Bouillon to the King of France in 1621, in which he makes an earnest appeal on behalf of toleration for the Huguenots.

In 1621, Sir Gideon Murray, who had long held the office of Deputy Treasurer of Scotland, failed in health and was relieved of his office. The Earl of Mar thereupon undertook the sole management, and would have so continued to do, but after a year's experience of this the King insisted on a new depute being

appointed, his choice falling upon Sir Archibald Napier, afterwards Lord Napier. Many of the letters and papers during this period bear evidence of the great scarcity of money in Scotland. Earl of Mar and Kellie.

The scantiness of the revenue was Mar's chief trouble. He had to meet not only the working demands of the country, but a large and increasing number of pensions which had been granted by His Majesty on the giving up of his Scottish establishment and for other causes, and the Earl felt it necessary to go to Court and consult the King personally. The result is embodied in some directions brought down by the Earl, and in some memoranda made by him after he left the Court, in which he mentions one or two things imparted to him by the King, doubtless in confidence, such as his design to revisit Scotland next year; his dissatisfaction with the temper shewn by the Chancellor in respect to the King's wishes, and especially in the Parliament; and his desire that the sacrament should be the object of adoration in Scotland. Though quite persuaded of the necessity of retrenchment, King James was unable to resist the claims of his needy favorites, and Mar found that things only tended to grow worse. Accordingly he wrote to the King, to Prince Charles, and to the Marquis of Buckingham. In his letter to the Prince, he points out the nature and one cause of the evil. Since the union of the Crowns, the intercourse between Scotland and England had increased, and the poorer but perhaps prouder Scots, unwilling to appear in any way behind their wealthier English friends, squandered their estates, and so brought themselves to beggary, or what was worse for the country, to depend upon the King's bounty.

The second son of this Earl of Mar by his second marriage was Henry Erskine, father of David, Lord Cardross. He was in London in March, 1624, and writes home to his father, recounting the proceedings in the English Parliament. A letter from the King to the Earl seems to be connected with the later negotiations with France for the Prince's marriage.

The death of King James sent a thrill of apprehension through many of the members of the Scottish Cabinet; but for the immediate present King Charles made no changes. These, however, were imminent, and in some respects were intended to be radical and far-reaching. One of the first was an order for the appointment of a Commission of Exchequer or Treasury by which the powers of the Lord High Treasurer were much abridged. Another was the entire separation of the Privy Council from the Court of Session. Until now some of the members of Council had been also Lords of Session, but the King had made up his mind that no nobleman should have a seat upon the judicial bench. The appointment of the Commission of Exchequer was taken by Mar as an act of censure upon himself and his conduct in his office, and it drew from him a personal remonstrance to the King. But indeed the whole order of government was so much upset by the King's new proposals that

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the Scottish Privy Council practically rebelled, and the principal members of it were called up to the Court, Mar among the rest. There a series of conferences took place, of which the Earl of Mar has happily left a somewhat detailed account in his "short notes," which place on record the principal matters of dispute.

The Earl of Mar afterwards continued some of the subjects of conference in private correspondence with the King. In 1630, however, Mar was relieved of his office of Treasurer, and William, Earl of Morton, appointed in his place. Mar promised to render assistance to his successor in the service, and consequently papers connected with the revenue of Scotland continue to appear for a short time longer.

An interesting group of eight letters written by the Princess Elizabeth, now Queen of Bohemia, to the Earl of Mar, between 1623 and 1635 are noteworthy. There runs through them all a subdued reference to her own misfortunes, but in several she refers to and interests herself to further the marriage of the Earl's third son, Sir Alexander Erskine (who was afterwards killed at the blowing up of the castle of Dunglass in 1640), the lady of his choice being one of her own gentlewomen.

Reference has already been made to James, Lord Ochiltree, and at pp. 181–191 of the Report will be found papers in the proceedings taken against him for falsely accusing to the King the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earls of Haddington, Roxburgh and Buccleuch as being engaged in a conspiracy against the throne.

A letter from Viscount Wentworth affords a glimpse of that nobleman's administration of the government of Ireland, and incidentally mentions the death of John, second Earl of Mar. He appears to have died in March, 1635. The letter is presumably to that earl's son and successor, who was desirous of acquiring an estate in Ireland. For the following period between this date and the Revolution in 1688 the letters and papers evidently suffered in some way, as they are very few. Those which immediately follow carry us into the stormy period of the civil wars of Charles the First, and there is a curious rhyming prophecy attributed to Sir James Galloway, who was Master of Requests to King James the Sixth, and a member of the Privy Council in the reign of King Charles the First, which, if genuine, proved remarkably true. In the conflict between the Scots and the King, the Earl of Mar assisted the Scottish Estates with his followers, and the list of the men he could command from Strathdon is given. Just at the time when the English Parliamentary Commissioners were adjusting the terms of the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh, the Earl received a letter from the King, who was then at Oxford, solemnly protesting once more his intentions of faithfully preserving inviolate the privileges of his Scottish subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, according to the laws of Scotland, and desiring the Earl to convene his friends and vassals and assure them of this. But

the Scots had already received too many vain assurances of the like kind. The letter is evidently a circular and was probably sent to other nobles as well as to Mar. The next letter is a summons to the Earl from the Scottish Council a few months later to come and swear the Solemn League and Covenant with the rest of the Council, and the paper following shews that at this stage of the quarrel there was an abortive attempt at intervention made by the King of France with the Scots on behalf of Charles. Later, in the course of "the troubles" of this period, Mar is found, willingly or unwillingly, assisting Montrose, especially after the battle of Kilsyth, and was placed in jeopardy thereby, but General David Leslie came to his rescue. An interesting letter from an unknown English writer in reference to the King's transference from the Scots' army at Newcastle to that of the English Parliament, in which he gives his opinion about Cromwell's soldiers, and his anticipations of good things to come from the trust the King was now reposing in them, will be found at p. 204 of the Report. But the sequel proved that what the Earl of Mar had written to that writer's disrelish was but too true: "His Majestie hes leapt out of the frying pan into the fyre; left ill cumpany to adhere to worse."

On the death of King Charles the First the interest of the Scots centred in the recall of his son, Charles the Second, as at least their king. He was at St. Malo waiting to hear news from Ireland, and some were of opinion that he would come to Scotland, as, indeed, he did. Doubtless, Mar gave his willing obedience to the orders he received to raise his men for his Majesty's support.

During the period of the Commonwealth there are no papers, and after the Restoration, until the Revolution, they are but scant. In 1675 there is an order for the imprisonment of Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, and Robert Ker of Kersland, in Stirling Castle, and also an order for the liberation of the former about five months later. Other prisoners there come also from the ranks of the Covenanters, and there is a letter of thanks from the King to the Lords of Justiciary for their proceedings against James Mitchell for his alleged attempt to kill Archbishop Sharp. Some of the papers about this period are interesting from a military point of view, being illustrative of army drill and discipline in several aspects.

On p. 214 of the Report is a memorial in which the Earl of Mar, in his anxiety to retain the keeping of the castle of Stirling, relates the services of his ancestors to the Crown; and a letter from General Dalyell to the Earl speaks of the torturing of William Spence, secretary to the Earl of Argyll, and indicates the disgust of that soldier at some of the work he was then engaged in. Argyll's expedition itself is also referred to.

The accession of King James the Second (Seventh of Scotland) is marked by some papers, relative to the enlargement given to Papists for the exercise of their religion, and it was probably

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owing to his aversion from some of this King's measures that the Earl of Mar felt it necessary to send a letter to the King affirming his thorough loyalty. The papers which follow shew the King at variance with his Scottish Council, and the Earl of Mar under orders for special military service, with the assembling of some of his Highlanders about Stirling. But the scene changes; the revolution has been effected; Mar receives an invitation from the Prince of Orange to attend the meeting of the Estates at Edinburgh which is to declare that Prince King of Scotland; the governorship of the castle of Stirling is continued to Mar with the Earl of Perth thrown therein as a prisoner, and Mar himself is one of the first sufferers from the Revolution. He is found bewailing the burning of several of his houses in the North by the Highlanders, who took this means to prevent them from being employed for garrisons against themselves.

The largest portion of the report deals with the correspondence of John, sixth Earl of Mar, who played so important a part in carrying through the Treaty of Union, during the actual passing of which and for some years afterwards he was one of the Secretaries of State for Scotland. But latterly he changed his opinion about the Union, and when he could not get it dissolved, headed the unsuccessful Jacobite insurrection of 1715 for the restoration of the Stuarts. Yet during the whole of Queen Anne's reign there was no suspicion of Jacobitism about this Earl. To her Majesty he was a most loyal and devoted servant. The letters by and to him commence in the closing years of King William the Third, and with the exception of several addressed to him by his brother Henry, and the Viscount Dalrymple and others from some camps of the British troops engaged in the wars on the Continent, giving details of several battles and military movements, the whole are concerned with the Parliamentary and official history of Scotland, at least up to 1715. They yield a minute and often graphic narrative of the proceedings connected with the Union of the Kingdoms.

The Union was the "grand affair" of the time, and references to it fill the Earl of Mar's letters from 1703 onwards. Mar himself had prepared and introduced a Uniting Act, and, with but slight alteration, this was the Act which Parliament adopted. The Queen acknowledged this service by appointing him one of her Secretaries of State for Scotland in place of the Marquis of Annandale, the Earl of Loudon being conjoined with him in this office. Mar was also a commissioner on the Scottish side for settling with those of England the Articles of Union, In consequence of his official position the Earl had to reside in London, and he made his younger brother, Mr. James Erskine, his chief Scottish correspondent and factor. This brother was trained to the law, and was raised to the bench by the title of Lord Grange. He became later Lord Justice Clerk. Many of the letters in this part of the report are to and from him.

The Treaty of Union was finally adjusted and signed by the Commissioners on 22nd July, 1706, when they went unitedly in

procession to her Majesty and presented it. The event was made the occasion of national rejoicing in England, and her Majesty further acknowledged the services of the Earl of Mar and his colleague in the Secretaryship, the Earl of Loudon, by creating them Knights of the Thistle. Earl of Mar and Kellie.

But the Treaty of Union had still its way to fight in Scotland, and it was only after a prolonged and keen conflict in the Scottish Parliament, lasting from October 1706, until February 1707, that the measure was carried, and the Union accomplished. All the varied forms of the opposition made to the passing of the Treaty are vividly set forth in the Earl of Mar's letters to Sir David Nairne, the Under-Secretary of State for Scotland in London.

After the Union, the Earl continued in his office of Secretary of State, and had to deal with the Jacobite invasion of 1708, in consequence of which seizure was made of a number of prominent Jacobites in Scotland, some of whom were sent in custody to London. He ceased to be Secretary in February 1709, but obtained a pension of 3,000*l.* from the Queen, to continue during her life. The Duke of Queensberry then got the appointment and held it till his death in July 1711. The succession to the office was keenly contested between Mar and the Duke of Hamilton, but through the influence of the Earl of Oxford, the former obtained it. By this time so much friction had arisen between the two nations over the difficulties experienced in harmonising their relations that proposals were seriously brought forward in the British Parliament for the dissolution of the Union and a return to the *statum quo ante*, and even Mar seems to have come to believe that after all the Union may have been a mistake. With the death of Queen Anne and the overthrow of the Tory party in England, Mar was removed from his office. Up to the last moment of his being in power he was firm to the Hanoverian interest; he used all his efforts to preserve the peace in Scotland, especially in the Highlands, and when King George the First arrived in England he waited upon him to proffer his allegiance. But the King refused to see him and sent word that he had no further need for his services. His office of Secretary was then given to the Duke of Montrose.

Seeing his associates impeached in England for treason, and finding that by the King's orders Stirling Castle was to be taken out of his hands, Mar began to fear that his life was in danger; and evidently stung with indignation at such treatment after his long and faithful services to the country, he joined the cause of the Pretender and raised the standard of rebellion in Scotland. Mar was placed, by commission from the Chevalier, in the chief command in Scotland. Interest centres for the moment in his camp at Perth. There he received letters from the Chevalier, in one of which the honour of a Dukedom is conferred upon him. But by this time the battle of Sheriffmuir had been fought; the in-

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vasion of England had ended in disaster at Preston in Lancashire, and it fell to Mar's lot to intimate the tidings to the Chevalier, who was now supposed to be off the coast of Scotland. Mar managed to retain a number of his troops, and to hold his opponents at bay until James landed at Peterhead, but the failure of the promised support from France forced James to return, and Mar went with him and was in his services for some years. There will be found in the Report several letters from the Chevalier and from his wife, the Princess Clementina, to the Duchess of Mar. The Earl, of course, lost his estates, and was never again permitted to return to Scotland, but died at Aix-la-Chapelle, in May, 1732. Some time before his death he broke with the Stuarts, and strove long and earnestly to make his peace with the House of Hanover, but without avail.

The remainder of the Report is chiefly composed of the correspondence of the Earl's brother, Lord Grange, who, to save the family estates, purchased them back from the Forfeited Estates Commissioners for the benefit of his nephew, the Earl's son. But the latter died childless, and the estates passed to the Earl's daughter, who married her cousin, James Erskine, son of Lord Grange, ancestor of the present Earl of Mar and Kellie. To their son, in 1824, King George the Fourth restored the title.

Lord Grange was both an able judge and a wise politician. As already stated, he was for some time Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, and later in life was member of Parliament for Stirlingshire. He was held in much repute by the clergy of Scotland for his piety and his attachment to the Presbyterian cause. He had a large number of correspondents, and selections will be found in the Report of letters from the pen of Mr. Gabriel Wilson, minister of Maxton; Mr. John Wylie, minister at Clackmannan; Mr. Andrew Darling, minister at Kinnoul, and Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, one of the founders of the Secession Church, who not only writes upon a point of antiquity, but sends to Lord Grange immediately after the Secession a note of the progress of their young presbytery, and also a copy of the indictment laid against him, evidently by the presbytery of Stirling. Among his correspondents from the ranks of statesmen are the Duke of Argyll, William Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, the Earl of Stair, and Marshall Keith, and there are several epistles from Simon, Lord Lovat, couched in his usual attractive style, but certainly not in a tone which would make one suppose that he had Lord Grange in any respect in his power.

Among miscellaneous papers and letters may be noted a memorandum concerning the place in which the public Scottish records were preserved, or rather, as is suggested, destroyed in 1723; a somewhat amusing cipher; a satirical poem, which may be that which the Earl of Mar sent to his lady, and a narrative about St. Fillan's in Perthshire and some superstitious customs associated therewith.

IRELAND.

Marquess of Ormonde, Vol. IV.

In the first section of volume IV. the selections from the general correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond are continued from 1675 to 1678. Although the space occupied by this section is little less than that devoted to the corresponding section of Volume III., the period embraced is much shorter. This disparity is due to two circumstances. In the first place, to the entrance of the Duke of Ormond, in 1677, on his third and last tenure of the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his consequent resumption of residence in Dublin and of direct concern with public affairs in Ireland; in the second, to the fact that the final period of Ormond's public activity attracted, as was natural, a comparatively slender share of his biographer's attention, with the result that the correspondence preserved at Kilkenny between the years 1677 and 1685 has suffered less than any other portion of the Duke's papers from Carte's liberal interpretation of the licence given for the purposes of his book. Of the great mass of the Ormond papers which found their way to Oxford, only those volumes of the Carte collection numbered 38, 39, 40, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 54, 216 and 217 relate to this period; and a large portion of their contents are duplicate drafts or contemporary office copies of the documents still at Kilkenny.

The eighth and last book of Carte's Life of Ormond, which embraces the years from 1677 to the Duke's death in 1688, is, accordingly, much the shortest of the whole work.

It deals with a period which, by comparison at least with the two earlier of Ormond's Viceregal terms, was one of civil peace and social calm. Irish affairs had, at the time of Ormond's arrival in 1677, resumed in a large degree their normal provinciality, and no longer provided the stage on which imperial dramas might be enacted. And although at the moment of Ormond's return there were many outstanding questions, social and financial, which demanded attention, and which the Viceroy intended and earnestly desired to deal with in the Irish Parliament, these were almost at once obscured and obstructed by the development of domestic politics in England.

Thus the history of Ormond's last Viceroyalty is the history not so much of domestic reforms as of the repressive measures against the Roman Catholics which were loudly demanded from England, and which the Irish Government were obliged to enforce. And thus it is that both the concluding portion of Carte's work and the section of the Duke's correspondence belonging to the same period are occupied with matters which, however fierce the passions they aroused, had little to do with any of the great social problems upon which the development of Irish society depended.

Hence this instalment of Ormond's correspondence is valuable, rather for the light it throws on a period of violent religious excitement in Great Britain than for the information it affords

Marquess of Ormonde, Vol. IV.

on those questions of Irish administration with which we should naturally expect it to be most fully occupied.

Ormond's principal correspondents during the early years of his last Viceroyalty were his two sons, the Earls of Ossory and Arran, by one or other of whom his interests were continuously represented at Court; Sir Henry Coventry, the Secretary of State, who, until 1680, was responsible for the conduct of the Irish business of the English Privy Council; Sir Cyril Wyche; Sir William Temple; the Earl of Longford; Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Christ Church; and, most important of all, perhaps, Sir Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Privy Council in England, and the intimate and lifelong friend of Ormond. Southwell's letters are presented in a connected sequence in the second section of this volume, and are separately noticed in the second section of this Introduction. In Ireland, Ormond's chief correspondents were two members of the great family of the Boyles. Of these Michael Boyle, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Archbishop of Dublin, appears in the character of Ormond's most active and capable assistant in the Irish Government, and Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery, in that of the severest critic of the Lord Lieutenant's official actions. Other correspondents of importance whose names occur less frequently are the Duke of Lauderdale, the Earls of Danby, Shaftesbury, Essex, and Burlington, Viscount Granard, and Sir Robert Howard. The letters of Lauderdale and Granard chiefly relate to the military expedition to the West of Scotland in 1677–78. Sir Robert Howard's communications refer, among other more official matters, to the pecuniary interests of Nell Gwyn in Ireland.

Ormond arrived in Ireland to take up the duties of the Viceroyalty with a resolution to summon a Parliament in Dublin at the earliest possible moment. It was settled that the Irish Parliament should meet in Dublin as soon as the English Parliament at Westminster should be dissolved, and the Viceroy even got the length of suggesting the designation of Sir John Temple, the Solicitor-General, as Speaker of the House of Commons in the new Parliament, to the early meeting of which Ormond still looked forward as late as September 1678.

But the scene was quickly and gravely altered by the fever of excitement and alarm aroused in England by the pretended revelations of Oates and Bedloe and their infamous comrades in perjury. In spite of the urgency of financial matters, all idea of calling a Parliament was thenceforth abandoned, and no favourable opportunity of summoning the legislature recurred during the remainder of Ormond's seven years' tenure of the government, a period which practically synchronised with the remainder of his master's reign. The rest of the correspondence for the period covered by this Report is practically filled with communications relative to the so-called Popish Plot, and to the measures to be taken for the safeguarding of Protestant interests in Ireland. The same topics form the main burthen of the

numerous letters of Sir Robert Southwell which follow the general correspondence. Marquess of Ormonde, Vol. IV.

Among the earlier portions of the correspondence are several letters and documents bearing upon the rising of the Covenanters in the West of Scotland, for the suppression of which considerable reinforcements were despatched from Ireland.

It was from the troops stationed at Carrickfergus and other northern forts that Viscount Granard, who commanded the army in Ireland, was directed by Ormond to find a force capable of seconding the preparations made in Scotland under Lauderdale's direction to overawe the Covenanters. The communications which passed between Lauderdale and Granard and their respective subordinates afford not a few details of the condition of affairs in the West of Scotland at the commencement of that struggle, and of the arrangements made for the co-operation of the Irish with the Scottish military forces.

A considerable, and it may, perhaps, be thought disproportionate, share of the correspondence is devoted to a matter which appears to have been regarded by the Government of Ireland as one of first-rate importance, viz., the defence and fortification of the harbour of Kinsale.

Among the more personal interests of Ormond at this period a considerable place was occupied by the education of his ultimate heir, the eldest son of the gallant Ossory, and afterwards second Duke of Ormond. Lord James Butler was in 1677 a lad of still tender years; but at a time when it was the custom to go to a university at an age not much beyond that at which a boy is now sent to one of the great public schools, the problem of the destination of a boy of fourteen was necessarily the subject of much family concern. Several letters on the question passed between the father and grandfather of the boy, for whose support Ormond appears to have undertaken to make adequate provision; and Arlington, who was married to the lad's maternal aunt, was taken into council as to the relative advantages of an education abroad under the superintendence of a governor, and residence at Oxford.

It was ultimately decided to send the youth to Christ Church, where he was placed under the direct supervision of Dr. Fell, then Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, a don whose letters to Ormond and Sir Robert Southwell give a pleasant impression of his character and do something to rebut the undesirable innuendo contained in a well known epigram, and give some insight into College life in the Oxford of that day.

The correspondence of the Duke of Ormond with his sons is interesting, not only on account of its historical value but from the light it throws on their relation to one another and on their personal character. They show far more ease and freedom than is usually found in correspondence between a father and son in the seventeenth century. They have also a surprisingly modern tone. The letters of the Duke himself, both to his sons and to Lord Orrery, resemble those of a states-

man of the last thirty years of the reign of George III. rather than those of a magnate of the time of Charles II.

Of all Ormond's correspondents in the latter part of his long career the most intimate and confidential was his close friend and faithful supporter, Sir Robert Southwell, who during the last stage of the Duke's sojourn in Ireland was resident in England, and upon whom Ormond mainly depended for private advices of those developments of English politics which so closely affected his position as the King's representative. For such a part Southwell's official situation at this time peculiarly fitted him. His frequent letters at this time, which commence directly after Ormond's arrival in Ireland, in September 1677, form a practically continuous diary of politics for upwards of two years. They have neither the characteristic cynicism nor the literary felicity which give point to the diaries of Charles Greville; but they furnish a chronicle almost as minute, and intrinsically not less scandalous. The main interest of the earlier portion lies in the account they give of foreign affairs, in which Southwell, who had more than once acted as a British envoy to different European Courts, was closely interested. But from October 1678, onwards, Sir Robert's letters are almost exclusively filled with the details of Oates plot and the proceedings in connexion therewith, both at the Privy Council and in Parliament.

The letters of Sir Robert Southwell from 1677 to 1785 are scattered through Ormond's general correspondence, where they occur in their proper chronological sequence. But inasmuch as their counterpart, the letters of Ormond to Southwell between the years 1672 and 1678, have been printed consecutively in the late Sir John Gilbert's Report on the Ormonde Papers (Vol. II., pp. 259—308) from a transcript preserved at Kilkenny, it has appeared convenient to print Southwell's letters here in connected sequence as a separate section of this volume.

The third section—Oxford Letters, 1675-1684—consists mainly of copies of letters of recommendation addressed by the Duke of Ormond to the governing body of the University of Oxford. They are, for the most part, in favour of persons who for one reason or another required some kind of dispensation in connexion with the completion of their academic course and the conferring of degrees. They were written, of course, in Ormond's capacity as Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Although purely formal documents yet they illustrate the development of the University system and its methods of government, and add some facts of interest to the history of the University of Oxford in the 17th century. A few letters of a similar character, but relating to degrees in the University of Dublin, of which institution Ormond was also Chancellor, have found their way by some accident into the Oxford letters.

Besides being appointed Lord High Steward of England on the occasion of the coronation both of Charles II. and James II., the Duke of Ormond held the office of Lord Steward of the Household from the Restoration until his death. The "House-

hold Letters," 1675–84, printed in the Report, consist of documents relating to the business of the latter office, but cover only a portion of the very long period of Ormond's Stewardship. Although they are purely official and formal documents, they throw considerable light on the arrangements of the Royal Household in the Court of Charles II. Some documents have crept into the household volume which have no relation to the other entries in the book. Among them are some references to the Court of the Regalities and Liberties of Ormond's Palatine county of Tipperary. Marquess of Ormonde, Vol. IV.

The fifth section relating to Irish Wool Licences and Licencees, 1678–1681, contains a list of the licences issued in connexion with the wool trade, and the amounts paid in respect of the same, together with the names of the licencees for the years 1678–1681. The book from which these entries are taken affords no clue to its origin, and it does not appear to what office it belonged. It is a brief and fragmentary register. It has not appeared expedient to print the whole register in full. Its scope is sufficiently indicated by the summary of names and figures, which gives the names of the licencees and the amount paid for licences for each quarterly period from September 1678 to September 1681.

A "memorandum respecting wool exports," dated February 23rd 1677–8, and printed in the first section of the Report, appears to indicate that the register is a record of an endeavour which was made at this time to check the export of wool abroad, and was part of that jealousy of the Irish wool trade which throughout the seventeenth century was continuously manifested in England.

THE EARL OF EGMONT.

The Appendix to Report VII. of the Historical Manuscripts Commission contains a short Report upon the Earl of Egmont's MSS., giving a list of the volumes, and extracts from some few of the letters. A large number of the volumes thus catalogued prove, upon examination, to be merely collected materials for the history of the Percival family (*A Genealogical History of the House of Yvery*) published in 1742; but the collection includes the original entry-book of the Court of Castle Chamber, 1573-1620; a very fine series of original letters and papers, filling some fifty folio volumes, and ranging in date from the beginning of Charles I.'s reign to the closing decade of George II.'s; nine volumes of news-letters, 1720-1733; and twelve volumes of original diaries of the first Earl Egmont. Earl of Egmont.

This volume of the Report calendars all papers of any importance or general interest found in the nineteen folio volumes of original papers which carry the family correspondence down to the date of the Restoration of Charles II.

Earl of Egmont

The history of the Perceval family may be read in the *History of the House of Yvery*, but, as regards the early generations, the statements there made must be taken with considerable reservation. No diligence was lacking in the compilers, as is shown by the voluminous copies of records, rough pedigrees, notes, memoranda, letters and queries on the subject. Every known source was searched, church registers appealed to, ancient members of the family invited to certify facts within their knowledge. For the later generations of the family these methods succeeded admirably, but the deductions made from the mediæval records are often far from convincing, and sometimes manifestly wrong.

There can, however, be no doubt that the first Sir Philip Percivall's grandfather was George Percivall, lord of Tykenham and Sydenham, in Somersetshire, the latter manor having been brought into the family by Alice Cave, heiress of her brother John, lord of Sydenham, who married George Percivall's grandfather Thomas. George Percivall had a son Richard, and in *the House of Yvery* (and thence copied into Lodge's Peerage) will be found a long narrative of the early life of this Richard—his wildness, his journeying into Spain, his introduction to the Cecils (at which point Lord Burghley and his son Robert are curiously mixed up together), his reconciliation with his father, and his appointment as Registrar of the Commission for the Wards in Ireland. This narative is mostly taken from a certificate by Edmond Percivall of Ringwood, in Hampshire, made in 1648-9, and written entirely in his own hand. He is absolutely emphatic on the main point, *i.e.*, that Richard Percivall inherited Sydenham from his father George, sold it, went to Ireland, and was Sir Philip Percivall's father. And as Edmond Percivall had himself been his cousin Richard's clerk, and lived in the greatest intimacy with his relatives, his testimony on this point is conclusive, in spite of small inaccuracies in his story.

It is doubtful whether Richard Percivall was ever in Burghley's service. His name first appears in 1594, as a "servant" of Sir Robert Cecil, and from that time letters from him are to be found scattered amongst the Cecil Papers, usually in relation to lands and business matters, and dated from Cecil's house. He was no doubt an active assistant in the investigations concerning the Gunpowder Plot, and a letter of intelligence, addressed to him on November 7th, 1605, in relation to Fawkes, is amongst the State Papers. In 1607 he was granted the reversion of an auditorship in the Court of Wards.

In 1616, he was engaged in the enquiries relating to Overbury's murder, and wrote a long letter to Richard, his son by his first wife, urging him to state openly something which the young man evidently knew about the case, but scrupled to make public.

The "Commission for the Wards" in Ireland was issued in July, 1616, and Richard Percivall was made registrar, but he did

not go over at once, receiving a licence from the Privy Council to execute the office by deputy, on the ground that he was "now employed by the Council." As, however, his name does not occur again in the English State Papers, he probably did not remain long in England. Earl of Egmont.

After Richard Percivall's death in 1620, his sons Walter and Philip, in a petition to the Privy Council, stated that their father had brought them up in the understanding of the affairs of the Wards, with a purpose that they might succeed him, but that another had obtained the reversion. They now prayed for the reversion after the present holder, and also that if a Court of Wards were erected in Ireland they might have the same office in it. The Council sent Secretary Calvert to the King on the young men's behalf, and their request was granted.

In 1624, Walter Percivall died, and Philip succeeded to the estate, which, however, had been a good deal impaired by their father.

Philip began from the first steadily to build up the family fortunes; indeed, the authors of the *House of Yvery* mention grants of wardship to him even before he came of age, though these are not now to be found amongst his papers.

In 1624, soon after his brother's death, while acting as feodary and escheator for county Limerick, he roused the anger of the Limerick Corporation, and the town clerk issued a warrant for his arrest. Percivall afterwards obtained an apology, but this was not a solitary instance of irritation, for in the same year complaints were made in the English Privy Council of his "oppression and extortion" in the exercise of his office. (*See* Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1615-25, pp. 506, 510.) The matter was referred back to the authorities in Ireland, but there is no further notice of it, and, as the town clerk's apology is of later date, Percivall was probably exonerated.

And, indeed, it may confidently be stated that although Philip Percivall was evidently what is called a good business man, lent much money on mortgages which fell in (leaving large estates in his hands), and secured for himself wardships which gave him at any rate temporary control of great sums of money, yet an exhaustive scrutiny of his business papers and correspondence has nowhere brought to light any trace of meanness, still less of dishonesty, in his proceedings.

In 1626, Philip Percivall married Katherine, daughter of Arthur Ussher, Esquire, and granddaughter of Sir William Ussher, Clerk of the Council of Ireland. On p. 123 of the Report will be found a note, in Percivall's own hand, of the dates of his children's births, with the names of their godparents and other details. By his marriage with Katherine Ussher, Philip Percivall became connected with many prominent families in Ireland: Ussher, Newcomen, Molyneux, Philips, Meredith, and others.

The papers of the years 1630-1640 chiefly relate to Philip Percivall's official and private affairs. As Clerk of the Wards

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and Feodary and Escheator in Munster, he had to superintend official inquisitions and private enquiries after the death of tenants of the Crown, working with the avowed intention of finding as much as possible for the King, an intention which family interests and the sympathy of local juries combined to defeat so far as they could.

In 1626, Percivall began to negotiate for the purchase of an estate in his native land. The manor of Burton, in Somersetshire, was chosen, and after much disputing with John Jessop, husband of one of the co-heiresses of the manor, the bargain was concluded. Before the matter was decided, Percivall came to England with Lord Wentworth, by whom he was knighted on the eve of their departure from Ireland. While in London, he went to Court and kissed the hands of the King and Queen, then went down into Somersetshire to "view" Burton and settle finally with Mr. Jessop, and at the end of the year returned to Ireland with the Lord Deputy. Wentworth seems to have had a very high opinion of him, for in notes inserted in some of the pedigrees he is said to have called him Sir Perceive-all, and to have observed that he "heard the hoofs "of Sir Philip Percivall's horse trampling hard behind him."

In 1637, Sir Philip obtained letters patent from the King for erecting certain of his Munster estates into a manor, which he called Burton, after his newly-acquired estate in England. A little later, he received similar letters for Liscarrol.

In the following year, he was put upon a Commission for "distinguishing possessions" in Galway, which proved a difficult business, the county being very great, the freeholders many, and the measurers' books extremely false. In the end, the Commissioners made "a perfect book" of the names and quantities of lands, entered each man "with addition of father "and grandfather," marked every castle, church, mill, abbey, church land, and college land, and "expressed the dates and "effects of all purchases and mortgages" made within fourteen years past.

The most important papers calendared in the Report are those of the time of the great Irish rebellion of 1641, concerning which there is much and interesting information given, especially in relation to the province of Munster, where most of Sir Philip's Irish estates lay, and where the chief actors on the English side were his intimate friends. Although he fortified his castles and was in constant communication with his friends, bailiffs, and "captains," he himself was never there after the rebellion broke out.

His friends in Ireland kept him well supplied with news. That relating to Munster will be spoken of later. In Dublin, his chief correspondents were his brother-in-law, Sir William Usher, and his friend and deputy, Valentine Savage. Their letters contain information and comments in relation to Ormond's "fatal work" in negotiating a peace with the Irish; in relation also to Sir Charles Coote's successes in Connaught;

Lord Digby's arrival "very bare," after losing his baggage at Sherburn (including the papers and cyphers, which gave so much information to the Parliament party); Lord Glamorgan's committal and Digby's disavowal of his proceedings, rumours of royalist victories followed by more certain news of royalist defeats; the state of Dublin, and the conditions of the Protestants there. Earl of Egmont.

In February 1646-7, Sir Philip Percivall was chosen as one of the agents in London of the Ulster forces. The allowance for charges was only a mark a day, but as it was thought that the appointment would give Percivall "power of contributing "to the advancement of the general affairs of the two kingdoms," and might be a stepping-stone to other things, he was advised to accept it.

During the year 1647, Sir Philip Percivall wrote a series of interesting letters to Lord Inchiquin, partly in cypher. They are chiefly in relation to Inchiquin himself and the affairs of Munster, but there are a good many references to the struggle between the Army and the Parliament and to Percivall's own affairs. The alphabet cypher is a simple one, and was easily discovered, but the numbers standing for proper names, many of them occurring only once or twice, and with long intervals of figures never employed at all (in these letters), are often not decipherable with any certainty. The names follow each other in alphabetical sequence to a certain extent, but not entirely, and two different figures are often employed for one man. The key will be found at the end of the introduction to the Report.

At the beginning of May, the Parliamentary Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Lisle, accompanied by his "Juncto," Lord Broghill, Sir John Temple, and the Loftuses, had returned from Munster to England, all eager to pour out complaints against Lord Inchiquin, and by no means in a friendly attitude towards Sir Philip. There are long letters in relation to their proceedings.

In this same month of May, Percivall entered Parliament as member for Newport, Cornwall. He took his seat on the 25th, and on that very day "twice voted for the disbanding of the "army," thus bringing himself at once under the unfavourable notice of the Army party. On June 2nd, Alderman Hoyle, at Sir John Temple's instigation, and supported also by Lord Lisle, Colonel Sydney, and others, accused him of having been a chief means of the Cessation in 1643, going to the King at Oxford, and proposing to the soldiers in Ireland to come to England to fight against the Parliament. His accusers pressed for his suspension pending a hearing, but this was negatived, and the matter referred to a committee. Percivall earnestly and repeatedly urged the committee to meet, but public affairs were very engrossing at this time, and he never could get them to do so.

The last letter of Sir Philip's preserved in the collection is to a creditor, a Mr. Edmondes of Yorkshire, in reply to a

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demand for payment. In this, he regrets that his sufferings and losses had been so great during the last seven years that he was utterly unable to satisfy his creditors, unless it should please God to restore his estate, or Parliament to pay what they owed him. He said he was himself in great straits, but that this would not trouble him so much if he saw any likelihood of supplies being sent to enable the forces in Ireland to prevail, or of a good accommodation in England. This letter was written on October 27th. A fortnight later, on November 10th, Sir Philip died.

It has already been stated that the most important part of Sir Philip Percivall's correspondence during the time of the Irish rebellion is that relating to Munster. Sir William St. Leger, President of the province, and Lord Inchiquin, his lieutenant and son-in-law, and ultimately his successor, were intimate friends of his, and wrote to him frequently, as did also his stewards or bailiffs, and the holders of his castles.

The last news sent to Sir Philip Percivall from Munster was written when he already lay dead. The next letter from Inchiquin is to Lady Percivall, lamenting the death of his dear friend, and thus, with affectionate offers of help to that friend's widow and children, Lord Inchiquin drops out of the story. There are many notices of his eldest son, "little "Will," who with Colonel Jephson's son Jack, had been under Percivall's charge in England, and who, in 1647, was about nine years old; notices of his school work, his clothes, his visits to the Bath, the ill-behaviour of his "servant" or tutor, and his suggested employment as colonel of a regiment to go to France. The boy had a chequered after history; was the subject of many quarrels between his father and mother when Lord Inchiquin joined the Church of Rome; was captured by the Moors and long detained by them as a hostage; became Governor of Tangier and succeeded his father as Earl of Inchiquin. He married the daughter of Lord Broghill, the old antagonists, Broghill and Inchiquin, having, in their later years, become comrades and firm friends.

At the time of Sir Philip Percivall's death, his eldest son, John, was just eighteen years of age. When his father settled in London, in 1644, "Jack" was sent to Westminster School, and thence to Magdalene College, Cambridge. Letters from college friends, who became of some note in the academic world, will be found on pp. 491, 492 of the Report. From these we learn that in January 1649-50, John Percivall had left Cambridge and entered himself at Lincoln's Inn. During his minority, his estates were managed by his uncles, Sir William Ussher and Sir Paul Davys. Their task was made difficult by want of ready money, and they were unable to pay off Sir Philip's debts, although if all the money due to him had been paid in, it would have amounted to a large fortune.

On coming of age in September, 1651, John Percivall took his affairs into his own hands, and managed them with prudence and care. He refused to marry, on the ground that in

the present state of his finances, marriage would only bring down "the black fiends of ruin and misery" not only on him but on the lady of his choice, while he preferred rather to "hug his poverty" than (for the sake of money) to become a slave to one whom he did not love. His best hope for the future lay in the kindly feelings shown towards him by the Cromwell family. The Lord-General promised him letters to Lord-Deputy Ireton when he went over to look after his estates, and there are many allusions in the correspondence to Henry Cromwell's friendship and help. Earl of Egmont.

In September, 1652, John Percivall went to Ireland, travelling in the train of Lord-General Fleetwood. At this time, although his Irish possessions amounted to the immense total of seventy-eight and a half knights' fees, he had never received a penny of income from them, and in the year 1651-2, the charges were 200*l.* in excess of the receipts, as appeared by the certificates of the Revenue Commissioners themselves.

There are many interesting notices in the letters of the working of the Ordinances for Adventurers' and Soldiers' Lands and for Transplantation.

On December 17th, 1653, Sam Percivall sent his cousin an account of the dissolution of Parliament, "partly per consent, "partly per force; the high flying designs of the greater num-"ber for subverting the ministry, tithes law and what not "[having] enforced the General to take the power whereby "they sat from them." In a postscript, he describes the inauguration of Cromwell as Protector, "with no less state "and magnificence than any former King have used"; a statement applicable rather to Oliver's second installation than to his first. In the Court of Chancery, Percivall continues, the new Protector "ratified (I know not what to call it) an "instrument of three or four skins of parchment, covenants, "I suppose, for his Government." Percivall's word was not ill-chosen, for the document has been known as the Instrument of Government from Cromwell's time to our own.

In May, John Percivall came to England, bringing with him a "general petition" and also a scheme for an Act of Oblivion for Munster, and the letters for the next few months are much occupied with these matters. An account of the progress of the "Act," as it is called, is given on p. 544 of the Report.

In the summer of 1655, John Percivall accompanied Henry Cromwell to Ireland, and had now better hopes of making something out of his property. His brother-in-law, Colonel Clayton, was especially sanguine, and drew a rosy picture of him as a "Prince Palatine of Trim Clancarty," where he had "an unknown treasure of wood and mines, besides tanning "and many other beneficial projects."

John Percivall was still unmarried, a proposal in regard to Sir William Fenton's daughter having fallen through because Lady Percivall demanded a larger dowry with the lady than

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Fenton was prepared to give. In the autumn of 1655, however, he wooed and won Katherine, the only daughter of Robert Southwell, Esq., of Kinsale, and they were married in January, 1655-6.

Scraps of news were sent to John Percivall in Ireland, at first to Kinsale, where, according to his cousin Dobbins' advice, he had settled for awhile in "snug harbour," though he had ignored another part of the advice, and was already "up to "the ears" in building. At Kinsale in January, 1656-7, his eldest boy was born, and named Philip after his grandfather.

In April, 1657, John Percivall was appointed a Commissioner for "letting and setting the parochial tythes and glebes in "county Cork" for the better maintenance of the "ministers "of the gospel" there.

Percivall being now settled in Ireland, wished to dispose of his Somersetshire estate, and after some delay, his cousins, William Dobbins and Sam Percivall, managed to obtain 2,200*l.* for it from one William Vanham or Vannam, Esquire, of London.

In the summer of 1658, John Percivall received the congratulations of his friends on the "late honour" conferred on him, he having been knighted by Henry Cromwell (now Lord-Deputy) on July 22nd. He was at this time busy in county Cork in "two weighty businesses, the one of trans-"plantation (by special command of his Excellency), the other "concerning the uniting of parishes," probably in connexion with the earlier commission mentioned above.

A second son, Robert, was born in February of this year, of whom, when he was about a year and a half old, his father wrote that he was a lusty boy, "cut out for a swordsman" and with a hand already like a faulchion. The father little knew how sadly prophetic his words would prove. In his wild boyhood, Robert Percivall is said to have fought nineteen duels, and, before he was twenty, he was found lying dead under the maypole in the Strand, with his bloody sword by his side. How or by whom he was slain was never known.

Upon the appointment of the Council of State, preparatory to the return of the King, Percivall was made a member of the Council of Munster (of which province Lord Broghill was constituted President); and at the same time was re-appointed Clerk of the Crown of the Court of Upper Bench, &c., in Ireland, the office which had descended to him from his father.

As regards the other members of Sir Philip Percivall's family, the notices of his wife (or rather of his widow, for there is little mention of her during her husband's lifetime), give us a picture of a somewhat impatient and imperious "little lady" (the name by which she is usually designated in the correspondence), rather fond of show, and very much set on having her own way. The authors of *The House of Yvery* describe her as "a woman of very great spirit and high resentments, which "led her to expect too much of her husband's family, and to "be too easily discontented with their conduct to her." This

is carried out by a letter from her daughter Anne to Lady Percivall, the younger, written in 1675. The poor lady had, however, a very sad and anxious life. After her husband's death, she was accused of being a malignant and a Papist, and it was said that, before her marriage, she had been waiting gentlewoman to the Duchess of Buckingham, but these statements were disposed of by a certificate from some of the leading men in Ireland, declaring that she was brought up by her grandfather, Sir William Usher, and carefully trained in the Protestant religion; that she remained in his family until her marriage, and that she had continued a constant and zealous Protestant ever since. Earl of Egmont.

Sir Philip's second and third sons died in infancy. The fourth, Arthur, was a delicate boy and died of consumption in February, 1653-4. He had followed his brother John to Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1649-50, and about the same time, was proposed as husband to his father's ward, Anne Casie, he being then only sixteen years of age; but the young lady—aged fourteen—declined the alliance.

The fifth son, George, went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated on April 1st 1656. In the autumn of 1659 he had a severe illness, which threatened to be consumption. From this, however, he recovered, and after taking his M.A. in 1660, he went over to Dublin and there became Registrar in the Irish Prerogative Court.

Sir Philip's eldest daughter was a high-spirited, lively girl, with a strong will of her own. She set her affections firmly on a young soldier of royalist extraction, Colonel Randal Clayton, but as he had a very small estate, and that under sequestration, his suit was at first looked upon coldly, both by her mother and her brother. Happily for the lovers, Clayton was a favourite with Cromwell, who interested himself in the young man's behalf, and saved his estate. Having overcome the opposition of her family, Judith proceeded to make ready for her wedding, and her letters to her brother and Mr. Dobbins throw an amusing light on the toilet of a young lady of that day. She mentions with the utmost frankness the contents of her wardrobe, explains that "from top to toe" she must be refurnished, and begs for money to buy linen with, as if left to the last, all her things must be put out, "which is no good "huswifry," whereas now she has time to make them herself, "which must be smocks, aprons, cuffs, handkerchiefs (neck and "pocket), night clothes, and a white petticoat or two." In response to these very reasonable demands, Dobbins sent her ten pounds, and a little later twenty more. They were married in London early in 1654, and seem to have lived happily together, though often in want of money.

Of Sir Philip Percivall's friends, one of the earliest was probably Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, but there is hardly any mention of him in these papers, beyond a few sympathetic allusions at the time of his trial.

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Sir Philip's intimacy with the Earl of Ormond must have been pretty close, judging by the numerous bonds which he signed for the Earl, bonds which caused him considerable anxiety at a later date; but the two men drifted apart as time went on, and the only really unamiable trait in Sir Philip's character shown in these papers is his statement with regard to Ormond, calendared on p. 354 of the Report. Probably at this juncture—the beginning of 1647—Percivall was estranged by Ormond's supposed inclinations towards the Irish, for later he seems to have been quite friendly with him again, and even to have wished him to return to the government of Ireland.

Percivall's relations with Sir William St. Leger and Lord Inchiquin have been already noticed. Perhaps his most intimate friend, apart from his family connexions, was Colonel William Jephson, of Froyle, Hants, and Mallow, county Cork. Jephson's Irish property came to him from his mother, the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Norreys. After her death, his father married again, and by careful comparison of data, it becomes evident that the second Lady Jephson was the widow of (1) Richard Gifford, Esq., of Castle Jordan, and (2) Sir Francis Ruisshe. The Loftus papers plainly show that the widow of Gifford and of Ruisshe was one and the same lady, and that she became Lady Jephson, and the missing link is supplied by a letter in this (Egmont) collection, in which Sir John Gifford speaks of Colonel Jephson as his brother.

Colonel Jephson's zeal for the affairs of Ireland is amply shown, not only by these papers, but by the State Papers of the same date, and he was recognised as a man of weight and position. Inchiquin, as has been seen, desired him to be his successor in Munster, and Coloniel Dalbier, while objecting to go to Ireland in a subordinate position, was quite willing to serve under Jephson, he being "a man of land and of the "House." These facts effectually dispose of Ludlow's ill-natured assertion that Cromwell only chose Jephson as envoy to Sweden because of the Colonel's action in regard to the kingship question.

Other personal friends of Sir Philip Percivall were William Dobbins, of Dumbleton; Colonel Thomas Pigott, of Long Ashton; and Thomas Bettesworth, of Mallow. Dobbins was a connexion, having married the daughter of Edmond Percivall of Ringwood. His letters are interesting and lively, and in one is a humorous account of a wild goose chase on which he was sent, in search of a rich old gentleman at Wapping, who, it was thought, might prove useful to the family, but who turned out to be a very poor man, surrounded by a slatternly and ill-clad family, and earning a precarious livelihood by drawing maps for sailors.

Of John Percivall's friends, the most interesting is Robert, afterwards Sir Robert Southwell, who appears in these pages as a young man of amiable disposition and studious habits,

but of very delicate health. In 1659 he went abroad, and an interesting letter, written by him in Rome, will be found on p. 615 of the Report. Earl of Egmont.

In addition to the family correspondence of the Percivalls, there is, calendared in the Report, one volume of very different character, and of great importance. This is the original entry-book of the Court of Castle Chamber (or Star Chamber), in Ireland for the years 1573-1620, containing its decrees, and, usually, a full statement of the case in which the decree was given. The early entries are all signed by the Lord-Deputy and such members of the Court as were present at the sittings. From 1582, the names are usually written in by the clerk, and the entries are not signed. In view of the fate which has overtaken so many of the Irish Records and State Papers, it is matter of congratulation that Sir Philip Percivall kept this volume in his own hands, as, apart from it, of all the decrees of Castle Chamber for the space of fifty years (excepting a few stray ones, preserved by copies) no record has remained, save the bare entries of the money fines in the Memoranda Books of the Irish Exchequer.

The cases brought before the Court of Castle Chamber were of a very varied character, but only a quite small proportion of them had to do with ecclesiastical or religious matters. Outnumbering almost all the rest put together were the charges of "riot"; a broad term, including seizure of cattle, invasion of property, and assaults upon individuals. English settlers complained of the Irish, Irish of the English, and quite as often of their own countrymen. Small encroachments on lands and raids on cattle, not infrequently accompanied by a free fight, were common enough throughout Ireland, but the cases in which real violence was used were very few. Many causes were dismissed by the Court, and where the parties were found guilty, justice was usually satisfied by the payment of a fine. The fines were generally from one to ten pounds, either English or Irish money, but occasionally rose as high as 50*l.* or 100*l.* A term of imprisonment was sometimes added.

FRANCISCAN MANUSCRIPTS, PRESERVED AT THE CONVENT, MERCHANTS' QUAY, DUBLIN.

The foundation at Rome, contemporaneously with the establishment of the Propaganda on the Pincian Hill, of the Irish College of St. Isidore, is a conspicuous landmark in the ecclesiastico-political history of Ireland; for thither in 1625 its projector and first Guardian, Luke Wadding, brought not only the learning and acumen and unflagging energy of a great schoolman, but a lofty patriotism, tempered by practical sagacity, which made him for more than a quarter of a century the trusted spokesman of the Irish nation at the Roman Curia. Hence, at once the miscellaneous character and the singular Franciscan MSS.

Franciscan MSS.

interest of the papers now given to the public—papers which serve to link the history of Great Britain and Ireland with that of the Continent, and of which the fragmentariness cannot be too much deplored.

Only a very few of the documents are of date anterior to the accession of Charles I. Nor do the Jacobean papers shed much new light either on the grievances of the Irish Catholics or on the action of their parliamentary representatives. Indeed, the speeches "framed" by David Roth, by way of plea for a somewhat less rigorous enforcement of the Statute against Recusants, are chiefly interesting by reason of the elaborate, not to say euphuistic, eloquence of their periodic style.

Extremely diverting is the letter which contains the account of Ben Jonson's Masque, "Mercury vindicated from the "Alchemists," at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, 1615, when the Spanish Ambassador, Sarmiento de Acuña, afterwards Count of Gondomar, committed the indiscretion of flouting Sir Noel Caron, the Minister of the United Provinces, and by his vehement tirade betrayed the secret designs of his master.

The papers of the ensuing decade relate almost exclusively to matters ecclesiastical, and are too disconnected to be of much interest until the year 1623, when we note more than one sign that, encouraged by "the benevolence of the King of Great "Britain and the connivance of the Viceroy," the Church of Ireland breathes more freely, and is entering upon a period of renewed activity.

The letters received by Wadding are of no small human and literary, as well as historical, interest. They evince the piety of the writers towards their *Alma Mater* and the mingled reverence and love with which they regarded its illustrious head, and in a lesser degree all the "happy colony" which his spirit informed. They also abound with interesting allusions to Wadding's literary performances and projects.

It is remarkable that of the great edition of the Works of Duns Scotus we hear no word, though it must have been in hand for many a year before its publication in 1639. Probably, therefore, even the Bishop of Waterford knew not all the labours of his "hundred-handed hero," and when we reflect that this true successor of the mediæval doctors was no mere scholarly recluse, but a man weighted with heavy official responsibilities, which he punctiliously discharged, we must recognise that the worthy bishop's suggestion that he was meet to receive the grace of bilocation, ascribed to St. Antony of Padua, was a compliment as well deserved as it was felicitous.

Very pleasant, also, is it to observe how, even in that age of bitter religious strife, community of intellectual interest could so far mitigate its melancholy consequences as that Wadding's collaborator in the Sacred History of Ireland, Thomas Strange, of Waterford, the Guardian of the Franciscan Order, could always count on the generous help of three staunch Protestants—the Master of the Rolls, Baron Aungier, of Longford; the Primate Ussher; and Sir James Ware.

After the death of Hugh MacCaghwell, Wadding's chief coadjutor in the edition of Duns Scotus, Antony Hickey and John Ponce, both learned Scotists, remained, next to Wadding himself, the most distinguished in a literary sense among the "happy colony" of St. Isidore's. Hickey's *Nitela*, a defence of the principles and practice of the Franciscan Order, will be found mentioned more than once in these papers. Franciscan MSS.

For the rest, it will be seen that not a few of the earlier papers relate to the age-long controversy between the Seculars and the Regulars, a matter not to be rashly handled by the lay historian.

But it was not only the opposition of a section of the secular clergy with which the religious Orders had to contend: they had re-organised themselves with a thoroughness that alarmed the Government, which in 1629-30 set about closing their oratories and confiscating their property. Accordingly, on the eve of the conclusion of peace with Spain, Father Thomas Strange, the astute and vigilant Guardian of the Franciscan Order, was sent to Court to plead for some mitigation of the persecution. Unfortunately, the papers fail us shortly after his return to Waterford, though not before he has recorded his total despair of success. This tantalising *lacuna* extends to the very outbreak of the rebellion, which is the more to be regretted by reason of the extraordinary interest and importance of the correspondence which relates to the latter period.

These letters take us behind the scenes into the counsels and intimate confidence of the little band of enthusiasts who dreamed, or at any rate behaved as if they dreamed, that a Barberini Pope might make sacrifices, and Catholic and Christian Kings compose their differences to support a crusade in Ireland.

That such a Pontiff as this should be induced to embark on a crusade, or risk much for the recovery of so distant a fief of the Church as Ireland, would have been nothing less than a moral miracle. Ireland was, indeed, a prize that a Pope might covet, but it was a prize the tenure of which must have proved as precarious as the acquisition would have been difficult. To Urban and the Eminent Nephews it seemed a matter of more importance to annex the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the Papal States, and the imprudence of the Duke of Parma had already furnished the needful pretext for aggression. Thus it happened that in the hour of Ireland's need the Papal resources were taxed to the uttermost to support a war with Parma and his allies, Modena, Tuscany, and Venice.

In these circumstances it must have been with a heavy heart that Wadding, whose native sagacity and long and intimate experience of the policy and practice of the Roman Curia, forbade him to cherish any illusions, laid before the Pope the passionate appeals of his misguided countrymen, who seem at times to have even thought it possible that the Papal forces should be employed in Ireland, and conveyed to them in

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return the pious wishes and paltry pecuniary succours of their "Masters."

Nor was a cause in which the Pope and the Eminent Nephews showed themselves lukewarm likely to receive support in any other quarter. Neither Olivares nor Richelieu was in the least disposed to set the interests of the Church above those of the State; and Spain had good reason to desire England's friendship, and to be loth to part with the services of her Irish auxiliaries; while France, though "willing to wound," was "yet afraid to strike" a Power which, however torn by domestic dissensions, was none the less formidable at sea. Olivares would at first make no concession whatever, and took care to proclaim the fact to the world, and though he somewhat changed his attitude after the recognition of Portugal by England, and by his expressions of Platonic sympathy encouraged the Confederates to accredit the Archbishop of Tuam as envoy to the Court of Madrid, yet the result was only that the adventurers found their operations facilitated in the Netherlands and S. Sebastian.

Neither from Richelieu nor from Chavigny was more to be had than connivance at illicit traffic between France and England and the use of Brittany and Rochelle as a naval base by Preston and Con O'Neill.

That despite such discouragements the patriots on the Continent persisted in their enterprise would be not a little surprising, but that it is evident from these papers that the vigilance of the English Government, which in its determination to secure itself the monopoly of Irish news scrupled not to violate the privileges of ambassadors, deprived them of the means of accurately gauging the situation in Ireland. Indeed, it would be necessary to caution the reader against implicit acceptance of their reports of the course of events in "the "country," were it not that their embarrassment and ignorance appear at every turn, and joyful intelligence, at first received with confidence, proves again and again to be mere hearsay or fable.

At first the Catholics seemed to be carrying all before them, and to be already virtual masters of the island; but gradually, as the mist of false rumour was dispelled, widespread and formidable though the revolt unquestionably was, yet, what with the vigilance and energy of Ormonde, St. Leger, and Inchiquin, the neutrality of Clanrickarde and Antrim, the stout defence made by Dublin and Drogheda, Youghal, Cork, and Kinsale, the hold on Ulster still secured to England by the possession of Londonderry, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus, and the reinforcement of their garrisons by the Scottish contingents, the strength of the Castles of Athlone, Galway, Duncannon, and Limerick, and the weakness of the insurgents in material of war, and especially in heavy ordnance, it became apparent that the keys of the country remained in Protestant hands, and were likely so to remain, without timely and effec-

tive succour from abroad. For the transport of such succour they needed a fleet adequate to wrest the command of the sea from England. Had they had such a fleet at their disposal, though but for a brief while, they might have made the reconquest of the island a matter of extreme difficulty. But in place of such a fleet all that the Papal bounty enabled them to equip was a few frigates; and even this trifling aid was robbed of all its grace and much of its utility by the vexatious delays that attended its remittance. Franciscan MSS.

Hugh Bourke, who, as intermediary in the Netherlands between Rome and Ireland, was exceptionally well informed of the state of affairs, disburdened his soul to Wadding of the disgust which the dilatory tactics of the Curia excited in him in no stinted terms.

Elsewhere he ventured a direct appeal to the Pope's cupidity.

Nor did he forbear to laugh at the exiguous Papal largess (20,000 ducats to buy a frigate withal!), its circuitous remittance and the absurd mystery made about it, and to advert with bitter scorn to "devout intentions which, however with "God, suffice not for so great a work."

By this time it is plain that Bourke realised that the success of the Irish cause depended mainly on the course of events in England and the character of the King, who he trusted, might be reduced by stress of circumstances to purchase the armed support of the Irish Catholics by the abolition of Protestant ascendency. The presence of Queen Henrietta Maria at the Hague inspired him with hope that through her influence he might be able to commend this policy to the King. He accordingly waited upon her; nor did she refuse him ample opportunity of disclosing his mind. He was therefore as much surprised as disappointed to learn from her that nothing was further from the King's intention than to treat the Irish Catholics otherwise than as rebels, and that principle and policy alike precluded him from so much as entertaining the idea of conceding them absolute liberty of conscience with restitution of forfeited estates. The letter of May 10th, 1642, in which Bourke summarises what passed between Her Majesty and himself during the three interviews which she accorded him, is of singular interest by reason of the Queen's quiet but emphatic censure of those who took up "arms against a "King who thought his religion better than theirs," and her implied repudiation of her father's cynical maxim, "*Paris vaut "bien une messe.*"

In this connexion attention may be drawn to the document in French, purporting to be a translation of a letter by Lord Digby, and conjecturally assigned to the year 1646, the tenor of which tallies so remarkably well with the Queen's testimony.

Bourke was an able man and no mean theologian, and in all likelihood his experience was by no means bounded by the

Franciscan MSS.

pale of his own church; but yet his total misapprehension of Charles's character and ecclesiastical position is far from surprising; for in that age neither Puritan nor Catholic could reasonably be expected to understand the Anglican *via media* or the cardinal importance in the British polity of the royal supremacy in matters spiritual. It was therefore but natural that he should find the Queen's declaration a hard saying. But he was far too sagacious not to give it its due weight. Witness the despairing tone of his letter of May 17th, 1642, in which he is "wasting and perishing for grief to see how insensibly "nigher and nigher draws that catastrophe which must inflict "mortal wounds upon our country, unless some one be at the "pains to encounter such evils with something more sub-"stantial than good intentions and words"; failing which effective succour he "is minded to leave all and withdraw to "Bohemia."

However, at last the needful funds were actually in Bourke's hands, and first the *St. Francis* frigate, which bore Owen Roe O'Neil, and afterwards, with the cordial co-operation of the Spanish authorities, the *Serafina*—in which sailed the veteran soldier of fortune John Bourke, who appears in the MSS. as Don Juan de Burgo—put to sea from Dunkerque. The letters which describe this passage in the history have all the interest attaching to an episode in romance. Nay, an episode in romance the enterprise actually was, nor is it possible to admire too much the high spirit of the devoted men who with such slender resources embarked on so all but hopeless an adventure.

But slight as was the material support which the Pope afforded the patriots at this crisis, his moral support, save in the shape of benedictions, exhortations and indulgences, failed them altogether. The choice of so comparatively obscure a person as the Procurator, Dr. Edmond Dwyer, as his envoy to Ireland, was little better than a studied insult to the Irish people. Dwyer himself was insulted and embarrassed by being left without a *viaticum*, and his journey through France was retarded by the Nuncio, who was so well satisfied with his subsequent capture by a Barbary rover that upon his redemption by a Huguenot merchant of Rochelle, he could hardly be induced to furnish the ransom necessary to complete his emancipation, and eventually forbade him to proceed on his mission.

Nor was it Dwyer alone that suffered at the hands of the Nuncio; Gregory French took "him to be a little of the "slower," and both Matthew O'Hartegan and Geoffrey Baron found themselves baffled by Grimaldi's "*lunga promessa con "l'attender corto.*" After three months' waiting upon him, Baron could not "sufficiently admire what makes the Lord "Nuntio (a man appearing in words of an eminent zeal to our "cause) so slow in giving what he has direction for." To O'Hartegan his zeal was indisputable, and his policy unintelligible. Their embarrassment was increased by the sickness of Richelieu, then virtually on his death-bed.

The Nuncio also "did" Preston "much honour," but the ship which he was graciously pleased to place at his service was not "quite ready," so that Preston "preferred to avail "himself of the opportunity that he had." Franciscan MSS.

Meanwhile, the capture of Limerick Castle on the 23rd of June, was rendered nugatory by the presence of sixteen English men-of-war in the roads, and Waterford harbour was "quite sealed "up," being commanded by the guns of Duncannon Fort. Indeed, according to Edmond Dwyer, every harbour in Ireland, except those of Wexford and Dungarvan, was also in one way or another sealed up, while the 'insurgents' commerce with France was at the mercy of the treacherous Biscayans. No wonder that his reflections as the year drew to a close were somewhat gloomy, for the ring of steel which girded Ireland was still in the main intact, and, except in Ulster, the insurgents had had no considerable success in the field.

As to English affairs, the information contained in the letters of Hugh Bourke and Don Jayme Nochera is in general well founded, while the verve and vivacity, piquancy, and pungency of their style impart a new interest to a story which has suffered too much by the lucubrations of dry-as-dusts.

Don Jayme Nochera was a learned man, who had relations with Ussher, and though his true surname remains to be discovered, he was an Irishman versed in Gaelic and a Franciscan. He was also in the confidence of the Spanish Ambassador, and as he remained at his post when most Catholics had fled from London, it may, perhaps, be inferred that he was attached to the Spanish Embassy. He was doubtless the writer of the Irish letter describing the deplorable condition of Lord Maguire, Colonel Hugh McMahon, and Colonel John Reade, "the "Scottish Catholic Captain," in Newgate in 1643, and the glimpses he affords us of the sufferings of the condemned priests serve to draw attention to incidents in the campaign which are too apt to be forgotten.

The editing of these papers proved an unusually toilsome task, owing partly to their polyglottic character, partly to the faded, fragmentary, or decayed condition of not a few of the documents, the reading and dating of which accordingly entailed much careful study.

In the later correspondence several ciphers, both numerical and literal, are used. The keys to the numerical ciphers and Don Jayme Nochera's literal cipher were furnished by marginal jottings, apparently made by Wadding. The key to the first cipher, used by Edmund Dwyer, was only discovered by internal evidence as the sheets passed through the press.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

The examination of the older documents in the Welsh language at the British Museum has been nearly completed, and the report is in the hands of the printers. Welsh MSS.

All which we humbly submit for Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

(Signed)

HERBERT H. COZENS-HARDY (L.S.), Chairman.
RIPON (L.S.)
CRAWFORD (L.S.)
DARTMOUTH (L.S.)
FITZMAURICE (L.S.)
STANMORE (L.S.)
LINDLEY (L.S.)
ALVERSTONE (L.S.)
COLLINS (L.S.)
JOHN MORLEY (L.S.)
H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE (L.S.)
C. H. FIRTH (L.S.)

R. A. ROBERTS, *Secretary.*

July, 1907.

APPENDIX.

I.

LIST OF REPORTS ISSUED.

(Size, Fcap to Ninth Report, Part III., inclusive ; after that 8vo.)

(Dates in parentheses show years of Reprints.)

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. *d.*
1870 (1874)	FIRST REPORT, WITH APPENDIX ... ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges: Abingdon, and other Corporations, &c. SCOTLAND. Advocates' Library, Glasgow Corporation, &c. IRELAND. Dublin, Cork, and other Corporations, &c.	C. 55	1 6
1871	SECOND REPORT, WITH APPENDIX, AND INDEX TO THE FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS ... ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Oxford Colleges; Monastery of Dominican Friars at Woodchester, Duke of Bedford, Earl Spencer, &c. SCOTLAND. Aberdeen and St. Andrew's Universities, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Dr. Lyons, &c.	C. 441	3 10
1872 (1895)	THIRD REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Stonyhurst College; Bridgwater and other Corporations; Duke of Northumberland, Marquis of Lansdowne, Marquis of Bath, &c. SCOTLAND. University of Glasgow; Duke of Montrose, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde; Black Book of Limerick, &c.	C. 673	6 0
1873	FOURTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Westminster Abbey; Cambridge and Oxford Colleges; Cinque Ports, Hythe, and other Corporations, Marquis of Bath, Earl of Denbigh, &c. SCOTLAND. Duke of Argyll, &c. IRELAND. Trinity College, Dublin; Marquis of Ormonde.	C. 857	6 8
1873	DITTO. PART II. INDEX	C. 857-i	2 6
1876	FIFTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; Rye, Lydd, and other Corporations, Duke of Sutherland, Marquis of Lansdown, Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq., &c. SCOTLAND. Earl of Aberdeen, &c.	C. 1432	7 0
1876	DITTO. PART II. INDEX	C. 1432-i	3 6
1877	SIXTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... ENGLAND. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Lambeth Palace; Black Book of the Archdeacon of Canterbury; Bridport, Wallingford, and other Corporations: Lord Leconfield, Sir Reginald Graham, Sir Henry Ingilby, &c. SCOTLAND. Duke of Argyll, Earl of Moray, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde.	C. 1745	8 6

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. d.
1878 (1893)	SIXTH REPORT. PART II. INDEX	C. 2102	1 10
1879 (1895)	SEVENTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. ... House of Lords; County of Somerset; Earl of Egmont, Sir Frederick Graham, Sir Harry Verney, &c.	C. 2340	7 6
1879 (1895)	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Duke of Atholl, Marquis of Ormonde, Sir S. F. Livingstone, &c.	C. 2340-i	3 6
1881	EIGHTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX. PART I. ... ... Duke of Marlborough; Earl of Portsmouth; Earl of Jersey; House of Lords; Lord Emly; Ralph Bankes, Esq., Geo. Wingfield Digby, Esq.; Royal College of Physicians; Corporation of Trinity House; Queen Anne's Bounty Office; Corporations of Chester, Leicester, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Emly, The O'Conor Don, Trinity College, Dublin, &c. *Re-issued, in part, 1907, as a Stationery Office publication—* Report and Appendix, Part I., Section I. Price 6*s.* 8vo.	C. 3040	*Out of print.*
1881	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Duke of Manchester.	C. 3040-i	*Out of print.*
1881	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Earl of Ashburnham.	C. 3040-ii	*Out of print.*
1883 (1895)	NINTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX. PART I. ... ... St. Paul's and Canterbury Cathedrals; Eton College; Carlisle, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and Barnstaple Corporations, &c.	C. 3773	5 2
1884 (1895)	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... ENGLAND. House of Lords, Earl of Leicester, C. Pole Gell, Alfred Morrison, Esqs., &c. SCOTLAND. Lord Elphinstone, H. C. Maxwell Stuart, Esq., &c. IRELAND. Duke of Leinster, Marquis of Drogheda, &c.	C. 3773-i	6 3
1884	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX ... Mrs. Stopford Sackville. [*Re-issued*, 1904, *revised and extended, as Cd.* 1892.]	C. 3773-ii	*Out of print.*
1883 (1895)	CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G. (or CECIL MSS.).		
	PART I. 1306–1571	C. 3777	3 5
1888	PART II. 1572–1582	C. 5463	3 5
1889	PART III. 1583–1589	C. 5889-v	2 1
1892	PART IV. 1590–1594	C. 6823	2 11
1894	PART V. 1594–1596	C. 7574	2 6
1896	PART VI. 1596	C. 7884	2 8
1899	PART VII. 1597	C. 9246	2 8
1899	PART VIII. 1598	C. 9467	2 8
1902	PART IX. 1599	C. 928	2 3
1904	PART X. 1600	C. 2052	2 3
1906	PART XI. 1601	C. 3134	2 10

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. d.
1885	TENTH REPORT ... ... (*Re-issued, 1906, as a Stationery Office publication. Price 6d.*)	C. 4548	*Out of print.*
	This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1885 (1895)	(1.) Earl of Eglinton, Sir J. S. Maxwell, Bart., and C. S. H. D. Moray, C. F. Weston Underwood, G. W. Digby, Esqs.	C. 4575	3 7
1885	(2.) The Family of Gawdy	C. 5476-iii	1 4
1885	(3.) Wells Cathedral ... ... [*Re-issued, 1906, revised and extended, as Cd. 2810.*]	C. 4576-ii	*Out of print.*
1885	(4.) Earl of Westmorland; Capt. Stewart; Lord Stafford; Sir N. W. Throckmorton; Sir P. T. Mainwaring, Lord Muncaster, M.P., Capt. J. F. Bagot, Earl of Kilmorey, Earl of Powis, and others, the Corporations of Kendal, Wenlock, Bridgnorth, Eye, Plymouth; the County of Essex; and Stonyhurst College. (*Re-issued, 1906, as a Stationery Office publication. Price 6s.*)	C. 4576	*Out of print.*
1885 (1895)	(5.) Marquis of Ormonde, Earl of Fingall, Corporations of Galway and Waterford, Sees of Dublin and Ossory, the Jesuits in Ireland.	C. 4576-i	2 10
1887	(6.) Marquis of Abergavenny, Lord Braye, G. F. Luttrell, P. P. Bouverie, W. Bromley Davenport, R. T. Balfour, Esqs.	C. 5242	1 7
1887	ELEVENTH REPORT	C. 5060-vi	0 3
	This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1887	(1.) H. D. Skrine, Esq., Salvetti Correspondence	C. 5060	1 1
1887	(2.) House of Lords, 1678–1688	C. 5060-i	2 0
1887	(3.) Corporations of Southampton and Lynn...	C. 5060-ii	1 8
1887	(4.) Marquess Townshend	C. 5060-iii	2 6
1887	(5.) Earl of Dartmouth	C. 5060-iv	2 8
1887	(6.) Duke of Hamilton	C. 5060-v	1 6
1888	(7.) Duke of Leeds, Marchioness of Waterford, Lord Hothfield, &c.; Bridgwater Trust Office, Reading Corporation, Inner Temple Library.	C. 5612	2 0
1890	TWELFTH REPORT	C. 5889	0 3
	This is introductory to the following APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1888	(1.) Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS., at Melbourne Hall, Derby). Vol. I.	C. 5472	2 7
1888	(2.) „ „ Vol. II.	C. 5613	2 5
1889	(3.) „ „ Vol. III.	C. 5889-i	1 4
1888	(4.) Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. I.... ...	C. 5614	*Out of print.*
1891	(5.) „ „ Vol. II. ...	C. 5889-ii	2 0
1889	(6.) House of Lords, 1689–1690	C. 5889-iii	2 1
1890	(7.) S. H. le Fleming, Esq.	C. 5889-iv	1 11
1891	(8.) Duke of Athole, K.T., Earl of Home ...	C. 6338	1 0
1891	(9.) Duke of Beaufort, K.G., Earl of Donoughmore; J. H. Gurney, W. W. B. Hulton, R. W. Ketton, G. A. Aitken, P. V. Smith, Esqs.; Bishop of Ely; Cathedrals of Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Peterborough; Corporations of Gloucester, Higham Ferrers, and Newark; Southwell Minster; Lincoln District Registry.	C. 6338-i	2 6
1891	(10.) First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. I. ...	C. 6338-ii	1 11

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. *d.*
1892	THIRTEENTH REPORT ... ... This is introductory to the following	C. 6827	0 3
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1891	(1.) Duke of Portland. Vol. I.	C. 6474	3 0
1893	(2.) " " Vol. II.	C. 6827-i	2 0
1892	(3.) J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. I.	C. 6660	2 7
1892	(4.) Corporations of Rye, Hastings, and Hereford ; Captain F. C. Loder-Symonds, E. R. Wodehouse, M.P., J. Dovaston, Esqs., Sir T. B. Leonard, Bart., Rev. W. D. Macray, and Earl of Dartmouth (Supplementary Report).	C. 6810	2 4
1892	(5.) House of Lords, 1690–1691...	C. 6822	2 4
1893	(6.) Sir W. Fitzherbert, Bart.; the Delaval Family, of Seaton Delaval ; Earl of Ancaster ; General Lyttelton-Annesley.	C. 7166	1 4
1893	(7.) Earl of Lonsdale	C. 7241	1 3
1893	(8.) First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. II. ...	C. 7424	1 11
1896	FOURTEENTH REPORT... ... ... This is introductory to the following	C. 7983	0 3
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1894	(1.) Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. III. ...	C. 7476	1 11
1894	(2.) Duke of Portland. Vol. III.	C. 7569	2 8
1894	(3.) Duke of Roxburghe ; Sir H. H. Campbell, Bart. ; Earl of Strathmore ; Countess Dowager of Seafield.	C. 7570	1 2
1894	(4.) Lord Kenyon	C. 7571	2 10
1896	(5.) J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. II.	C. 7572	2 8
1895	(6.) House of Lords, 1692–93 ... ... (*Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, 1693–1695, *Vol. I. (New Series). See H.L. No.* (5) *of* 1900. *Price* 2*s.* 2*d.* *Ditto.* 1695–1697. *Vol. II. See H.L. No.* (18) *of* 1903. *Price* 2*s.* 9*d.* *Ditto.* 1697–1699. *Vol. III. See H.L. No.* (175) *of* 1905. *Price* 2*s.*)	C. 7573	1 11
1895	(7.) Marquis of Ormonde...	C. 7678	1 10
1895	(8.) Lincoln, Bury S. Edmunds, Hertford, and Great Grimsby Corporations ; Dean and Chapter of Worcester, and of Lichfield ; Bishop's Registry of Worcester.	C. 7881	1 5
1895	(9.) Earl of Buckinghamshire ; Earl of Lindsey ; Earl of Onslow ; Lord Emly ; T. J. Hare, Esq , J. Round, Esq., M.P.	C. 7882	2 6
1895	(10.) Earl of Dartmouth. Vol. II. American Papers.	C. 7883	2 9
1899	FIFTEENTH REPORT .. .. This is introductory to the following	C. 9295	0 4
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES :		
1896	(1.) Earl of Dartmouth. Vol III.	C. 8156	1 5
1897	(2.) J. Eliot Hodgkin, Esq	C. 8327	1 8
1897	(3.) Charles Haliday, Esq., of Dublin ; Acts of the Privy Council in Ireland, 1556-1571 ; Sir William Usshers's Table to the Council Book ; Table to the Red Council Book.	C. 8364	1 4
1897	(4.) Duke of Portland. Vol. IV.	C. 8497	2 11
1897	(5.) Right Hon. F. J. Savile Foljambe... ...	C. 8550	0 10
1897	(6.) Earl of Carlisle	C. 8551	3 6
1897	(7.) Duke of Somerset ; Marquis of Ailesbury ; Sir F. G. Puleston, Bart.	C. 8552	1 9

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
	APPENDICES AND INDEXES—*cont.*		*s. d.*
1897	(8.) Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, at Drumlanrig. Vol. I.	C. 8553	1 4
1897	(9.) J. J. Hope Johnstone, Esq....	C. 8554	1 0
1899	(10.) Shrewsbury and Coventry Corporations; Sir H. O. Corbet, Bart., Earl of Radnor, P. T. Tillard. J. R. Carr-Ellison, Andrew Kingsmill, Esqs.	C. 9472	1 0
	MANUSCRIPTS IN THE WELSH LANGUAGE:		
1898	Vol. I. Lord Mostyn, at Mostyn Hall	C. 8829	1 4
1899	Vol. I. Part II.—W. R. M. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth.	C. 9468	2 11
1905	Vol. I. Part III.—Peniarth. Sir T. Williams; John Jones, Robert Vaughan, Esqs.	Cd. 2443	0 8
1902	Vol. II. Part I. Jesus College, Oxford; Free Library, Cardiff; Havod; Wrexham; Llanwrin; Merthyr; Aberdâr.	Cd. 1100	1 9
1903	Vol. II. Part II. Plas Llan Stephan; Free Library, Cardiff.	Cd. 1692	1 8
1905	Vol. II. Part III. Panton; Cwrtmawr ...	Cd. 2444	0 8
1899	Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, at Montagu House, Whitehall. Vol. I.	C. 9244	2 7
1903	„ „ Vol. II. (Part I.)	Cd. 930	1 10
1903	„ „ Vol. II. (Part II.) ...	Cd. 930-i	1 11
1903	„ „ At Drumlanrig Castle. Vol. II.	C. 1827	1 1
1899	Marquess of Ormonde, K.P., at Kilkenny Castle. Vol. II.	C. 9245	2 0
1902	„ „ New Series. Vol. I.	Cd. 929	1 7
1903	„ „ „ Vol. II.... ...	Cd. 1691	1 10
1904	„ „ „ Vol. III. ...	Cd. 1963	2 0
1906	„ „ „ Vol. IV. ...	Cd. 3008	3 0
1904	Mrs. Stopford-Sackville. Vol. I.	Cd. 1892	1 10
1899	Duke of Portland. Vol. V.	C. 9466	2 9
1901	„ Vol. VI., with Index to Vols. III.–VI. ...	Cd. 676	1 9
1901	„ Vol. VII.	Cd. 783	2 3
	„ Vol. VIII.	Cd. 3475	*In the Press.*
1899	J. M. Heathcote, Esq.	C. 9469	1 3
1899	J. B. Fortescue, Esq. Vol. III.	C. 9470	3 1
1905	„ „ Vol. IV.	C. 2233	2 6
1906	„ „ Vol. V.	C. 2211	2 4
1899	F. W. Leyborne-Popham, Esq	C. 9471	1 6
1900	Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley	Cd. 282	2 0
1900	Lord Montagu of Beaulieu	Cd. 283	1 1
1900	Beverley Corporation	Cd. 284	1 0
1901	Various Collections. Vol. I. Corporations of Berwick-on-Tweed, Burford and Lostwithiel: Counties of Wilts and Worcester; Bishop of Chichester; Dean and Chapter of Chichester, Canterbury, and Salisbury.	Cd. 784	2 0
1903	Ditto. Vol. II. Sir Geo. Wombwell, Duke of Norfolk, Lord Edmund Talbot (the Shrewsbury Papers), Miss Buxton, Mrs. Harford and Mrs. Wentworth of Woolley.	Cd. 932	2 4
1904	Ditto. Vol. III. T. B. Clarke-Thornhill, Esq., Sir T. Barrett-Lennard, Bart., Pelham R. Papillon, W. Cleverly Alexander, Esqs.	Cd. 1964	1 6
	Ditto. Vol. IV. Bishop of Salisbury; Bishop of Exeter; Dean and Chapter of Exeter; Earl of Leicester; Sir William Clayton, Bart.; F. H. T. Jervoise, Esq.; Major Money-Kryle; City of Salisbury; Boroughs of Orford and Aldeburgh.		*In the Press.*

Date of Issue.	Report, Name of Owner of MSS., &c.	No. of Paper.	Price.
			s. d.
1902	The Stuart Manuscripts at Windsor Castle, belonging to His Majesty the King. Vol. I.	Cd. 927	2 11
1904	" " Vol. II	Cd. 2189	2 9
1907	" " Vol. III	Cd. 3430	2 10
1902	Colonel David Milne-Home	Cd. 931	1 4
1904	Marquess of Bath, Vol. I.	Cd. 2048	1 9
	" " Vol. II.	Cd. 3474	*In the Press.*
1904	American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Vol. I.	Cd. 2201	2 3
1906	" " Vol. II.	Cd. 2897	2 6
1904	SIXTEENTH REPORT (containing a list of the owners of Manuscripts upon whose collections Reports have been made to July, 1904).	Cd. 2209	0 9
1904	Earl of Mar and Kellie...	Cd. 2190	2 7
1905	Lady Du Cane	Cd. 2367	2 6
1905	Marquess of Lothian, at Blickling Hall	Cd. 2319	2 2
1905	Earl of Egmont. Vol. I. Part I.	Cd. 2318	1 8
1905	" Vol. I. Part II.	Cd. 2570	1 9
1905	Duke of Rutland. Vol. IV.	Cd. 2606	2 9
1906	Earl of Verulam...	Cd. 2973	1 4
1906	Franciscan MSS. at the Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin.	Cd. 2867	1 4
1907	Dean and Chapter of Wells	Cd. 2810	2 11
	Earl of Ancaster...	Cd. 3429	*In the Press.*

II.

THE FOLLOWING LIST SHEWS THE NAMES OF THE OWNERS OF MANUSCRIPTS UPON WHOSE COLLECTIONS REPORTS HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT UP TO THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1907. *IT ALSO SHEWS THE PLACES OF DEPOSIT OF THE RESPECTIVE COLLECTIONS AT THE TIME WHEN THE REPORTS WERE DRAWN UP; AND, IN ADDITION, INDICATES THE MORE CONSIDERABLE GROUPS OF PAPERS COMPRISED IN THEM.*

Abercairny, Crieff, Perthshire, MSS. at. *See* Moray, C. Stirling-Home-Drummond.

Aberdâr MSS. *See* Welsh MSS., Vol. II., Part I.

Aberdeen, Burgh of. First Report, xii.; and App., 121-123.

———University of. Second Report, xix.; and App., 199-201.

Aberdeen, Earl of. Fifth Report, xix.; and App., 608-610.

Aberdona, Clackmannanshire, MSS. at. *See* Erskine-Murray, Hon. Mrs. Isabella.

Abergavenny, Marquess of [18th cent.]. Tenth Report, 23-25; and App. VI., 1-72.

Abergeldie, Aberdeen, MSS. at. *See* Gordon, Mr. Hugh Mackay.

Abingdon, co. Berks., Corporation of. First Report, App., 98; Second Report, xv.; and App., 149-150.

——— Hospital of Christ at. First Report, App., 98.

Aboyne Castle, Aberdeenshire, MSS. at. *See* Huntly, Marquess of.

Acton Reynald, co. Salop, MSS. at. *See* Corbet, Sir W. O., Bart.

Ailesbury, Marquess of [17th and 18th cent.]. Fifteenth Report, 18-21; and App. VII., 152-306.

Ailsa, Marquess of. Fifth Report, xix.; and App., 613-617.

Ainslie, Miss. Second Report, xii.; and App., 68.

Airlie, Earl of. Second Report, xvii.; and App., 186-188.

Aitken, Mr. G. A. [18th cent.]. Twelfth Report, App. IX., 334-342.

Aldeburgh, co. Suffolk, Corporation of. Seventeenth Report, 124, 125. Various Collections, Vol. IV., 279-312.

Alexander, Mr. W. Cleverly, [17th cent.]. Various Collections, Vol. III., 259-264.

Allardice. *See* Barclay-Allardice.

Alloa House, Clackmannanshire, MSS. at. *See* Mar and Kellie, Earl of.

Alltyrodyn, Llandyssil, co. Cardigan, MSS. at. *See* Stewart, Captain James.

Almack, Mr. Richard. First Report, x.; and App., 55.

Alnwick Castle, co. Northumberland, MSS. at. *See* Northumberland, Duke of.

Alwington, North Devon, Church Books of the Parish of. Fifth Report, xvi.; and App., 597.

American MSS. in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Seventeenth Report, 103-109; and Vol. I., 1747-1779; Vol. II., 1779-1782.

Amherst, Lord. Correspondence. *See* American MSS. in the Royal Institution, Vols. I and II.

Ampleforth, near Gilling, co. York, MSS. in the Library of St. Lawrence's College. Second Report, xiii.; and App., 109.

Ancaster, Earl of [16th-18th cent.]. Thirteenth Report, 31; and App. VI., 203-261. Seventeenth Report, 41-54; and one Vol. (1907).

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Warburton, Mr. R. E. Egerton. *See* Egerton-Warburton.
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III.

COLLECTIONS REPORTED UPON, ARRANGED TOPOGRAPHICALLY.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

ANGLESEY.

Miss Conway Griffith.

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Duke of Bedford, K.G.
Countess Cowper.
Sir George Osborn, Bart.
Mr. J. J. Harvey.
Mr. R. Orlebar.

BERKSHIRE.

Mr. S. E. E. Bouverie-Pusey.
Mr. C. J. Eyston.
Capt. F. C. Loder-Symonds.
Sir N. W. Throckmorton, Bart.
Stuart MSS. at Windsor Castle.
Mrs. Willes.
Abingdon Corporation.
——— Hospital of Christ.
Reading Corporation.
Wallingford Corporation.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Earl of Buckinghamshire.
Mrs. Frankland-Russell-Astley.
Sir William Clayton, Bart.
Hon. G. M. Fortescue.
Mr. J. B. Fortescue.
Sir H. Verney, Bart.
Eton College.
High Wycombe Corporation.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Cambridge Corporation.
——— Christ's College.
——— Clare College.
——— Corpus Christi College.
——— Downing College.
——— Emmanuel College.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE—*continued.*

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College.
——— Jesus College.
——— King's College.
——— Magdalene College.
——— Pembroke College.
——— Queen's College.
——— St. Catherine's College.
——— St. John's College.
——— St. Peter's College.
——— Sidney Sussex College.
——— Trinity College.
——— Trinity Hall.
——— Registry of the University.
Ely, Bishop of.
——— Dean and Chapter of.
Wisbech Corporation.

CARDIGANSHIRE.

Captain James Stewart.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

Welsh MSS., Vol. II., part ii.

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Mr. W. Bromley Davenport.
Sir Philip de M. Grey-Egerton, Bart.
Mr. W. J. Legh.
Sir P. T. Mainwaring, Bart.
Lord de Tabley.
Mr. R. E. Egerton-Warburton.
Duke of Westminster, K.G.
Mr. G. F. Wilbraham.
Chester Corporation.

CORNWALL.

Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.
Mr. J. J. Rogers.
Earl of St. Germans.
Sir John S. Trelawny, Bart.
Launceston Corporation.
Lostwithiel Corporation.

CUMBERLAND.

Sir F. U. Graham, Bart.
Earl of Lonsdale.
Lord Muncaster.
Carlisle, Dean and Chapter of.
——— Diocesan Registry of.
——— Corporation of.

DENBIGHSHIRE.

Colonel Myddleton-Biddulph.

DERBYSHIRE.

Mr. H. Chandos-Pole-Gell.
Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS. at Melbourne).
Sir William Fitzherbert, Bart.
Duke of Devonshire.

DEVONSHIRE.

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Earl of Devon.
Rev. H. T. Ellacombe.
Earl Fortescue.
Mr. R. W. Prideaux.
Alwington Parish.
Barnstaple Corporation.
Dartmouth Corporation.
Exeter, Bishop of.
——— Dean and Chapter of.
Hartland Parish.
Parkham Parish.
Plymouth Corporation.
Totnes Corporation.

DORSETSHIRE.

Mr. R. Bankes.
Mr. G. W. Digby.
Earl of Shaftesbury.
Bridport Corporation.
Weymouth and Melcombe Regis Corporation.

DURHAM.

Ushaw College.

ESSEX.

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Mr. T. Chisenhale-Marsh.
Sir T. Barrett Lennard, Bart.
Mr. G. A. Lowndes.
Mr. Lewis Majendie.
Mr. James Round.
County Records.

FLINTSHIRE.

Mr. P. Davies Cooke.
Mr. Whitehall Dod.
Lord Kenyon.
Lord Mostyn.
Sir Richard Puleston, Bart.
The Rev. Sir T. G. Puleston, Bart.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Cardiff Free Library.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Lord Fitzhardinge.
Captain S. Grove.
Duke of Beaufort, K.G.
Bristol Dean and Chapter.
Gloucester Corporation.
———— Dean and Chapter.
Woodchester Monastery.

HAMPSHIRE AND ISLE OF WIGHT.

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Mr. Theodore J. Hare.
Mr. F. H. T. Jervoise.
Mr. A. Kingsmill.
Sir H. Mildmay, Bart.
Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.
Earl of Portsmouth.
Mr. Edmund R. Wodehouse.
Carisbrook Parish.
Petersfield Corporation.
Southampton Corporation.
———— God's House at.
Winchester Corporation.

HEREFORDSHIRE.

The Misses Boycott.
Rev. T. W. Webb.
Money-Kyrle, Major.
Hereford Corporation.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

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Mr. John Harvey.
Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.
Earl of Verulam.
Hertford Corporation.
St. Albans Corporation.

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Mr. P. E. Tillard.

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Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.
Sir Edmund Filmer, Bart.
Lord Hothfield.
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Lord Sackville.
Sir J. Maryon Wilson, Bart.
Mr. P. Wykeham Martin.
Canterbury, Black Book of the Archdeacon of.
———— Dean and Chapter of.
———— Corporation of.
Faversham Corporation.
Folkestone Corporation.
Fordwich Corporation.
Hythe Corporation.
———— Hospital of St. Bartholomew.
Lydd Corporation.
Rochester, Corporation of the City of.
———— Bridge, Wardens of.
Romney, New, Corporation of.
Sandwich Corporation.
Tenterden Corporation.

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Earl of Ellesmere (Bridgewater Trust).
Miss ffarington.
Sir Gerald FitzGerald, Bart.
Mr. W. W. B. Hulton.
Lord Kenyon.
Mr. T. Stamford Raffles.
Colonel Towneley.

LANCASHIRE—*continued.*

Manchester, Chetham's Library.
Stonyhurst College.

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The Neville Family, of Holt.
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Great Grimsby Corporation.
Lincoln, Dean and Chapter of.
———— Bishop's Registry.
———— Probate Registry.
———— Corporation.

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Welsh MSS., Vol. I., part ii.

MIDDLESEX.

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Marquess of Bute, K.T.
Earl of Bradford.
Lord Calthorpe.
Lord Colchester.
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——— House of Lords.
——— Westminster Abbey.
——— Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Westminster.
——— College of Physicians.
——— Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.
——— Queen Anne's Bounty Office.
——— Inner Temple.
——— Trinity House.
——— Rev. Dr. Williams's Library.
——— Royal Institution.

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King's Lynn Corporation.
Norwich, Bishop's Registry.
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Duke of Portland.
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Viscount Dillon.
Mr. C. Cottrell Dormer.
Earl of Macclesfield.
Rev. W. D. Macray.
Duke of Marlborough.
Mr. W. H. Turner.
Ewelme Hospital.
Oxford, Baliol College.
——— Corpus Christi College.
——— Exeter College.
——— Jesus College.
——— Lincoln College.
——— Magdalen College.
——— Merton College.

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——— Pembroke College.
——— Queen's College.
——————— God's House at Southampton, Records.
——— St. John's College.
——— Trinity College.
——— University College.
——— Wadham College.
——— Worcester College.
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Mr. Stanley Leighton.
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Mr. J. R. Ormsby-Gore.
Mr. J. L. Parkinson.
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Bridgnorth Corporation.
Oswestry Corporation.
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Bridgwater Corporation.
Cheddar Parish.
County Records.
Glastonbury Corporation.
Wells Almshouses.
—— Bishop's Registry of.
—— Corporation of.
—— Dean and Chapter of.
—— Vicars Choral of.

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Earl of Dartmouth.
Lord Hatherton.
Earl of Shrewsbury.
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Dean and Chapter of Lichfield.
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Rev. W. H. Sewell.
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Bury St. Edmunds Corporation.
Eye Corporation.
Ipswich Corporation.
Mendlesham Parish.
Orford Corporation.

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Viscount Midleton.
Mr. W. More Molyneux.
Earl of Onslow.
Kingston-on-Thames Corporation.
Lambeth Palace.
Southwark, Catholic Bishopric of.

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Earl of Ashburnham.

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Lord Colchester.
Earl De-la-Warr.
Earl of Egmont.
Rev. E. Field.
Lord Gage.
Lord Leconfield.
Miss Othen.
Mr. J. W. C. Vidler.
Chichester, Bishop of.
———-Dean and Chapter of.
Hastings Corporation.
Rye Corporation.

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Marquess of Hertford.
Lord Leigh.
Mr. E. P. Shirley.
Sir N. W. Throckmorton, Bart.
Coventry Corporation.
Oscott, St. Mary's College.
Stratford - on - Avon Corporation.

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Mr. G. Browne.
Mr. S. H. le Fleming.
Earl of Lonsdale.
Mr. Walter C. Strickland.
Kendal Corporation.

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Lord Arundell of Wardour.
Marquess of Bath.
Mr. F. W. Leyborne-Popham.
Mr. Alfred Morrison.
Earl of Pembroke.
Earl of Radnor.
Duke of Somerset.
Mr. N. Story-Maskelyne.
Salisbury, Dean and Chapter of.
Salisbury Corporation.
Quarter Sessions, Records.

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Earl of Coventry.
Mr. Charles M. Berington.

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Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, Bart.
Mr. S. Zachary Lloyd.
Lord Lyttelton.
Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart.
Worcester, St. Andrew's
———— Dean and Chapter of.
———— Bishop's Registry.
County Records.

YORKSHIRE.

Earl of Carlisle.
Earl of Cathcart.
Mr. P. B. Davies Cooke.
Duke of Devonshire, K.G.
Mr. Francis Darwin.
Earl of Effingham.
Mr. A. Fawkes.
Mr. F. Bacon Frank.
Sir Reginald Graham, Bart.
Mr. Edward Halistone.
Mrs. Harford.
Lord Herries.
Sir H. Ingilby, Bart.
Sir John Lawson, Bart.
Duke of Leeds.
Mr. C. Meadley.
Mr. M. Ridgway.
Marquess of Ripon, K.G.
Mrs. Wentworth.
Sir Matthew Wilson, Bart.
Earl of Wharncliffe.
Sir George Wombwell.
Earl of Zetland.
York, Company of Merchant Adventurers of.
——— Corporation of the City of.
——— Dean and Chapter of.
Yorkshire, Philosophical Society.
——— West Riding Sessions Rolls.
——— North Riding, ditto.
Ampleforth, St. Lawrence's College.
Beverley Corporation.
Guisborough Hospital.
Pontefract Corporation.

SCOTLAND.

Earl of Aberdeen.
Marquess of Ailsa.
Earl of Airlie.
Viscount Arbuthnot.
Duke of Argyll, K.G.
Duke of Athole, K.T.
Aberdeen Burgh.
———— University.
Mrs. Barclay-Allardice.
Sir John Bethune, Bart.
Marquess of Breadalbane.
Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G.
Mr. James Buchan.
Sir James H. Burnett, Bart.
Marquess of Bute, K.T.
Catholic College of Blairs.
Catholic MSS. at Buckie.
Sir H. H. Campbell, Bart.
Carruthers of Holmains, the Family of.
Earl Cawdor.
Mr. A. D. R. Baillie Cochrane.
Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
Sir William G. Gordon Cumming, Bart.
Earl of Dalhousie.
Mr. C. Dalrymple.
Sir R. A. O. Dalyell, Bart.
Mr. James Douglas.
Mr. James Dundas.
Mr. Robert Dundas.
Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart.
Earl of Eglinton and Winton.
Lord Elphinstone.
Mr. A. J. W. H. K. Erskine.
Hon. Mrs. Erskine-Murray.
Edinburgh Advocates Library.
———— City.
———— Catholic Bishop of, Library.
———— University.
Colonel James Farquharson.
Duke of Fife, K.T.
Lord Forbes.
Sir William Forbes, Bart.
Earl of Glasgow.
Mr. H. Mackay Gordon.
Mr. W. Cosmo Gordon.
Sir Archibald Grant, Bart.
Mr. John Guthrie.
Glasgow Corporation.
———— University.
Glenalmond, Trinity College.
Duke of Hamilton, K.T.
Miss Hamilton of Barns.
Earl of Home.
Col. David Milne Home.
Marquess of Huntly.
Mr. Alexander Forbes Irvine.
Mr. J. J. Hope Johnstone
Lieut.-Colonel W. Ross King.
Lord Kinnaird.
Earl of Kinnoull.
Kirkcudbright Burgh.
Earl of Lauderdale.
Mr. J. Forbes Leith.
Mr. T. L. Fenton Livingstone.
Marquess of Lothian, K.T.
Earl of Mar and Kellie.
Sir J. M. Stirling Maxwell, Bart.
Colonel James McDouall.
Sir Robert Menzies, Bart.
Lord Monboddo.
Duke of Montrose, K.T.
Earl of Moray.
Mr. C. S. H. Drummond Moray.
Earl of Morton.
Sir Patrick Keith Murray, Bart.
Montrose Burgh.
Perth Burgh.
——— King James's Hospital.
Colonel James Rattray.
Duke of Richmond, K.G.
Lord Rollo.
Mr. George Ross.
Earl of Rosslyn.
Countess of Rothes.
Mr. W. Oliver Rutherford.
Duke of Roxburghe.
Countess Dowager of Seafield.
Earl of Seafield.
Earl of Selkirk.

SCOTLAND—*continued.*

Earl of Southesk, K.T.
Earl of Stair, K.T.
Sir M. R. Shaw Stewart, Bart.
Miss M. E. Stirling.
Earl of Strathmore.
Mr. Alexander C. Stuart.
Hon. H. C. Maxwell Stuart.
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This Report has been prepared and edited, on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners, by Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, M.A., M.R.I.A. The Index has been compiled by Miss M. Bradshaw, under Mr. Falkiner's direction.

INTRODUCTION.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE, 1679–1681.

The portion of the correspondence of the first Duke of Ormond comprised in the present volume of this Report covers a period of exactly two years. For the reasons already given in the Introduction to the fourth volume of this series, the papers preserved at Kilkenny become increasingly numerous, in comparison with those relating to earlier periods, towards the close of the public career of the great Duke. Whereas in the previous volume the miscellaneous letters of a little more than three years (from January 1675–76 to March 1678–9), occupy 374 pages, no fewer than 619 pages are here taken up with the correspondence of the still shorter period from March 25, 1679 to March 24, 1680-81. And it will be found when the next volume is issued that the abundance of the Duke's letters from 1681 to 1685 is little, if at all, inferior to that of the period embraced in these pages. No one who is familiar with Carte's biography of Ormond, or is fairly conversant with the history of the time, would pretend that the last years of Ormond's third tenure of the Irish government are the most interesting in the crowded life of that illustrious cavalier—to adopt Macaulay's felicitous description of the Duke. The special prominence which these years receive in these pages is the result of the quite accidental circumstance that Carte dealt in less detail with this part of the subject than any other, and therefore had no occasion to include many of the Duke's later letters in the materials to which he helped himself so liberally.*

Ormond's principal and most voluminous correspondents in the present volume are his sons, the Earls of Ossory and Arran, whose letters are mainly conversant with the details of Irish government and with the course of politics in England; Michael Boyle, who as Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Chancellor combined in his own person the chief offices both of the Church and of the Law in Ireland;† Col. Edward Cooke, an intimate personal friend, whose letters from England detailing the movements of political intrigue at Westminster are lightened by much agreeable sporting gossip from Newmarket; Henry Coventry, whose retirement from the office of Principal Secretary of State occurred in 1680, and whose letters to Ormond both before and after that event contain a note of personal intimacy which is lacking in the communications of

* *See* Introduction to Vol. IV. p. v.

† The Primate defends himself against the charge that the combination of these offices in one person was improper, in a letter of considerable interest (see pp. 44-45).

other officials; John Fell, Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, whose letters mainly relate to Ormond's grandson, and ultimate successor in the Dukedom; Francis Gwyn, who as Clerk to the Privy Council in England became, after the resignation of Coventry, the principal medium of official communications from the English Secretary's Office; the Earl of Longford, whose voluminous and verbose epistles relate mainly to the management or mismanagement of the Irish Revenue; and Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery, whose death in the autumn of 1679, removed a somewhat querulous critic of Ormond's administrative manners and methods.

In so far as these letters throw light upon the personal history of Ormond, they are chiefly valuable for the references they contain to his eldest son, Thomas, Earl of Ossory, whose premature and universally deplored death took place on July 29, 1680, and is referred to in terms of obviously sincere grief by several of Ormond's correspondents. Ossory died of a malignant fever, probaby typhus, on the eve of his intended departure from England to take up the command of the troops at Tangier. This disorder is described in the report of the physicians attending the patient,* among them Ferdinand Mendaz, the physician of Queen Catherine, and in a certificate signed by the doctors who made a *post mortem* examination of the remains,† as well as in a letter from Richard Mulys, Ossory's private secretary, to Henry Gascoigne.‡ The symptoms suggest the worst form of typhus fever. The letters of condolence written to Ormond on this occasion by Charles II., and by Queen Catherine, to whose service Ossory had been particularly attached as her Chamberlain, have already been published in the first series of this report.§ Others here printed are from Arlington, whose close intimacy with Ossory was strengthened through the marriage of the two men to two sisters; Sir Arthur Forbes, Viscount Granard, the head of the army in Ireland; Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who, as Dean of Christchurch, had charge of the education of Ossory's son, afterwards second Duke of Ormond; James, Duke of York, afterwards James II.; Primate Boyle; Louis Duras, Earl of Feversham; Sunderland, the statesman; and Sir William Temple. The tributes paid to Ossory in the correspondence now printed exhibit him as a personage fully worthy alike of the sonorous eulogium passed by Dryden in *Absolom and Achitophel*, and of the unaffected sorrow exhibited by Evelyn. Perhaps the particular condolence which sets Ossory's character in the highest light is the remarkable language of Henry Coventry, one of the Secretaries of State, who in conveying to Ormond a very genuine expression of sorrow

* *pp.* 354-5.
† *pp.* 361-2.
‡ *pp.* 355-56.
§ Old Series, Vol. I. p. 30.

observed that "it is a very strange thing in so very bad an age to see so good a man lamented by so many of all sorts."* The somewhat chill philosophy of Sir William Temple's condolences is tempered by a feeling allusion to his own then recent loss of his only daughter.†

The education of Ossory's eldest son, James, afterwards second Duke of Ormond, which is referred to several times in the letters printed in Vol. IV., continued to absorb much of the old nobleman's attention. The Bishop of Oxford continues to report pretty frequently on the lad's demeanour at Oxford; and several letters from the lad's governor, Dr. Drelincourt, and others, are occupied with the same topic. The reports of the young Oxonian's conduct were not uniformly favourable; and occasionally the authority of tutors and governors had to be reinforced by the direct admonition of Ormond himself. A letter‡ dated Sept. 27, 1679, addressed by Ormond at Kilkenny to his grandson at Oxford, is an admirable example alike of the style appropriate to such a relationship, and of Ormond's stately conception of the obligations of a great position. After indicating a somewhat sardonic scepticism of the fine sentiments expressed in a letter lately written by the lad:—"I was glad to receive yours of the "9th, and would be gladder if I were sure it were of your "own dictating, and that you did not send it to prevent "just complaints of your miscarriage," Ormond goes on to reprove the vice of "laziness, and long lying abed" as "the "thing in the world the most abhorred by me, having never "seen any youth so addicted ever come to any good." He concludes with laying down this excellent rule of conduct for a lad with such prospects as his grandson's:—"I am "further to warn you that if anybody shall go about to "flatter you with your parts, birth or fortune, that you look "upon them as your greatest enemies, and that you still "remember that though you may be above some in these "things, yet there are many that are your equals, and many "more that are above you; and that if there were not, yet "all those qualifications are but trappings that will the more "expose you to contempt unless you fit yourself to them by "civility, humanity and affability to all sorts of people, "according to their degrees and merit."

Several letters bear witness to Ormond's personal tastes, and particularly to his fondness for field sports. His friend Col. Cooke, whose frequent letters describing the course of politics at Westminster are among the most interesting in the volume, was enjoined not to omit reference to sporting topics from his communications on more serious matters; and in more than one of his many letters he took his patron at his word. Thus, writing on March 29, 1679 from London, Cooke

* *p.* 365.
† *p.* 376.
‡ *pp.* 214-215.

occupies much of his space with an answer to "those material questions proposed in your (Ormond's) letter of March 20 concerning hawks, hounds, and horses"; giving a faithful account first of his sport in Gloucestershire with "a single goshawk and a single quarry of pheasants,—so cruel a pheasanter that we were fain to oblige ourselves not to kill above four brace in a day, that we might lengthen out our sport all winter." Cooke goes on to describe a day with the hounds in the same county; and concludes with some anecdotes of his horse-racing exploits which may perhaps provide a hint for the historian of the turf:—"I have the famous beautiful *Burnett* in my stable, who serves but to pick up Gloucestershire plates (of which we have abundance) and get foals finer than which never any stallion yet got. He is allowed by all his Newmarketarians as the handsomest horse now in England, comes eleven, and is sound to all intents and purposes."* It seems a pity that this *Saint Simon* of the seventeenth century should have no place in the stud book. This is by no means the only reference to sport which Cooke's letters contain. The last letter in this volume describes Charles the Second's enjoyment of a race run at Burford, near Oxford, for one of the King's Plates; as well as a day spent by the monarch in hawking at Oxford.† Coursing was another form of sport in which Ormond and his correspondent were interested; and another of Cooke's letters gives a capital account of a day's coursing at Hampton Court in presence of the Sovereign.

The purely political portion of the correspondence is occupied mainly with three topics, viz., the measures taken by Ormond and the Irish Privy Council to safeguard Ireland from the dangers apprehended as likely to result from the Popish Plot; the proceedings of Charles the Second's third Parliament, including more particularly the impeachment of Danby; and the fierce controversy provoked by the Exclusion Bill. Incidentally a good deal of light is thrown, in the course of the discussion of these topics, on English constitutional procedure. The first of them occupies a relatively small space, the anxieties of Ormond and his principal correspondents being concerned mainly with that ebb and flow of the political tide in England by which their own fortunes were dominated; and it receives attention chiefly as an item in the frequent indictments which Ormond's enemies at Court were wont to frame against him with a view to procuring his dismissal from office. An elaborate memorandum dated April 5, 1679, addressed by the Irish Privy Council to the Principal Secretary of State, recapitulates in considerable detail the measures taken by Ormond from the moment of "the discovery of the Plot in England" in Sep-

* *p.* 7.
† *p.* 617

tember, 1678, and shows that the King and his chief advisers steadily adhered throughout the difficulties of this trying time to the policy which naturally commended itself to Ormond's own judgment, viz., the maintenance of order, and the steady enforcement of the measures enjoined by royal proclamation in England, coupled with a mild and discriminating lenity.

In "An Account of the Present State of Ireland presented by the Lord Butler of Moor Park to the House of Lords, March 31, 1679,"* Lord Ossory deals with the same topics, giving in detail a summary of the various proclamations and orders issued by the Irish Government. In this statement, as in almost every letter and document of this period in which the difficulties of the Irish administration are explained or referred to, stress is laid on the neglect of Ministers in England to concur in the calling together of the Irish Parliament, a step which from the moment of his accession to office in 1677 Ormond had earnestly desired and constantly advocated. After asserting that the defences of the country were upon the whole in a satisfactory condition, the memorandum proceeds as follows :—"The forts are in as good a "condition as the stores and the revenue of that kingdom "will allow, and perhaps somewhat better. But it is manifest "much more is needful in every kind, in case of foreign "attempts. And therefore seeing the charge of the Govern-"ment and the income of the revenue are so nearly balanced "by a settled establishment that it is not in the power of the "Lord Lieutenant to alter the same, and that no money can "be raised from his subjects except by Act of Parliament, "therefore the Lord Lieutenant hath been long endeavouring "to have a Parliament called; and to that end several bills "were transmitted the last summer by the Lord Lieutenant, "and now remain at the Council Board here, together with "a large representation of the state of accounts depending "with the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, who were late "undertakers for the Revenue of that kinghom. And until "there be leisure (which since the discovery of this horrid "Plot there scarce hath been) to send back those things with "the mature consideration they deserve, there is no visible "means left for the raising and augmenting the public revenue "to such a proportion as may put that kingdom into a suffi-"cient posture of defence as to arming, fortifications and "stores, in case of any powerful invasion. But for the "present all things are there in full peace and quietness."†

Ossory's concluding remark was thoroughly justified by the facts. Indeed nothing is more noticeable in the voluminous documents bearing on the state of Ireland during the period of the agitation about the Popish Plot than the absence of

* *pp.* 15-20.
† *p.* 20.

any serious evidence of the existence of anything in the nature of a Roman Catholic conspiracy in Ireland. Carte's observation is indeed fully justified, that it was "a terrible slur on the credit of the Popish Plot in England that after it had made such a horrible noise and frighted people out of their senses in a nation where there was scarce one Papist to an hundred Protestants, there should not for above a year together appear so much as one witness from Ireland (a country otherwise fruitful enough in producing them), to give information of any conspiracy of the like nature in that kingdom, where there were fifteen Papists to one Protestant."* Several of the papers in this volume relate to the plot which for convenience may be called David FitzGerald's Plot, a conspiracy which was represented by Shaftesbury and the organizers of the agitation in England as having been contrived in concert with the conductors of the English Plot. But there is certainly nothing in them to substantiate any of the suggestions which were founded at the time on FitzGerald's unsupported and self-contradictory testimony. Ormond in his private communications with his son Ossory, who until his untimely death remained his chief agent and assistant in England, was at no pains to conceal his opinion that the supposed plots were manufactured by the agents of his own political enemies for no better object than to procure his dismissal from the Irish Government. "I do not so much wonder," he wrote in April 1680, "at the scandals cast upon us now as that it was not "done sooner. But it was necessary to amuse the people, "as with new plots so with new actors in them; and we were "not forgotten but reserved to the last. The discoveries "now on foot in the north and west of this kingdom can come "to nothing by reason of the extravagant villainy and folly "of the discoverers, who are such creatures that no schoolboy "would trust them with a design for the robbing of an orchard. "My Lord of Essex's tool is a silly drunken vagabond that cares "not for hanging a month hence if in the meantime he may "solace himself with brandy and tobacco. Murphy is all "out as debauched, but a degree wiser than the others. "The other fellow brought by Lord Shaftesbury to the Council "broke prison, being in execution, and now the sheriff or "jailer are sued for the debt. This is their true character; "but perhaps not fit for you to give of them. If rogues "they must be that discover roguery, these must be the best "discoverers, because they are the greatest rogues."†

Ormond's letters at this period show that he was fully alive to the gravity of the attacks made upon him by the ultra-Protestant party in England, supported by the leaders of that interest in Ireland, of whom Lord Orrery and the members of the Boyle family were perhaps his most formidable opponents. But though in several passages he exhibits a

* Carte's Life of Ormond, ii. 495.
† *p.* 302.

certain weariness of the perpetual anxiety and conflict to which his position exposed him, a weariness natural to his advancing years, he also shows a fine determination not to be drawn by intrigue or obloquy from a situation in which he honestly believed himself capable of rendering useful service to his Sovereign. The trend of his personal inclinations at this time are frankly stated in a private letter to his friend Henry Coventry, who had just retired from office, and so was "in some degree gotten out of the storm." In it Ormond frankly states the nature of the considerations which obliged him to retain his place :—"I will not conceal from "you the reasons that keep me in it, when a few lines "importing a desire to retreat could help me out of it. My "first reason is that methinks the Crown and Monarchy and "my bountiful Master are too apparently threatened for a "man that pretends to honour and gratitude to make a "voluntary resignation, at least while he has vigour or vanity "enough to persuade him he can contribute considerably to "serve an interest he is obliged unto. The next is that I "have a little stomach left yet that rises at the thought of "giving some men their will just where they would have it "of me. And in the last place it may be thought that the "grandeur and emolument belonging to the station may be of "force; and I will not deny but it is. But if I know myself it "would not prevail against the quiet of body and mind that "it may reasonably be believed I wish for at these years and "might hope for in a retreat."* Nevertheless so little confidence had Ormond in being sufficiently supported to enable him to hold on, and so probable did it seem that "this place and I must part," that he concludes this letter by begging his friend to look out for a suitable residence for him within reach of Coventry's own lodge.

In the religious strife of the times, and in his attitude towards the rival clerical factions, Ormond occupied throughout his whole career a middle position to which, notwithstanding that his was the usual fate of the peacemaker, and that he continuously drew upon himself the maledictions of all the combatants, he adhered steadily to the end. How great were his difficulties, and of what nature they were, very clearly appears in one of his letters in the present volume. Defending himself in a letter to the Earl of Longford against the charge reported to him by his correspondent of not having exhibited sufficient activity in the suppression of the Plot and its sympathizers, he makes the following vigorous protest against the campaign of calumny with which he was assailed :—"Why should I wonder to find Papists and the "worst of Protestants agree in their endeavours to destroy "me? It has been my lot ever since I came into business, "and I believe will be till I am out of it, and of the world

* *p.* 304.

"too. When the actions of a man's life who has been in "Government in difficult times are taken to pieces by a "malicious observer, all the circumstances that can be taken "against him singled and insisted, and those that make for "him omitted, no doubt but he will make a strange figure. "And if he should be put to refute all that should be thus "collected and thus scattered, he would find work enough, "and perhaps create himself more than he finds, by drawing "on replications and new calumnies; and all the while beat "the air as men do in the dark when they see no enemy."*

The changes and developments of the British Constitution for which the reign of Charles the Second was remarkable are illustrated in several of the letters in this volume, notably in those of Col. Cooke and Henry Coventry. Thus a long letter from the first-named of these correspondents, dated April 22, 1679, is taken up with an account of the change in the composition and functions of the Privy Council which was accomplished at the instance of Sir William Temple:—"Sunday "the 20th, was a day of great surprises. The King sum- "moning his Privy Council dissolved them; declared he "took no exceptions at any man, but thanked them well for "their services; told them he was resolved for the future "to have no Cabinet Council, and to reduce the Privy Council "to the usual number of thirteen, besides a President, when "there should be any, and the Secretary of Scotland when "here, and those of the blood, as Prince Rupert."† The letter goes on to describe in detail the *personnel* of the new Council, and concludes with the statement that "there is great expectation of great advantage from this change." Several other letters refer to this important constitutional experiment; and it is of interest to learn from two among them that it was intended to reform the Irish Privy Council on somewhat similar lines. The Irish Council had long been admittedly unwieldy; Ormond, in one of his letters, writing thus:—"I have resisted several importunities to recom- "mend persons fit enough to be Privy Councillors here— "the number being, in my opinion, already greater than is "needful or well consisting with the respect that ought to "to be incident to the dignity, and would be paid to it if fewer "had it."‡ The Viceroy could not therefore have been opposed in principle to the proposition which, following on the reform of the English Council, was communicated by Coventry:—"I suppose your Grace did, upon the news of the "reduction made in the Council of England, foresee that "something of that nature would follow in Ireland. His "Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your Grace that "he will proceed in the same method there; and therefore "doth expect from your Grace a list of the present Councillors,

* *p.* 80.
† *pp.* 55.
‡ *p.* 326.

"and likewise what those officers are that you judge fitting "should be Privy Councillors in Ireland by virtue of their "places. His Majesty proposed the reducing the number of "Privy Councillors in Ireland to twenty. I humbly offered "my opinion that would be too little in respect several occa- "sions did draw some members of them into this town always, "which would leave few to supply the several Committees of "Council the affairs of that kingdom require. However, I "suppose there will be no resolution taken till His Majesty "hath heard from your Grace."*

But though Ormond was willing to concur in a reduction of the numbers of the Council, he had evidently other objections to the proposal, with which a suggestion communicated by Sir Cyril Wyche, to the effect that under the new system it was intended to place the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in commission,† may have had something to do. His criticisms are not formulated in any of the letters here printed; but it appears from a letter written him by Sir William Temple‡ that Ormond had indicated them in a conversation with that statesman's brother, Sir John Temple, and in a letter to Temple himself, in which he pointed out that a reduction of the number of the Council was inopportune in view of the then contemplated meeting of the Irish Parliament.§ Temple's own plan was so short-lived, and his influence in the royal counsels so quickly shattered, that the delay occasioned by the hesitation of the Viceroy was sufficient to prevent the application of his system to Ireland.

Other constitutional questions which are canvassed in the course of this correspondence are the relations between the two Houses of Parliament, as illustrated by the frequent conferences between Lords and Commons concerning the arrangements for the impeachment of Danby, and the trial of the Five Lords. The many letters relating to these topics show how great was the strain on the working of the constitution at this period. Among the most hotly contested points of procedure were the right of the Lords spiritual to sit and vote on such occasions, a question which, however, was left unsettled when the sudden prorogation of the Parliament in May, 1679, followed by the unexpected disolution in July, put an end to the controversy.

The principal topic of political discussion in the latter part of the volume is provided by the Exclusion Bill; and the Duke of York makes a frequent figure in the correspondence. Most of Ormond's relatives and friends were, like himself, warmly attached to the heir presumptive to the Crown; and Ossory in particular, who had served with James in the sea-fights with the Dutch, was devotedly attached to his person. A letter

* *p.* 65.
† *p.* 59.
‡ *p.* 91.
§ *p.* 109.

from one of Ormond's intimates, Sir Thomas Wharton, gives an interesting account of the progress of the Duke of York and his Duchess from London to York in the autumn of 1679, on their way to Scotland, to which kingdom James had been bidden by his royal brother to retire. The progress occupied ten days, the journey being broken each night at a different point. The first night was passed at Hatfield, the second at an inn in Biggleswade, Bedfordshire, the third at Huntingdon, the fourth at Stamford, the fifth at Grantham, the sixth at Newark, where they stayed over Sunday, the eighth at Welbeck, the ninth at Doncaster and the tenth at Pontefract. If the writer is to be relied upon, the Duke and his Duchess were the objects all along the road of striking demonstrations of loyalty and affection. Part of this letter may be quoted, for the picture it gives of the conditions of a journey through England by members of the royal family in the seventeenth century:—"At "Tadcaster (eight miles from this place [York]) the Archbishop "of York kissed the Duke and Duchess's hands in their "coach, and so waited on them hither. The Sheriffs of the "city were about three miles off; and after the Duke "alighting, the Dean and Prebends first, and a little after "my Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, presented themselves in their formalities, and the Deputy Recorder made "a speech in which he complimented the Duke, who himself "brought them to kiss the Duchess's hand. My Lord Marquis "of Athol came from London with the Duke, and his lady in "the Duchess's coach, which troubles some left behind at "London, as I am credibly informed. My Lady Roscommon "has that honour too, and the Duke likes the company in "the coach so well that he has not been on horseback all this "journey, but sometimes walks a mile or two when the day "is good . . . . The Duke's retinue is but small, "my Lord Roscommon and a few of his family, and my Lord "Lumley, a volunteer. One single troop came hither; and "my Lord of Sackville's marches along from hence, and the "other returns."* The contentions of which the Duke of York was the centre have an important place in the correspondence, several letters from Cooke, Gwyn and others dealing with the debates on the Exclusion Bill. One from Gwyn, dated Nov. 16, 1680, describes the concluding debate in the Lords when that measure was rejected, giving the name of the principal peers in favour of it, and mentioning Halifax as its most powerful and impressive opponent.†

Several letters in this volume have reference to affairs in Scotland in 1679, when the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the movements of the Covenanters gave occasion for the strengthening of the military forces in the north of Ireland.

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* *p.* 235.
† *p.* 488.

An Order in Council dated June 13, 1679, directed Ormond "to give immediate order for the marching towards the north "of Ireland of so many of his Majesty's forces there, as well "horse as foot, as his Grace thinks may conveniently be spared "without hazard to the peace and safety of that kingdom, "there to remain and attend further orders, if occasion shall "be for their being employed in the assistance of his Majesty's "subjects of the kingdoms of Scotland for suppressing the "Rebellion there."* Lord Granard was despatched to Charlemont, and some Irish troops were certainly despatched to Scotland in pursuance of this order, though no particulars of their number or services are given in the correspondence on the subject, which is chiefly interesting for its references to Graham of Claverhouse; whose reported death is thus communicated by one David Maxwell:—"We had news yesterday that the Laird of Clavers, an honest gentleman in Scotland, captain to a troop of horse, who hath done good service against the rebels, was killed by them; but these gentlemen affirm the contrary."†

The Duke of Monmouth, who is mentioned with approval in connection with his humane treatment of the Covenanters, is less favourably spoken of later in the volume in relation to his pretensions to the succession. The attachment of Ormond and Ossory to the Duke of York was too ardent to suffer them to give the slightest countenance to the young Duke's pretensions; and when, at the height of the young Duke's brief popularity in 1679, all the courtiers were vying with each other in attentions to him, Ossory wrote to his father that "all the world now visits the Duke of Monmouth; but considering how affairs now are between the King and him I consider it not respectful in me towards his Majesty to make that compliment"‡—an attitude which Ormond cordially approved. A letter from Col. Cooke to Ormond, dated Dec. 2, 1679, gives an account of the removal of Monmouth from all his civil and military appointments, and of the state of public feeling regarding him.

The present volume is not as abundant as some others in occasional communications from persons of eminence or distinction on topics lying outside the general scope of the correspondence. An exception is, however, supplied by a letter addressed by John Evelyn to Lord Ossory with reference to a negotiation for the purchase of Chelsea House by Ormond, which was strongly recommended by the writer. The advantages of Chelsea House as a residence are thus depicted by the author of *Sylva*:—"I am extremely sorry for "my Lord Duke's sake, but especially for your Lordship's, "that you reject the opportunity is presented to you for the

* *p.* 129.
† *p.* 126.
‡ *p.* 246.

"purchasing of that sweet place at Chelsey upon so easy "terms. . . . . I have previously acquainted your "Lordship with the particulars, that besides a magnificent "house capable of being made (with small expense) perfectly "modish, the offices, gardens and other accommodations for "air, water, situation, vicinity to London, benefit of the river and "mediocrity of price, are nowhere to be paralleled, I am sure, "about this town or any that I know in England. There are "with it to be added as many orange trees and other precious "greens as are worth 500*l.*, the fruits of the gardens are "exquisite, there is a snow-house—in a word, I know of no "place more capable of being made the envy of all the noble "retreats of the greatest persons near this Court and city; "so that it ever grieves me your Lordship should not be "master of it."*

Evelyn's encomium was supported by "A Particular of Chelsey House,"† furnished by Sir Stephen Fox, in which the mansion was represented as in perfect repair, and the grounds as comprising "sixteen acres of ground with several large gardens and courts all walled in and planted with the choicest fruits that could be collected either from abroad or in England." "For this particular with the addition of all orange trees and other greens, fruit and flowers of all kinds with seats, rollers, tables and all garden utensils; also within the house all fixed necessaries, as grates, chimney pieces and wainscot, the billiard table and a pair of marble tables and house clock, there will be paid 5,000*l.*" Evelyn evidently considered the place dirt-cheap at this price. Ormond, however, though not usually economical, was at this period somewhat embarrassed by the many expenses of his family, and he declined this offer of what a modern house-agent would term a highly eligible residence; causing Ossory to be informed in language of somewhat tart reproof that "as to the house at Chelsey, how good soever the bargain may be, the purchase is not agreeable to his condition, and he (Ormond) wonders that he hears nothing of your lordship's affairs in Holland."‡

The Editor desires once more to acknowledge the assistance rendered him in the work of transcription by Messrs. J. F. Morrissey and T. J. Morrissey of the Irish Record Office.

C. Litton Falkiner.

* *p.* 279.
† *p.* 280.
‡ *p.* 289.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF THE

MARQUESS OF ORMONDE, K.P.,

KILKENNY CASTLE.

VOL. V.

EARL OF OSSORY to DUKE OF ORMOND.

1679, March 25. London.—I received your letter of the 20th of this month and showed it to the King when he was at the House, just after a long speech of my Lord of Shaftesbury's representing the dangerous condition of the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland. He touched most upon two particulars, the Lord Dumbarton's regiment and the multitude of Papists in towns. I replied that the Duke of Monmouth being General could answer, as I averred he undertook that all the officers and soldiers were Protestants and had taken the oaths. As to the other things relating to the security of that kingdom, I promised them on Monday next that they should according to their desires have an account of what care had already been taken. The King read your letter with attention, but I find him so very thoughtful of things nearer hand as I believe he was pleased with your not immediately pressing him upon anything which might withdraw his thoughts from what is doing here. I fail not to let persons know that the recruits you desired were to be of English. This day my Lord Marquess of Winchester dined with me; and upon my entreating to know what the designs were of his friends to pick at you, he told me they believed you were placed in the post you are by the Duke, that at Bedford's house it was observed you had held long and private discourse with my Lord Arundel of Wardour, and that upon that score they were jealous of you. I replied that I thought your past service might secure you from such suspicions, and that I hoped that neither reflections would be made nor aspersions laid upon you without some colourable grounds. Though my Lord of Essex is doubted for his sincerity with that party, and that the King has spoke severely on him, yet I believe his aim is to succeed you. I doubt not but you hear of the great credit the Duke of Monmouth is now in, and how vigorously he opposes against the Papists.

I only asked my mother's and your permission for my wife to live with you if there should be appearance of any disorders here, or that I could not hope to have wherewithal to keep her in this place by being disappointed of my salary; my sincere endeavours being to live according to the rules of morality in not hazarding to ruin others or myself in contracting debts unlikely for me to pay.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, March 25. London.—According to the orders I received [in yours] of the 20th I shall for the future in my acting an intelligencer's part leave out both prologue and epilogue, and begin and end with news. The enclosed votes will show that these two days have been busy ones, debates growing higher and higher in both Houses. It is said the King sent commands in writing to confirm the authority of honourable messengers to command the Earl of Danby to depart. Within an hour after the Black Rod closely searched his house at the Cockpit, and also at Wimbledon, but returned a *non est inventus*. The Commons (as appears by the votes) gave no other answer to the Lord's proposal of a Bill for those five particulars (in my last mentioned) which the Lords delivered unto them in a conference on Saturday, but a re-demand of justice upon the Earl of Danby, his sequestration from Parliament and commitment into custody. The two great businesses at present are the detection of the Plot and proportioning punishments for those crimes the two Houses are convinced the Earl of Danby was guilty of. Yet the Lords go on with the more moderate Bill for his being removed from the King's presence, incapable of employment, sitting in the Lord's House, in particular any pension or further title of honour. The Commons seem to go further: either he must appear or be impeached, and there the case now stands.

As for the Plot, it daily becomes more and more apparent. Yesterday there then appeared before the Lords, Madison, Bradshaw and Adamson, for saying that my Lord Shaftesbury must be killed, because so violent an enemy and so great a disturber of the Papists, and were committed to prison; as also one Mons. Gossene, who declared he would kill the King and twenty heretics more, if he had him in France. Also one Turner, who one Needham accused to be a confederate in the Plot, he having taken his oath at his examination before the Committee of Lords, made this declaration that he was both priest and Jesuit, yet did not believe that now he had taken his oath before a lawful authority, which he owned his lordship to be, he was bound to tell the truth; and that it was not in the power of the Pope and Conclave, nay not of the whole Church of Rome to dispense with him if he should say otherwise than true; and then absolutely denied that he

ever heard of the Plot. But some replied he might just as well be dispensed with to say this as to do what he was suspected for: he also was committed. The Committee is very industrious in drawing up charges against the Lords in the Tower, and say clear evidence appears against three of them, and too much against Powis and Petres. This ends with Tuesday night.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1679, March 29, London.—The scene of affairs is so shifting here, that he must be a much wiser man than I who is able to give your Grace a true prospect of the event of matters depending in Parliament. The Lords on Wednesday sent down a Bill for the banishing of the Earl of Danby, which was but a transcript of the Earl of Clarendon's Bill; and the Commons reading it the next day the first time, and not judging banishment sufficient, upon the question for the second reading rejected it, because they had projected another severer bill of their own, wherein they assign him a certain day for appearing and coming in to his trial, and in case of failure to attaint him and forfeit his honours and estate. This Bill was carried up to the Lords this day, but what success it will have there, or whether the Lords will not resent this rejection of their Bill by rejecting of it, is very uncertain. But it is certain unless the Commons have satisfaction in the point of the Earl of Danby they will give no money; and what the consequence of that is like to be your Grace can very well judge in the present circumstances of His Majesty's affairs.

I have sent your Grace the enclosed speech of my Lord Shaftesbury,* that your Grace may from thence see how necessary it is to look about you. I am told that upon it my Lord Ossory has undertaken by Monday or Tuesday to give the Committee of the Lords an account of what your Grace has done there since this discovery of the Plot for the security of the Protestants, which is a matter well to be considered before he gives it in. It has been my misfortune to be now a prisoner since my wife has fallen ill of the smallpox, the danger whereof, though I thank God it is over and she is in a fair way of recovery, yet for decency sake I am prohibited from going abroad for a day or two; and believing that I might have heard from my Lord Ossory in this affair I have put all my papers and letters in order to assist him, and I went last night to Mr. Secretary Coventry to discourse him in it, to which my Lord Ossory has made him as great a stranger as me hitherto; and so the work be well done, which I hope it will be, by Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Cyril Wyche and Colonel Vernon, whom I understand my Lord Ossory has called to his assistance, Mr. Secretary and myself

* See Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. ii; Appendix p. 90.

shall be very well satisfied, though we think the part my lord has undertaken is very nice, because the state of Ireland is desired by some not so much to receive satisfaction from your Grace's proceedings there as to find an occasion of carping at them to prejudice your Grace. And we are the rather induced to believe this, because it is said my Lord Shaftesbury yesterday moved that the Government of Ireland might be put into Commission, which is a very quick way of judgment by condemning you before you are heard. Upon the whole matter it is Mr. Secretary's opinion, with which I do also concur, that your Grace should immediately send away my Lord Arran, who having been upon the place, and an eye-witness of all transactions, will be able to give a more authentic state of things, and can answer any objections that shall be made better than any upon the place here, or any other you can send from thence, because of the place he has in the House of Lords, and a title to be with the Committee when he pleases. And in this no time is to be lost, for your Grace's envyers are mustering of their forces, my Lord Roberts being expected in town this week. Besides my Lord Arran has good credit with the King, and has the ready method of finding opportunities to speak to His Majesty, and preventing the impressions that may be made by misrepresentations of things. And though it may be inconvenient to his own affairs to come hither at this conjuncture, yet I am sure he will sacrifice his own interests to support your Grace's, which now require speedy assistance to obviate the intrigues of your enemies. I do not apprehend any mischief from the House of Commons, where I am sure your Grace has many faithful friends and servants who will be the more confirmed in their resolution by discoursing with my Lord Arran, for (my lord) it is not libels only which he must contend with.

Sir Thomas Chicheley was with me yesterday, and seemed to be concerned that objections are made in Council against the notes which he sent of the stores and arms sent thither from hence, which he protests are the very same which the King allows here, and, if the goodness of them are considered, above the value of the arms, powder and stores the merchants would bring in. He is confident there can be no objection. For all the arms and powder he sent are paid, and the materials for the match they buy here at easier rates from France ; and therefore he says if your Grace would have such commodities as are good the price must be accordingly.

Sir Robert Southwell yesterday justified himself with great applause and satisfaction to the House of Commons, in a complaint [which] was made against him by one Chetwynd, as if he had suppressed some paper of Dugdale's evidence, and when the House were considering of the punishment ought to be inflicted upon his false accuser, he in great generosity interposed for their passing it by.

My Lord Ossory has just now by Sir James Butler desired me tomorrow morning to attend him about the representation he designs to make to the Lords on Monday. And I am also told that the Bill against my Lord Danby will not be carried up to the Lords till Monday, though it passed the Commons this morning. And because the Secret Committee should have time to prepare their report, it is believed the Commons on Monday will adjourn for two or three days.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, March 29.—You will hear from our worthy friend Sir Robert Southwell that on Monday next I am to give the Lords' House an account of such things as have been done in Ireland relating to the Papists. My Lords of Shaftesbury and Halifax, I hope, will be satisfied that others are zealous as themselves in what concerns the safety of religion and the interests of the King. This evening I brought my Lord Cavendish to Court, the King having done it at my request. I hope I have already acted according to the advice you gave me in the letter Mr. St. Leger gave me from you this morning, and that I shall have the grace to so behave myself as not to be guilty of any unjust or partial vote.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1679, March 29, Saturday, St. James's Square.—Mr. Secretary having not been able for some days to go out of his house, and the unsettled condition of the Treasury, my Lord Treasurer going off the stage, and five Commissioners entering, have been the reasons why your four letters lately transmitted have not yet been despatched.

The Lords have thought fit to inquire into the Government of Ireland, and my Lord Ossory it seems is to bring them in an account of what proceedings have been made for the security of that kingdom in this imminent danger since the first discovery of the Plot, and this day I received a note from Sir Robert Southwell to meet him at my lord's lodgings tomorrow morning. I will carry along with me all the proclamations I have received, and letters that brought any knowledge of these matters, and give his lordship all the information I can. But the best account his lordship will be able to give will be but an imperfect one, and therefore not such as will be fully for your Grace's service; so that I think it necessary to desire his lordship to pray time to send to your Grace for a perfect narrative, which will at once satisfy their lordships and clearly answer all those scandalous libels or false reports or malicious interpretations which have filled the town, and your Grace has from other hands heard of. Tis some time ago since I remember I humbly moved this thing to your Grace, which would then have been of great use to prevent these misunderstandings, and is now expected.

EARL OF STRAFFORD to ORMOND.

1679, March 29, London.—Your Grace's letter of the 8th instant in answer to one of mine I received but a few days since, and have not upon it any further occasion to add to the trouble I gave you before, only to say this much to that part you are pleased to mention, that I may be confident what I said could not be justly interpreted to reflect upon your Grace; nor indeed was there anything to be excepted against by those that are of the contrary religion, though my aim was and shall be to do my duty the best I can, and not otherwise to study being acceptable. If your Grace had perfectly heard how that matter was, you would not have thought me to blame for not saying anything of you, as you still seem to imagine; but that I might have expressed what I did in many respects much better I do not at all doubt. Yet I believe your Grace may easily call to mind that few of us are so clearly masters of our language in Parliament as not to make greater suspicions than those you have conceived of me; and though I cannot deliver myself by far so well as many others, yet I think for missing to say what I ought in relation to any particular person I cannot truly be taxed for much greater defect at any time to them than they to me, without excepting any lord in the House, for I am very strictly careful to answer all the obligations I have to the best of my power.

All things relating to Ireland are very speedily to be brought before the Lords, and then I hope it will not be long before they have cause to be fully satisfied with all you have done, and that your Grace will understand there can be no wrong impressions received of you by them, and for my part I shall never go about to give wrong to them nor any else of anyone. My lord thus much I have not been well able to forbear to write, and it is all I have to say.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, March 29, London.—I delay writing so late to you on post days out of greediness after news, and staying for the votes of the House of Commons, that I often write in an illegible hurry for fear of losing the opportunity of the post, so that I had not time by the last to assert the truth of the Clancy-Whitehead's papers, which I can boldly assure you is literally true. Now for those material questions proposed in your letters of March the 20th concerning Hawks, Hounds and Horses. As for the first I have reduced myself to a single goshawk, and her to a single quarry of pheasants, because since I have lived with my brother that country is full of unpassable brooks, and of partridges that by the hawks going out at them we often lost the day's sport and her too for some time, and that taught other hawks to poute. This I have now is so cruel a pheasanter that we were fain

to oblige ourselves but to kill above four brace in a day that we might lengthen out our sport all winter; which we did, till my brother's being chose for Gloucester removed us to London, and her into the mew. As for hounds I never had or saw sixteen couple of better chase hounds, nor ever any man did improve a bad winter to so much sport. I went out with a hurdle of old finders no further than my brother's park, and if they did but challenge on a drag of a fox, I presently uncouple 12 or 14 couple of staunch buckhounds, with assurance that when they have first but touched of a fox they will not that day trouble the deer, though they never so often carry their chase through all the herds in the park. Then after I had sealed or earthed I coupled up my finders and bestowed the rest of that day's light a hare-hunting with all the same hounds, nay if I missed of a fox (which is very seldom) if I can find a barren doe single, or can but so, I run her whole in the park, and not a hound will so much as look after a male deer, who in the summer scorn to touch upon a rascal deer, and that chase ended I hasten to hare-hunting all the day after, and all this with the same hounds, who I find fitter to hold each chase for being habituated to all. Lastly for horses, I have kept 12 at house all this winter, some in heats, some for hunting and some for haglings. I have the famous beautiful *Burnett* in my stable, who serves but to pick up Gloucestershire plates (of which we have abundance) and get foals, finer than which never any stallion yet got. He is allowed by all the Newmarketerians as the handsomest horse now in England, comes eleven and is sound to all intents and purposes. Also a flea-bitten gelding who cost fifty guineas, is exactly sound and the pleasantest beast under one a-hunting I ever crossed for months, easy-going, safe and sure leaping. He hath but one fault, (which is no great one to me, considering the number of beasts I have to relieve him with), two days a week is the utmost he will endure and keep his flesh tolerably. I have a famous brown gelding cost fort guineas, and several others, so that if a small officer be wanted when the French assault Ireland I am ready mounted to attend the summons, and willingly do it with more delight than ever I went a fox-hunting, or to victuals after it. If I have transgressed by usurping upon time by so enlarged and unprofitable a discourse, be pleased to see the danger of provoking a man at his own weapon.

I observe one other part of your letter mentioning French and Papists, two terms of art in every malicious mouth, completing revenge on whomsoever either can be pinned, and considering the easy credulity of this uncharitable age, it seldom fails to stick on whomsoever it is thrown. In a short time I fear jealousy on one hand or other will leave us no Protestants; for the Papists have of late so interwoven

themselves with all sorts of Dissenters, that not to conform to our Church gives supposition *ipso facto* of conformity to that of Rome, and they again from the decency of our disciplines which they nickname superstition call all who do conform, Papists. So that were Our Saviour himself on earth again there would be those who would brand even him with that fashionable calumny of Papist, and if Papist Frenchman too; which is but natural enough, for he that is the former must endeavour the propagation of his heresy, and no expedient is so proper to carry on that great damnable work as that lawless prince and his irresistible power. I confess I cannot recal my pity from him that is withdrawn who (to my knowledge) hated both Papist and French, and was sufficiently hated by them, and yet (in a great measure) suffered as their patron; who thereby have an opportunity to insult over him, and are not mealy-mouthed in making use of it.

Now to the work of the day: our proceedings in both Houses since Tuesday. Wednesday the 26th the Lords sat morning and afternoon to finish a sharp bill to cut off all capacities in England of pensions or honours and be banished for ever. This bill is absolutely the same as that of my Lord Clarendon *verbatim*, with the addition only of revoking all grants since the time of the attainder. This was more expeditiously despatched because they would anticipate the Commons bill, which is a summons by a day to appear, or in default *ipso facto* attainder to follow, which they on Thursday were only to read a second time. To prevent which, the Masters in Chancery had the Bill that night to clap into the House as soon as prayers should be ended. Some interlocutory passages happened in the afternoon remarkable enough. As that of the zeal of my Lord Shaftesbury for public safety, who revived the objections of last session against Sir John Robinson, for letting the Popish prisoners come together, for which the Duke of Monmouth was then entrusted to discourse His Majesty, in order to Sir John's removal. The Duke answered that the King did intend to turn him out, only wanted money to pay him off. My Lord also complained of several Papists in the Tower. The Duke answered (that is the Duke of Monmouth) that there was but one there that had refused the oaths and tests, and he only had a fortnight's time given him to dispose of his concerns. The Earl made answer that many were known to be Papists, and though they had done all that could be legally required. yet we must not suffer ourselves to be legally outdone, and stretched his complaints yet further to the Fleet and Garrison, particularly Portsmouth, urging it was well known who had put all officers in, and that our safetys were so much affected in their removal that till they were changed the Commons would never give money. My Lord Cornbury answered for the

Governor of Portsmouth, honest George Legg, that he, his father, mother, nay grandfather also, had ever been Protestants; but their discourse begun too late to be finished that night. The Commons rose early, having only what the votes of that day expresses before them; only extraordinary was the eloquence of many in that matter of the Earl of Danby, but the stream ran one way. There hath yet been but one division of that House, and that was about the Chairman of the Committee of Elections, when Sir Thomas Meres carried it but by six voices against one, Mr. Treby of the West. The information against Sir John Robinson is from Mr. Oates, that he hath long known and concealed the Plot. That order for a Committee to inspect temporary lots chiefly aims at the Irish Cattle Bill. Sir Robert Southwell's information was from one Mr. Chetwynd, as if Sir Robert Southwell had stifled Mr. Dugdale's evidence; who being asked at the Committee of the Council whether he knew anything of Sir Ed. Berry Godfrey's death, announced Yes, he heard of it, and immediate complained to Father Evers of it as what would greatly reflect on the Papists, who answered no, that he had been a great persecutor of baudy houses, and it would be thought some of those streeters had taken revenge. This much he evidenced, but after being gone from the Committee, recollecting himself, remembered that the account came in a letter from Green's or Pickering; that that night they had despatched Sir Ed. B. Godfrey, which expression appropriated it to the priests, who seem to renounce the guilt. But it will appear he said this after he was gone, not while he was at the Committee of the Council. They talk much of the provisions made in the bill for regulating elections, to prevent all debaucheries and undue practices, which will be a very good work (I am sure a very difficult one) Great also is the commendations of that bill for the better discovery and conviction of Popish recusants, sent down by the Lords.

On Thursday March 27 as soon as the Commons were sat, the Masters of Chancery presented the Bill for the banishment of the Earl of Danby, and at last had only these two additional clauses, one to detect all purchases made by him in other names, with severe penalties to such as shall conceal them; the other to prevent all pardons but by Act of Parliament. This those who loved him least in the Lords' House thought punishment enough, and most who loved him best submitted to it to prevent worse which they understood was designed him by the Commons. The Commons resisted the reading of the Bill, though the Masters of Chancery emphatically desired their concurrence; and fell upon those lesser things confined in the Votes; then read their own Bill of Impeachment against him a second time and committed it, and when they had read over the

Lords' Bill for banishment by vote rejected it *nemine contradicente*. So that if the Lords serve their Bill of Attainder so too, the work might stand still. And though the Commons have ordered the Lords' bill for the better discovery and easier conviction of recusants a second reading, yet it is supposed they will never so much as commit it, as being less than they intend. The Commons rose early this morning, because the Committee of Secrecy was to sit in the afternoon to draw up the charge against the Lords in the Tower. The Lords also rose early and did like, only they had Captain Spaulding before them, the Deputy Governor of Chepstow, who was before imprisoned by the Lords, and was indulged to be at liberty on bail ; which he construed a discharge and returned to his command, which was one part of his crime : another that he beat one of his soldiers, indeed a servant of his, for he was his falconer, who it seems had heard him say that had he known Bedloe would have been such a witness he would have stopped his mouth when he had him in his Castle ; for all which he was recommitted, and his employment disposed of.

Yesterday March 28, was almost an idle day ; the Commons doing little, the Lords less. The enclosed Votes will show the transactions of the former, with this paraphrase : that letter mentioned in the second paragraph was delivered by one Mr. Cole to the Speaker ; he received it by the post. It was subscribed by one Christopher Boynton : its contents, to bespeak great care, else this month would expire the King ; the Parliament and the Tower would be in great danger. This the London members were to trace out, to detect it if a trick and prevent it if a plot. The accusation of Sir Robert Southwell brought his entries of all the examinations before the House, when they appeared so very methodical and such that he gained great applause, and his accuser no rebuke, because it appeared to be the result of his zeal, not ill will. The Lords sat late and rose early having despatched some trivial petitions, and resolved into a Grand Committee for religion, debated some heads for the securing Popish children's education, and so adjourned. The reason the Commons rose so early was in favour of the Committee of Secrecy, who have much work on their hands.

This day the Lords having adjusted some complaints about breach of privilege, again returned themselves into a Grand Committee, and renewed the consideration of Religion, extending their zeal against Popery to the deprivation not only of Papists themselves from all places of profit and trust, but also all such persons who for the future shall intermarry with Papists, nay and comprehending under that motion (places and offices of profit and trust) all Colleges and Societies, as physicians and lawyers, nay even to Heralds also, and many others too numerous to mention. The Commons after they had given directions in some scrupulous disputes

about elections, and sworn some fresh members, those four who serve for London gave an account that searching after the author of that letter which warned the Speaker lest ill befel the King, Parliament and Tower of London, they had met with another verbatim duplicate of that letter, but directed to another person, yet wrote like the same hand; whence they inferred this to be but a false alarm, but possibly only calculated to beget security when there should be a true one. Then was reported the Bill of Attainder against my Lord Treasurer with all its amendments and alterations, with which the House concurred. The 10th of April is the last day for his coming in. Then the consideration of the disbanding of the Army took place; but because that day was spent, the debate (as appears by the votes) was adjourned till Tuesday morning, to which time the House adjourned that the Committee of Secrecy might leisurably draw up the charge against the Tower Lords. Our old acquaintance Sir Robert Walsh appeared this day before the Commons, brought in by [Every]* who accused Sir John Robinson of having known the Plot four years since and stifling it, and imprisoning him lest he should discover it. Sir Robert was called to justify that he told him of the Plot so long since, Sir Robert did testify for it, adding he could tell him no more than he knew before, whereon he was asked whether he knew anything of the Plot, answered yes, possibly more than had yet been discovered, and that he was ready to discover it when asked. He is referred to the Committee of Secrecy; he only yet mentioned Bishop Talbot.

Ormond to Colonel Edward Cooke.

1679, March 31, Dublin.—Though I have nothing to return but my thanks in recompense for the pains you take to give me information, yet it is fit you should know you do not absolutely lose those pains. The last I had or could have from you by this post were of the 22 and 25 of this month. It is true I had from other hands something more than you writ of smart glances at me, such as the author is a great master at, which I neither wonder nor grumble at. I have the luck to be in this way and I must take my chance. Yet it is observable that the same man who helped to heave me out of this place once before is now lifting at me again, but in very different company, and for very opposite reasons. What the reasons of my first remove were, I will not mention, nor trouble you with refuting the latter. Let time and opportunity work.

Rev. Henry Aldrich† to Sir Robert Southwell.

1679, March 31, Christ Church.—I am extremely sorry the first address I am to make to you is upon so ill an occasion,

* This name is indistinctly written. Possibly John Every, who sat for Bridport in the Parliament of 1679 is intended.

† Rev. Henry Aldrich (1647-1710) afterwards Dean of Christ Church.

and though it is a hard matter for a man in my position to write sparingly upon so copious a subject, I shall endeavour to shorten your trouble as much as I can, and give you a bare account of matter of fact in a business wherein the great esteem the world has of you makes me glad you are so nearly concerned. I must only beg leave to trouble you with some circumstances which perhaps may appear impertinent till you have considered the whole story, and allege in my excuse that I omit an incredible number; that is all the odious ones. I have the honour to be recommended to the service of my Lord Ossory, and think myself so far qualified for it as a due sense of his descent, his quality, his great and noble actions, and a particular esteem for his person can make me. I do with all respect and gratitude acknowledge the obligation I lie under in being trusted with so considerable a charge, especially because my Lord James his good understanding and singular good nature make my business a great pleasure as well as a reputation to me. I am likewise honoured with the care of Mr. Berkeley, son to my Lord John Berkeley, whom my father served many years before his death, and is still of the family. This Mr. Berkeley during the two years he has passed among us has had either the merit or the good luck to be very well esteemed and beloved in the College, and I must do him the justice to profess that besides his many others good qualities he has been as well tempered and tractable as any youth I ever knew. Yet it seems by some misadventure he had a difference with my Lord James Butler, which if no children but themselves had interposed in would have proved no great matter, but being well husbanded bred a great deal of disturbance. I must accuse myself of being [*obliterated*] to my Lord James that though I had then reason to believe and can now prove that Mr. Berkeley was much innocenter than he was represented, yet I obliged him to wait upon my Lord to acknowledge that he had behaved himself very rudely to his Lordship, that he was ashamed and sorry for it, that he begged his pardon, that he sued for a reconciliation, and promised never to give any occasion to any future difference. Upon this submission they were very good friends to all appearance, and likely so to continue, till, I know not how, last night there grew another quarrel, wherein I know so well who was faulty that I desire somebody else may tell. And besides I am content for the present to let Mr. Berkeley lie under as great imputation as can be fixed upon a child, and shall hereafter endeavour to clear him from the aspersions of Mr. Drelincourt, who has taken great pains to put a most foul and odious character upon a young nobleman who had a clear and unblemished reputation till he came to Christ Church. This last rencounter Mr. Drelincourt resented so nearly that he came to Mr. Berkeley's chamber with a deep

design to find the child there alone and beat him. Finding him not at home he went, as himself owns, on a Sunday night to all the alehouses in town in quest of him; but still missing him resolved to waylay him as he came from nine o'clock prayers. It was my fortune (having had some notice of the young gentlemen's bickering) not to go home with Mr. Berkeley as I use to do, but to step up to my Lord James to hear what complaint in order to giving him all the reparation in my power. By this accident Mr. Drelincourt found Mr. Berkeley without me going home, and laid hold of him, and when he had run him up to the wall, he asked me why he had abused my Lord James. Mr. Berkeley told him he had not. Mr. Drelincourt's answer was, as some tell me, "you lie, you dog," another "Sirrah you lie," as himself owns "you lie," with some other harsh word, but not dog; and he accompanied it with four or five hearty boxes on the ear, such as might well pass for a handsell. You will easily understand that this nettled some of the young scholars that were passing by, and immediately came about them, when by good fortune Mr. Thynne in his way home took notice of the scuffle and parted them. These [*obliterated*] ill circumstances I omit, because they cannot be formally related, and would look like a libel upon any that was out of long clothes; and this much will be sufficient to give my Lord Ossory and yourself a taste how extraordinary hands my Lord James is fallen into, and how great obligation Mr. Drelincourt puts upon all persons that have been careful to recommend, entertain or countenance him. I shall not trouble you with the unanimous [*obliterated*] of all in this place that have knowledge of the affair, nor anyways pretend to prescribe my Lord's resentment nor yours, but rest altogether satisfied that my Lord is a person of that worth and honour that he will take better notice of it than we can suggest to him. I must only beg my Lord's pardon and yours, as I must all gentlemen's, that having so foul a story to tell I am able to do it with so much patience.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, March 31. Dublin. You tell me in yours of the 22nd that I have the effect of my memorial by the sending of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment. It is not now the time to dispute that, but if the governor of the place shall call for ammunition and I should only send him bullets he would hardly think his desire complied with. The men are not yet landed, that is they were not on the 28th of this month, and if my Lord of Shaftesbury's remarks (which he seldom lets fall to the ground) shall be pursued, perhaps it may come to an address that they may be stopt, in which case they will surely think it fit to send some other in their place if the danger of this Kingdom be really believed to be as great as

has been represented and as in truth it is. That the noble lord likes not the management of affairs here I easily believe, or that he ever will as long as I am in the Government. He was of the same opinion once before, but for a quite opposite reason. Then I was not Frenchman enough, nor satisfied with the commission set on foot by Colonel Talbot's negotiation in favour of the Irish Papists and to the ruin of the English Protestant interest in Ireland, of which commission he was; and of all the Council I only opposed till the Parliament thought fit to address against it; but now the shaking of his head seems to import I am too indulgent to the Papists. There is no possible or positive answer to be made to such kind of insinuations, nor do I understand what kind of account it is that you undertook to bring in the Monday following, by whom it was required or how you will perform it, of all which I wish you had written more distinctly; but I presume you have not bound yourself and much less me to what you can then produce, as I guess it must be some narrative of what has been done by me here in order to the securing of this Kingdom, which how you will collect and put together I know not. If it be put in writing it is exposed to the objections of witty men resolved to mislike it beforehand, and for a discourse it must be too long. What it is and what the success of it I must expect to know by letters of the 1st of April, for it is now too late to advise on the point.

I am obliged to the lord that told you what it was that provoked his friends to glance at me, but both the particulars are no better than surmises, and if those pass with them for such truths as to found prejudices upon I had rather they were any man's friends than mine. That the Duke placed me here is really more than I and certainly more than they can know. That he placed one of those friends in the Lords' House I have very good reason to believe, and that he afterwards did help to put him from the Council and another friend out of a great place they believe and have shown they well remember it. Till I know what steady forms the affairs shall be put into I conceive it will be in vain to represent the state of things there or rather to mind them of what has been represented. In the state things are I should think they cannot long continue. When you wrote concerning my Lord of Essex, his aim to come hither again, I suppose you did not know he was designed to be one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, which is such a step to be single in it that I think he will not quit it for this Government at such a time as this. If you had inquired of Mr. Secretary Coventry what I writ to him of the Chief Justice's place you would have been satisfied that I had fairly done my duty and no more, and to that I must now refer you. When the Irish bills shall be taken into consideration it will be time enough to satisfy my Lord Burlington that there is no preference

given to the nominees, and that there can be no danger that the English interest can receive any hurt by them, though they should be sent over as they are, and not mended as they may be there at Council.

Earl of Ossory's Memorandum on the State of Ireland.

An Account of the Present State of Ireland presented by the Lord Butler of Moor Park* to the House of Lords, March 31, 1679.

An extract of some Letters, Orders, and Proclamations which have come from Ireland, some to the Council Board and some to particular hands, which in part show what hath been done since the discovery of the Plot and how things stand there in the general, referring for full and exact information unto such account as by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that kingdom will doubtless be given when required thereunto.

1. That when news of the discovery of the Plot, and His Majesty's orders of the 1st of October last came to the Lord Lieutenant, which was about the 7th following, his lordship was then at Kilkenny, newly returned from a progress made by him into Munster to view the forts and places fit for fortification, and in particular from seeing the new fort begun by his order the March preceding for the defence of the harbour of Kinsale, which work hath since gone on, and upon which is already expended about the sum of £5,000, it being a work of great importance to the safety of that Kingdom, and the security of all ships resorting to that harbour.

2. But according to the said Order the Lord Lieutenant did presently issue a warrant for the seizure of Peter Talbot and of his papers, and he was accordingly seized and made close prisoner in the Castle of Dublin where he now so remains ; and the examinations taken were transmitted to His Majesty in Council, and from thence to the House of Lords the last Parliament, together with a paper writ with his own hand, being an account of treason laid to his charge by one Sergeant, which paper 'tis he desires should be found ; for no other papers of moment could be found either in his chamber or in his trunk, he having had time enough to put all out of reach by the tidings it is likely he and many other Papists did receive of the discovery of a Plot by Mr. Oates at the Council Board on Saturday the 20th of September and the intelligence sent away that night. The Lord Lieutenant did also according to his orders secure Mr. Butler, a son of the Lord Mountgarret ; but that Lord himself being of extreme age and infirmities was and lies still bedrid ; and Colonel Richard Talbot was also committed to safe and close custody

* The title by which Lord Ossory was called to the House of Lords.

as soon as ever the orders and accusation were transmitted into Ireland, and so he still remains.

3. The Lord Lieutenant also hastened to Dublin, and coming there the 11th of October he presently called up the Council, and they met from day to day and did issue from time to time several proclamations and orders as follows :

14 October 1678. A proclamation strictly requiring all officers and soldiers to repair to their respective quarters, and not to depart without license.

16 October 1678*. A proclamation requiring all titular Archbishops, Vicars-General, Abbots and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Pope, as also all Jesuits and other regular priests to depart the Kingdom by a day limited, and that all Popish societies, convents, seminaries and Popish schools, should dissolve and separate themselves under the penalties therein mentioned. All persons were forbid to harbour them, and all magistrates commanded to inquire, punish or certify the disobedience therein ; and that persons so commanded to leave the Kingdom might not pretend want of convenience for transportation.

6 November 1678†. Another proclamation issued, requiring all owners and masters of ships bound to parts beyond the sea to set up notice in writing in the most public places of the time of their departure ; and they were required to take on board all such ecclesiastics as should desire to go with them, and the officers of the customs were commanded to stop all ships that did not give such notice of their departure.

2 November 1678.‡ Another proclamation issued, commanding that no Papist in the Kingdom should thenceforth presume to ride with, carry, buy, keep or use any arms whatsoever without licence ; that within twenty days after the date thereof or seven days after the receipt of such arms they were required to deliver them up to certain of the most noted Protestants for that purpose named in the several counties, who were to take such arms and give receipts for what they took ; that the Justices of the Peace and the officers of the army should after the time expired search for and seize the arms of unlicensed persons, or if they found more arms than were reported with those that had licence they were to bind the delinquents over ; and all merchants and other retailers of powder were required to send in an account of their stores, if the same exceed above one pound, and of any powder which they might afterwards receive.

* This Proclamation is printed in full in Report on the Ormonde MSS., First Series, Vol. 2, pp. 350-352.

† Printed in full *ibid*, pp. 355-6.

‡ Printed in full *ibid*, pages 352-5.

20 November 1678.* Another proclamation issued forbidding Papists to come into the Castle of Dublin, or into any fort or citadel of that Kingdom; appointing also that the fairs and weekly markets of certain places, viz., Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal, and Galway to be thenceforth kept without the walls of the said garrisons, and that Papists be not suffered to continue or reside in the said towns, or in any towns or corporations where garrisons were kept unless they had for the greatest part of twelve months past inhabited in such town. And that no person of the Papist religion anyways armed be suffered to come into the said fairs or markets; and also strictly requiring all Papists to forbear any unreasonable or night meetings, or in great or unusual numbers in any part of the Kingdom; and commanding all officers civil or military to be careful to prevent and dissolve all such meetings, to commit the principal offenders to prison till they find good security to answer the same at the next Sessions; and to return an account of their proceeding therein, with the names of such as occasioned or countenanced the same, to the Council Board.

20 November 1678† Another proclamation issued the same day promising a reward of 10*l.* for every commissioned officer, 5*l.* for every trooper and 40/– for every foot soldier to such as should discover any of them to have been perverted to the Romish religion, or heard mass who had formerly taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and the like to the discoverer of any that should afterwards be perverted. Besides that it was a rule begun in the present Lord Lieutenant's first government after the King's Restoration, and ever since continued, that the Muster-Master should check the pay of every officer and soldier of the Army who does not produce certificates from the Bishop or Minister of the place of his having received the Sacrament, according to the Church of England, twice every year.

2 December 1678. That being informed that several of the titular bishops and regular clergy had not obeyed the proclamation of the 16th October last for their departure, there issued a circular letter from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, whereby all Justices of the Peace are commanded to make diligent search after them, to commit them to prison, and to return the names of their receivers and harbourers that they might be proceeded against according to law.

12 December 1678‡ Another proclamation issued highly resenting the slackness of the Justices etc. in executing the late proclamation for searching after and seizing of

* Printed in full in Vol. ii., First Series, pp. 356-7.

† Printed in full in *ibid*, p. 356.

‡ Printed in full in *ibid*, pp. 357-9.

arms, requiring therefore a further search, and proposing a method for preventing of forged licences, and to look upon all that should be remiss in their duties as contemners of the King's authority and proceeded against as abettors of those who disturb the peace.

13 December 1678* Another proclamation issued taking notice of a letter scattered in the streets of Dublin Lieutenant, promising protection and 200*l.* reward to the intimating a conspiracy against the life of the Lord discoverer. And it afterwards appeared that one Jephson, a young man perverted from his religion by some Irish priests; his abettors therein were taken and put into custody and the examinations committed to the Council and from thence sent to the House of Lords.

There were two great questions among others under serious debate of the Lord Lieutenant and Council from whence much ill grounded reflection hath arisen. The one about securing the principal heads of the most considerable clans or families of the Irish who have lost their estates; some supposing that it might conduce to the safety of the English if such heads were in restraint,† and that their fellows would not then presume or adventure to rush into rebellion. But upon serious consideration it was thought that such a proceeding might rather quicken a rebellion than prevent it; for the numerous followers who depend only upon their master's interest and authority for the support of themselves and families, being angered or affrighted at the ill-usage of their principals, and being loosened from all dependencies, might rather put themselves upon some unlawful way of living by turning Tories than entrust themselves to the pleasure of the Government; and in the quality of Tories they would be equally mischievous, and especially to the English dispersed in their remote dwellings, as a small rebellion. Besides this further reason did dissuade the taking up of their chief men as hostages: for if their followers were but few they would not do the English much hurt as they are; but if strong and numerous it would be easily in their power to surprise so many English gentlemen living remote and scattered in the country as would soon redeem such hostages, and thereby render all the charge and care of such an undertaking fruitless and only sure to breed ill blood. So that the Lord Lieutenant hath in some nature steered a different course by showing civility and giving good words to such of the heads of the Irish as come near him, whereby he finds out early what is doing among their dependants, and hath observed this method of obviating dangers more easy than either by rigour to compel them and their followers to live always in conjunction, and to talk of their

* Given in full in Vol. ii., First Series, p. 359.

† See the Earl of Orrery's letter to Ormond, dated 28 Feb., 1678-9 (Vol. iv., p. 336) and Primate Boyle's letter to Lord Orrery, dated Mar. 8, 1678-9 (Vol. iv., p. 352).

misfortunes, or by imprisonment of so many of the nobility of a kingdom without crimes objected or commands from thence, incur the censure of arbitrary proceedings which are neither safe nor fit for him to bear.

Another point that hath been under consideration before the Lord Lieutenant and Council was a proposal for draining the Corporations (especially those that were garrisoned) from the number of Irish Papists that live among them, in order to prevent any surprise or private conspiracy. But when it was reflected on that notwithstanding the general orders and proclamations that have from time to time been issued from the Government for the expulsion of Irish inhabitants and servants from the towns and garrisons, and that very few in respect of the numbers complained of were licensed to return, it was manifest that it was the English themselves who did in most places receive them in again for their own advantage not knowing well how to live without them. They wanted servants, and tenants and tradesmen, for of such are the numbers in the towns constituted, and the Irish Papists supplied with such; and the English did not conceive this sort of people to be so dangerous as beneficial unto them. So that the Lord Lieutenant and Council do only forbear their expulsion in whole or in part but for conveniency and gratification of the English. However it is certain there can never be a true remedy herein as to the security and improvement of that kingdom, unless by a large accession of English and Protestants there. And until that shall happen all other trials upon these sort of Irish will be in a manner but to lay some towns and very much of the land of the Protestants quite waste and untenanted. And yet it so falls out that many on this side, not considering the disposition of the Irish to the English, nor the difference of the laws there as to capital and pecuniary mulcts from what they are in England, do think many things are defective because they are not there executed as they are and may be executed in this kingdom. Upon these and other reasons of weight the two propositions before mentioned were thought impracticable. But the principal and present security of that kingdom consisting in the balancing the numbers of Irish with a superiority of strength and leaving them naked and the English in arms, the Lord Lieutenant and Council did think fit to receive the Commission of Array, so that the militia of that kingdom hath been raised in all parts, and is now found in a better condition than ever it was known to be. And to supply the defect of arms for such militia there were not only appointed some merchants as public undertakers to bring in arms from abroad, but withal, not wholly to depend upon their performances, the Lord Lieutenant procured a supply out of His Majesty's stores here of powder and arms to the

value of 13,000*l.*, which are now actually landed in Ireland, and for payment of which he himself stands engaged to the office of Ordnance here, until a Parliament do meet in Ireland to make provision for things of this importance. But surely to have proceeded with any degree of precipitation while the English were so unfurnished had not been very prudential.

As to His Majesty's forces in that kingdom, they are well disciplined and well paid. And it hath pleased His Majesty lately to send over a reinforcement of about 1200 men; and the army is [so] distributed as that the cities (which are the garrisons of that kingdom) are secured as well as it is possible for the proportion of such a militia and such an army to make them.

There is all the discountenance given to Mass-houses in all places which the laws of that kingdom will bear. Nor is there licence for arms given to any but such as need them, and for no more than is necessary for their security against Tories in their remote and scattered habitations, and for whose loyalty and peaceable behaviour the Lord Lieutenant is not first sufficiently certified by some Protestant of note.

The forts are in as good a condition as the stores and the revenue of that kingdom will allow, and perhaps somewhat better. But it is manifest much more is needful in every kind in case of foreign attempts. And therefore seeing the charge of the Government and the income of the revenue are so nearly balanced by a settled establishment that it is not in the power of the Lord Lieutenant to alter the same, and that no money can be raised from the subject but by Act of Parliament, therefore the Lord Lieutenant hath been long endeavouring to have a Parliament called, and to that end several bills were transmitted the last summer by the Lord Lieutenant and now remain at the Council Board here, together with a large representation of the state of accounts depending with the Lord Ranelagh and his partners, who were late Undertakers for the Revenue of that kingdom. And until there be leisure (which since the discovery of this horrid Plot there scarce hath been) to send back those things with the mature consideration they deserve, there is no visible means left for the raising and augmenting the public revenue to such a proportion as may put that kingdom into a sufficient posture of defence as to army, fortifications and stores in case of any powerful invasion. But for the present all things are there in full peace and quietness. And for further account of the present state of that kingdom, and for what hath been done in further reason of the particulars here mentioned, or of any other thing which may have been left undone, there is no doubt but full satisfaction will be given by the Lord Lieutenant and Council when such particular inquiries and demands are made as shall be thought convenient.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, April 1.—In my last I gave you an account of my being commanded by the Lords to inform them of the state of Ireland; wherein I obeyed them, giving them those public orders which you issued for the security of religion and the English interest: a copy whereof I here send, in which Sir Robert Southwell showed that concern for you which he ever does in things relating to you or yours. They now are upon making acts here for the governing of Ireland. By the journals you will see their proceedings, which are no ways pleasing to the King. I find great animosities are against my Lord Chancellor: I hope they will do nothing hastily against him. The motion concerning Colonel Fitzpatrick was very quick and impossible to prevent. My Lord of Anglesey showed me a paper of my Lord of Tyrone's complaining much of the hard usage he has had. I will endeavour to send you a copy of it. I wish your Secretary had informed me, that I might have known what to say, and that he would upon the like occasions give me speedy information of things. I have not made any hasty steps or done anything without advice of your and my friends.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond

1679, April 1, St. James's Square.—I need not trouble your Grace with an account of what passed yesterday in the Lords' House upon occasion of the narrative which my Lord Ossory thought fit to give in of what had been done since the discovery of the Plot for the security of that kingdom. How that their lordships have ordered that your Grace should be further desired to prohibit Colonel Fitzpatrick to come within twenty miles of your Court, and all other Papists without distinction from coming to Court; that a Bill should be prepared to disable Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament, according to the example of what has passed here; and that those of that religion should not be permitted to live in maritime towns of note which are to be more particularly enumerated: these and other things of this kind which have passed, your Grace will no doubt have an exact account of from my Lord of Ossory himself. But what would be of great service to the country, when so many inhabitants are like to be removed from so many places of trade, were the providing a supply of industrious hands. And in order to that, having acquainted Mr. Brisban with the opinion your Grace was pleased to honour me with, in answer to the queries I humbly prepared from him for soliciting the transplanting some French Protestants thither, I have a return from him to this purpose, that he conceives it impracticable for a multitude to agree among themselves in any such resolution, and in deputing any persons from them

to treat upon terms; and that if that difficulty could be overcome, the execution of such a design would meet with invincible opposition there from public authority. That he therefore desires to know what one may upon good grounds promise to single persons and families, as, for example, what security for religion, facility of naturalisation, exemption from foreign duties, privileges in exercising trades in Corporations, equality of justice etc. What cannot be effected at once by any common agreement at first, may in some time be obtained thus by a multitude of particulars, and the experience of a few will quickly invite many others. The things he desires to see resolved in seem to me chiefly to terminate in the means of being naturalised, and the permission of following manual trades. There is a law that admits strangers into Corporations for 20/–; but how far that extends, whether only to the King's natural subjects, or further, I cannot tell. If your Grace thinks it fit that upon these points of law I might receive the opinion of one of the King's Counsel to be communicated to him, the constitution of things at present abroad seem to promise some good effects of it.

Captain John St. Leger to Henry Gascoigne.*

1679, April 1. London.—Upon a mistake, my Lord of Ossory sharply replied to my Lord Shaftesbury yesterday†, and as I heard this day from my Lord Shaftesbury's own mouth, and he protested to me, 'twas a misapprehension of my Lord Ossory's, for he did not mean His Grace, nor that the reflection was intended to touch the Duke; and being pressed to explain whom he meant he declared that it was Colonel Fitzpatrick, and he told me he called him a single person which could not be understood to be the Duke, and I believe it was not.

The Bill of Attainder was carried this day to the House of Lords, and this day the Parliament voted all the forces in England illegal, nor is there any exception of the Guards. 'Tis thought this will not be very welcome to many of the Lords; they go on some say with too much heat; but I hope in a little time there will be a perfect understanding between both Houses. As yet they do not differ.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, April 1, Whitehall.—This post will bring your Grace the letters for the successive promotions occasioned by the death of my Lord Chief Justice Povey. They are in the fashion I apprehended they would be after my second discourse with His Majesty about your Grace's letter; for at first he seemed inclined, if not resolved, for Sir William

* Secretary to the Duke of Ormond.
† See Carte's Life of Ormond, Vol. ii., App. p. 90.

Davy. But some obligation of promise he had made for one in the lowest rank of the preferred made him enter upon new considerations, and at last ended in the resolutions I send you.

My Lord of Ossory will acquaint your Grace with the particulars that passed yesterday and to-day in their House, and particularly concerning Ireland, and I cannot yet be well enough with our House to prognostic whether they will mend, but at present it looketh very uncomfortable, though there are that think it will mend. But whether they are too sanguine or I too melancholy I know not. Only I can say we have made a shift to spoil a good Parliament, but whether we have the art to make a good one is what I doubt. The General Peace is on all hands believed nigh making, the F.K. [French King] will then be at leisure to employ his thoughts I fear more upon us than we shall have reason to thank him for. For whether it be the number of our diseases, or that of our remedies (which we pretend to employ all at a time) that will destroy us, I know not. But I do truly think the latter as likely as the first.

Our new Commissioners pretend to great diligence and integrity, and they have need of both to do much upon their stock, they finding but 27s. and 3d. in the Treasury (besides appropriated money) at their entrance.

The Lord Lieutenant and Council to Henry Coventry, Principal Secretary of State.

1679, April 5. Dublin.—As we did immediately after the arrival of me the Lieutenant hither apply ourselves among other things to look into the state of His Majesty's revenue, and by letters both from myself apart and from this Board unto you and to the late Lord Treasurer directed did send over early accounts of our proceedings therein and of the defects which we observed to be prejudicial to the carrying on of His Majesty's necessary affairs, and which for want of a sufficient fund were not able to be remedied; so, as soon as we received advice of the Plot, we did dispose our thoughts in the best manner we could for securing His Majesty's Government in this kingdom from the dangers thereby threatened against it: And therefore we did then and have since held frequent councils upon that subject, where we did not only put into execution the several particulars which by orders from that side we were required to do, but have also acted divers things besides which we conceived necessary to be done in such a conjuncture: And to the end His Majesty may be satisfied what steps we have made for the furthering the said service and so have them before him to make such supplements to them as in his royal judgment may be thought proper and practicable for the future security of this his Kingdom, we have here enclosed to you for that purpose

distinct particulars of our said proceedings which we desire you humbly to offer to His Majesty's consideration: And remain from the Council Chamber in Dublin the 5th day of April 1679

Your very assured loving friends,

ORMOND.

Michael Armach, C., Jo. Dublin, Arran, Blessinton, Granard, Lanesborough, Hen. Midensis, Rob. Fitzgerald, Ca. Dillon, Chas. Meredith, Jon. Davys, Ol. St. George, Geo. Rawdon, H. Ingoldsby, Wm. fflower, Tho. Newcomen.

[*Encloses the narrative next printed.*]

MEMORANDUM of the IRISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant and Council in Ireland since the intimation to them from His Majesty of the Discovery of the Plot in England.

By order of His Majesty in Council dated this 30th of September 1678, which was received here the 7th of October last, the Lord Lieutenant was in particular to use effectual means to compel all the titular bishops and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome to depart the kingdom with all possible speed, and to cause Peter Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin, to be seized and taken into custody, and in general to provide such speedy remedies for the obstruction of those evils informed of as should be thought fit; upon receipt of which order Peter Talbot was immediately seized by direction of the Lord Lieutenant and committed to the Castle of Dublin, where he still remains and was several times examined.

On the 14th of October 1678, a proclamation issued from the Lord Lieutenant commanding all officers and soldiers of the Army to repair to their respective garrisons, there to remain and not absent themselves without particular and express licence from the Lord Lieutenant.

On the 16th of October 1678 a proclamation issued from the Board, commanding all titular Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Abbots, and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by authority from the Pope or see of Rome, and all Jesuits and other regular priests, to depart the kingdom by the 20th of November next, and that proclamation did also require that all popish societies, convents, seminaries, friaries, nunneries and popish schools should be forthwith dissolved and thenceforth utterly suppressed, and on the 6th of November another proclamation requiring all owners and masters of ships bound for foreign parts to receive the said popish clergy on board and transport them accordingly.

On the 19th of October 1678 letters were sent from the Board to Mr. Secretary Coventry giving an accompt of the seizing of Peter Talbot and of the issuing of the aforesaid

first proclamation, with which letters were sent copies of the several examinations of Peter Talbot and other persons, and a printed copy of the said proclamation. And on the 23rd of October another letter was sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry relating to Peter Talbot.

On the 2nd of November 1678 a proclamation issued commanding that no persons of the Popish religion in this kingdom should ride with, carry, buy, use, or keep in their houses any arms without licence, and within twenty days after that date to bring in all their arms to particular persons named therein to be sent by them to His Majesty's stores; and after the expiration of the said twenty days all justices of peace were to search for, seize and secure such arms as should not be brought in, and to bind over the offenders to the next assizes or sessions of the county to be there prosecuted for their offence. And the said proclamation required all persons of the Popish religion, and all merchants, shopkeepers and retailers, as well Protestants as Popish, within twenty days to make return of the quantities of gunpowder in their possession; in pursuance of which proclamation several returns have been made of seizing of arms, and some few of gunpowder in the hands of some merchants and others.

The Lord Lieutenant having notice of one William Ryan to be Superior of the Jesuits in this kingdom, thought fit to have him secured and examined and his papers seized, which accordingly was done by Captain Robert Fitzgerald, a member of this Board, in pursuance of several letters from the Board of the 5th and 8th of November 1678, and the said Ryan was brought up with a guard and committed to the Castle. On the 5th of November letters were sent from the Board to Mr. Secretary Coventry giving an account of the proceedings against Ryan and one Richard Bourke, another Jesuit, with the examinations of the said Ryan and Bourke, in which mention was made of one thousand pounds given by one Hughes, a Jesuit, to a College of Jesuits at Poictiers in France, which thousand pounds was said to be lodged in the hands of Daniel Arthur. And there appearing nothing against Ryan in reference to the Plot he was by order of the Board dated the 26th of February 1678 put aboard a ship bound from the port of Dublin to some foreign parts, in order to his transportation, according to the proclamation for that purpose.

On the 12th of November 1678, letters were received from His Majesty, dated the 5th of November 1678, for apprehending of Colonel Richard Talbot, the Lord Viscount Mountgarret's eldest son, and the Viscount himself, and one John Peppard, a Colonel, and causing them to be examined upon the points mentioned in the said letter. Colonel Talbot and Richard Butler, Esquire, the Viscount's eldest son, were accordingly apprehended and examined and continue

prisoners in His Majesty's Castle of Dublin. On the 22nd of November 1678 by letter from the Board an accompt of the proceedings against them was sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and giving him notice that the said Viscount Mountgarret was not in a condition of health to be removed from his habitation, being above eighty years of age and bedrid, and no such person as the said Colonel Peppard was to be found or heard of in this kingdom though diligent inquiry was made for him.

On the 28th of January and 11th of March 1678 letters were sent from the Board to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties of the kingdom for making return of the state of the Militia and of the men and the condition of their arms, and returns were made accordingly. On the 16th of November 1678 other letters issued from the Board to the said Commissioners of Array in the several counties to quicken the officers of the said troops and companies of the militia to be in readiness and good posture for the safety and security of the country, and that they should appoint particular places of rendezvous for the militia if there should be any sudden occasion, and to consider and propose by what ways and means the militia may be so ordered as to be rendered useful upon any occasion for the security of the country.

At a meeting in Council the Lord Lieutenant acquainted the Board that what directions came out of England concerning Peter Talbot, Colonel Talbot, and Lord Mountgarret's son, and commanding the Popish clergy out of the kingdom, were observed and put in execution, and accompt thereof given to Mr. Secretary Coventry. And for the general direction for obstructing of the evil informed of and mentioned in the aforesaid order from His Majesty and the Lords of the Council, order had been given for disarming of the Papists and settling the militia and securing the garrisons, and desired the advice of the Board what was further to be done. And thereupon several matters were debated concerning the turning all Papists out of corporate towns, and securing persons who might be suspected to be dangerous. And it being considered that if all Papists were prohibited coming to the towns there would be no markets, and the inhabitants and garrisons would be in danger of want of necessary provisions; and if leading men or suspected dangerous persons were taken up, how and where they should be safely kept or maintained; upon the whole debate it was at last unanimously resolved that at present nothing should be done in that matter.

On the 20th of November 1678 a proclamation issued that none of the Popish religion or so reputed should come into the Castle of Dublin or any other of His Majesty's forts or citadels without special order from the Lord Lieutenant, and for keeping markets and fairs without the walls of

Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal and Galway, and that no persons of the Popish religion should be suffered to reside in the said towns or any other of the Corporations, who had not for the greatest part of twelve months past inhabited therein, nor to come to any fair or market with swords, pistols, or any other weapon or fire arms, and to forbear meeting by day or night in any great or unusual numbers.

On the 20th of December 1678 letters issued from the Board to the Sheriffs of the several counties to be communicated to the Justices of Peace, taking notice of their neglect in not apprehending such of the Popish regular clergy as did not transport themselves according to the proclamation, and therefore requiring them to be more diligent and to apprehend such clergy, and not only to return their names but also the names of their receivers, relievers and harbourers, that they may be proceeded against for their contempt of the proclamation.

On the 9th of December 1678 letters issued from the Board to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties of the kingdom with new commissions and instructions, many of the former Commissioners being dead or removed out of the country, the said letters requiring that all persons of what state, degree, dignity or condition soever be equally charged with furnishing men and arms and supporting them on the muster day, and all persons arrayed to take the oath of supremacy.

On the 12th of December 1678 a proclamation issued requiring all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and officers of the Army to be more diligent in putting in execution the proclamation of the second of November for seizing of arms, and to return the names of the persons licensed and of their servants who are licensed to carry arms and prosecuting all persons at the Assizes or Quarter Sessions who have not delivered in their arms according to the said proclamation.

On the 13th of December 1678 a proclamation issued taking notice of an intended conspiracy against the life of the Lord Lieutenant, and giving a reward of 200*l.* to such persons as shall make discovery thereof.

On the 18th of December 1678 letters were sent from the Board to Mr. Secretary Coventry concerning the conspiracy against the Lord Lieutenant, with several examinations relating thereunto, and on the 9th of February 1678 letters were received from the Lords of the Council, dated the 31st of January 1678, concerning the conspiracy against the Lord Lieutenant, with the examination of Stephen Dugdale enclosed; and in answer thereunto letters were sent to the Lords of the Council from the Board, dated the 29th of March 1679, concerning Owen Byrne and the manner of proceeding against him concerning the said conspiracy. Within the time

aforesaid several letters were sent to Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, officers of the Army and others, concerning the militia, the Popish clergy, the seizing of arms, in answer to their letters to the Board.

It being observed by several returns from the Commissioners of Array that many arms are wanting in the troops and companies of the militia and that if they could be furnished they would pay for them, the Lord Lieutenant made application into England to have arms and ammunition sent thence; and some merchants in this kingdom, viz., John Rogerson and John Castleton of Dublin and George Macartney of Belfast did propose to bring in several quantities of arms and ammunition, and to place the same into His Majesty's stores, or to sell or dispose of them in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant and Council should appoint at reasonable rates, and accordingly licences were signed for them, and the said Macartney took out his licence; but the officers of the Ordnance in Ireland proposing to bring arms and ammunition out of his Majesty's magazines in the Tower of London, and to furnish the kingdom with such proportions as the Lord Lieutenant should think fit at as reasonable rates as any others would do for as good serviceable arms, the other two licences were stayed, not having been called for by the said Rogerson or Castleton before the said proposals of the said officers of the Ordnance.

On the 3rd of March 1678 letters from the Board issued to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties giving them notice of the expectation of the sudden arrival of arms and ammunition out of England, and that they should certify to the Board the quantity and the quality of the arms they would have occasion to buy for the use of the militia and to have the money ready to be paid upon delivery of the arms. On the 11th of March 1678 letters were sent to several persons at Galway and Boffin to be diligent in searching and seizing on any arms should be brought in there, intimation being given that arms were at Brest put on board two fly-boats belonging to Galway and of which the masters were Papists. And directions were given to the Farmers of the Revenue to write to the officers of the several ports in the kingdom to be very diligent in searching for and securing all arms and ammunition which should be brought into the kingdom.

On the 26th of March 1679 a proclamation issued against Tories and robbers, and, for the reasons therein expressed, for seizing their nearest relations, that is to say the wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters of such of them as shall be out upon their keeping, that is not amenable to law, and committing them to close prison until such Tory shall be killed or taken, and also for seizing and committing the respective Popish pretended parish priests and transporting them beyond seas, unless within fourteen days after

any robbery, burglary or murder committed within the said parishes the persons who are guilty shall be killed or taken, or discovery made within that time, or that such offenders may be apprehended and brought to justice.

On the 26th of March 1679 a proclamation issued for reward to such persons as shall apprehend any of the Popish regular clergy who have not transported themselves according to the former proclamation (viz.) for every titular archbishop or bishop, and every Jesuit, ten pounds, and for every other person commanded by the said proclamation to depart, five pounds.

On the 31st of March 1679, an order of the Lord Lieutenant and Council was sent to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of Dublin for dissolving and dispersing the meetings in several mass-houses in the city and suburbs of Dublin, and not to permit any Popish services to be celebrated in the said houses or other public places within the said city or suburbs, and to apprehend and commit to prison such as shall offend until they shall find security to answer at the Quarter Sessions.

Letters sent from the said Board in order to the removing all Papist inhabitants out of Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Drogheda, except some few trading merchants, artificers and others necessary for the said towns and garrisons, the same being the principal in the kingdom, where the Papists are most numerous.

Letters sent from the Board to the chief magistrates of the several Corporations of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, Youghal, Clonmel, Galway, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Kinsale, Athlone and Ross for suppressing the assemblies of the Papists, and prohibiting the celebration of their Popish services within and without the walls of the said Corporations.

Signed ORMOND.

Mich. Armach, C., Jo. Dublin, Arran, Blessinton, Granard, Lanesborough, Hen. Midensis, Rob. Fitzgerald, Ca. Dillon, Char. Meredith, Jon. Davys, Ol. St. George, H. Ingoldsby, Geo. Rawdon, Wm. Flower.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 5, London.—By the Journals of our House you will be informed how they proceed in the Irish affairs. I wish I had notice what numbers of Popish families are in the town of Dublin, as well as in other seaports of the kingdom. One Mansel, that was cashiered, I find very great with my Lord of Shaftesbury who employs all manner of creatures to find him matter of complaint. I think it were not amiss if you sent me the reasons for the proceedings against him*, as all things of this nature, that I may know what to answer when objections are made. If I thought it necessary to tell you

* For the proceedings against Mansel, see Vol. iv., pp. 113, 121, 125, etc.

the many reports about the town, I would not spare my pains, though they would prove voluminous. But of all things of moment, you may be sure I will not omit giving you information.

Ormond to Captain George Mathew.

1679, April 5. Dublin.—My son Ossory upon my Lord of Shaftesbury's speech, either undertook or was required to bring in some account of the proceedings in Ireland for the safety of this kingdom since the Plot. But I rather think it was his voluntary offer than any injunction, and that he was induced to do it out of a belief that he had authentic instances to give of my care, such as would satisfy the House. If it was voluntary he was too forward, and might have expected my directions; and if it was required, he might well have desired time to inform me of the pleasure of the House, and desired that I being most concerned might have some knowledge of what was expected from me, and have time to prepare and transmit it to them; and this I hope he will desire in the conclusion of anything he shall have brought in to stay their stomachs. It is written by some that it is projected that the Government of this kingdom should be put into Commission, as I think it was in Cromwell's time and at the King's first coming in. I should not like it as to the public, because it looks too like a Commonwealth; but as to my particular I had rather give up the sword to many than to one, and had rather stay here under such a Commission than under any one man like now to be sent. My Lord of Essex is where he would be, first in the Commission for the Treasury, which is a good step to his being Treasurer.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, April 5.—This begins Wednesday, 2nd. The Votes of that day herewith enclosed will show there doth need but little comment on them, nothing of moment being transmitted that day, that of most, relating to Irish cattle, being adjourned till Tuesday.

The Lords were long taken up about the Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Danby sent them up; whether it should be read the second time cost some debate, but much more whether it should after be committed or rejected. It is said that an Earl should say we have now shot one rook, but there are a whole flock that will still endanger devouring our corn; therefore I am for hanging them up to affright others, and that my Lord Northampton should reply he had a rookery which his predecessors had been very fond of, but on complaint that they devoured his neighbours' corn he gave consent for their destruction; but after the corn was devoured worse than before, for there was a little grub at the root that devoured

more than the rooks had done. But at last my Lord Culpeper proposed this expedient that the word Attainder might be left out, and so the Bill be committed; which was closed with, though it seemed a contradiction that there should be a Bill of Attainder without the word Attainder in it; but it being late they adjourned the debate till next day.

Thursday the 3rd. I must be a little the more elaborate about this, having lost the Votes of this day. The Commons began with a long-long bill brought in by Sir Thomas Clarges against Popery, of so prodigious a length that the very reading of it lost above an hour, and the reporting or summing of it up by the Speaker spent above half an hour more. It contained all the severities of all laws in force and all bills that were proposed last Parliament, with yet more penalties therein added. The length of the bill gave so great discouragement that no time was appointed for a second reading. But Sir Henry Capel chanced in the nick of time to surprise and amaze the House with an unusual motion that all the doors, as well those that lead to the Speaker's Chamber as that of the House might be immediately locked and the keys brought in, for that within that circumference was a person who ought to be secured. It was accordingly immediately put in practice; and one Mr. Reading, a lawyer that oft pleads before the Commons in cases of controverted elections was the man, who was got into the Speaker's Chamber to listen (as it seems he used to do) and observe the speeches and the speakers, especially on the occasion of this Popish Bill. But that was not his crime at this time. Mr. Bedloe accused him for having offered him great rewards to suborn his testimony on behalf of my Lord Powis, Lord Stafford, Lord Petre and some other gentlemen that are imprisoned on the account of the Plot. To make this out Mr. Bedloe is justified by Prince Rupert and my Lord of Essex that he above a month since acquainted them that Reading had begun such a treaty with him, but he besought their direction how he should behave himself in it; who encouraged his proceedings and promised if Mr. Reading designed to trepan him they would be his compurgators. He thereupon proceeds, and at the close of the agreement gets two credible witnesses, so concealed that they could hear and could not be seen; who gave this testimony, that Bedloe was to have 300*l*. per annum out of my Lord Stafford's estate at Thornbury in Gloucestershire, and sums of money from all others he should save; in order to do it, agreed on the very words he should say on the day of the trial, such as should not only not hurt them, but should also as to their particulars invalidate Oates his testimony also; all which he hath under Reading's own hand. But it is remarkable that Reading only treated for his clients, exposing all the rest, saying that he thought 'twas fit to sacrifice my Lord Arundel

and Lord Bellasis to assuage the fury of the people, as if those who were united in the crimes could be severed in the proofs. But he was delivered into the hands of the Committee of Secrecy. Next Mr. Treby, Chairman to the Committee of Secrecy, made a report of the heads of the charges of High Treason they were drawing up against the five Lords, and above forty more, some imprisoned and some not yet taken. I shall not mention them because I hope to send a copy of the charges at large; only one remarkable passage I shall add that the House, finding Sir George Wakeman left out of the calendar of the criminals, he had the honour to be added by a special order. Next they read a bill sent from the Lords to oblige each member hereafter, ere he sat in the Convocation, to take the same oaths and test as all members of either House do: and lastly read a bill for the regulation of future elections, and in both cases ordered a second reading.

The Lords spent the whole day, and yet rose late too, on the Earl of Danby's Bill of Attainder, and in Committee of the whole House, and almost licked it into the shape of their first Bill, only adding a clause that he should not be pardoned but by Act of Parliament. Which made my Lord Garrett declare, if not swear, he would not own a King if he had not power to pardon. I will relate one passage, because I would obviate reports. Mr. Bedloe's brother in a drunken quarrel at the *Palsgrave Head* tavern was run through the body by one Hayden who never saw him before in his life, and that without any declared quarrel to him. Bedloe was much the soberer, yet only hurt.

Friday, April 4. The Votes I have enclosed, and therefore need say the less. Only the Commons rather chose to graft upon the Lords' short bill than dock their own long one against Popery, and so having read it a second time committed it; with instructions to have a clause added to prevent all future intermarriages between any of the Royal family and Papists; that Mr. Brent mentioned in the Votes was a Papist who officiated in the Treasury Office, a very dexterous man in that employment, but a very dangerous Papist. His crime was employing some to tamper with Mr. Dugdale, particularly to sift what he had to say against my Lord Stafford. The conference there mentioned between the two Houses was managed on the Lords' part by my Lord Privy Seal, who first cajoled the Commons by telling them the Lords thought it more obliging and satisfactory to deliver the Bill and the amendments at a Conference than by messengers. The greatest alteration was that they made it only a conditional Bill of Attainder, if the Earl of Danby should be found in England after the 1st of May; otherwise only banishment with those penalties expressed in the first bill they sent down; that the King was a gracious sovereign and we happy that he was so; that he took delight to

pardon and that in compliance therewith they could not extend the punishment further; that what was done was enough to secure their fears for the future. The Commons instead of complying adjourned the debate, and ordered the Address to His Majesty. The Lords rose early.

This day the Lords did very little, only one Sedway found them discourse, who told a story that being some three or four years since at Rome, Cardinal Howard with others expressing great hopes of the speedy establishing their religion in England, he argued its impossibility from the zeal of the Bishops. They answered that several of them were favourers of it, naming the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Gloucester, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells; and that when he came over, having often waited on the Bishop of Ely, at last he acquainted him with his resolution of exchanging Popery for Protestantism, and that the Bishop should seem to discourage him, saying that his own was a better religion than it was generally believed to be, and, he being a scholar, advised him to read St. Augustine and other of the Fathers. But being asked whether he knew the Bishop, tremblingly answered he did. But being asked by my Lord Shaftesbury whether that was not he (this part was at the Committee who sits almost all morning on the Plot) said no, tho' it was. It will be I suppose thought fit to repair the Bishop and punish the informer, though some thought to make great matter out of it.

The Votes speak all I can say about the Commons: only it is said old fellow-falconer, Mr. Winwood, hath supplanted Sir John Ernley of his burgess-ship at Windsor. I find Mr. Reading this evening hath given but little satisfaction; so that the Commons hath resolved on an address to be drawn against next Monday for a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to try Mr. Reading. I have enclosed my Lord Shaftesbury's speech in relation to Ireland and Scotland. I presume I need not send my Lord Ossory's answer. I have also sent the Articles of Attainder, and they will tell against whom they are calculated.

Ormond to the Earl of Essex.

1679, April 7, Dublin.—I very really congratulate His Majesty's choice of your lordship to serve him in the Treasury, and do not think there is any man that wishes well to the Crown and the kingdoms belonging to it that is not of my mind. It may be too early to give your lordship the trouble of calling for any return to those despatches sent from hence to the Privy Council there, and to Mr. Secretary Coventry, concerning the revenue of this kingdom, divers of which were in the late Lord Treasurer's hands. Those which related to the Commission by which the Commissioners and Farmers now act will I think be henceforth useless, Mr. Ryder and his officers having come to an agreement; so that what is

now to be taken care of in that matter is only that the King's security may not be lessened by that accord. The last despatch from the Council here concerning the Lord Ranelagh's accounts was put into my Lord Treasurer's hands. If it is not in the Treasury Office Sir Cyril Wyche can give you a copy of it, whilst an authentic duplicate is in preparation here. I need not tell you how much the King's service in the satisfaction of his Army and other subjects depends upon a fair conclusion of these accounts.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, April 7, Dublin.—The paper you gave in to the Lords' House could not be composed to more advantage, nor anything added to it but what has been lately done, of which Mr. Secretary Coventry has an account from me and the Council, and will let you have a copy if you desire it, as you should. I saw it from Jack St. Leger and from another hand that my Lord Shaftesbury professes he had no intention to reflect on me in what he said concerning Ireland, which if the copy of his speech which I have seen be true can hardly be believed. Yet if he has a mind it should be believed, I know not at this distance why he may not be gratified in it. My Lord Longford says that upon this occasion some lords made favourable mention of me, and it is given out here that the Bishop of Rochester said something in my defence. I would be glad to know to whom I have any such obligation, that I may own it to them. I have not yet the copy of the information given upon oath against my Lord Tyrone, but you shall have it by the next post; and then it will appear to my Lord Privy Seal that I could not have proceeded otherwise than I did.

Ormond to the Earl of Sunderland.

1679, April 7, Dublin.—I have received His Majesty's commands concerning Colonel John Fitz Patrick's returning to his own home and keeping himself at 20 miles' distance from me unless I happen to come within that space of his house; and then I immediately sent for him and laid His Majesty's commands upon him, to which he most humbly submits and promises to yield punctual obedience, which if he should not perform I shall not fail to inform His Majesty of it. But he hopes it will not be interpreted a breach of the injunction laid upon him if (having no house of his own in his possession fit for a gentleman to reside in) he stays with some of his relatives till he can fit a house on to his own estate, keeping still at the distance required from Dublin.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, April 8, London.—I received your letter of the last of March and doubt not but by this time you have been

informed and I hope satisfied that the information I gave the House was done with care as to you and upon sufficient grounds. You will also see that you were no more concerned to justify it further than the recital of some acts of Council which satisfy all but those that are resolved not to hear or allow of reason. I was told Captain Fitzgerald did intend to desire my assistance toward getting him made Commissary-General of the Horse, and I believe to-day my Lord Ranelagh writ to him to that purpose, but he never spoke of it himself to me, at least to my remembrance. Sir Theophilus Jones made the same address to me by my Lord Granard. My answer was, and I intend the same for the future, that I would not meddle in a thing of that importance without your knowledge and approbation. I wish some very good officer had that command, to stop the pretensions of those who can plead nothing for it but quality. Considering the general officers of your army I am afraid you would have but little assistance from most of them if you were in action.

I have received two proclamations by the last post, one concerning Tories and the other allowing money to search or bring in either Bishops or regulars. I shall make the best use of I can of them when occasion offers. We have been morning and evening sitting at the House. I have not anything of moment now to impart unto you. My Lord of Essex's being one of the Treasury was several times diversely resolved, and when I writ it was in the negative.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, April 8, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 31 March I have received and at the same time one from Mr. Attorney, earnestly deprecating the promotion intended by the letter. I have likewise showed the King yours relating to Sir W. Davys* and though it may have set him right in His Majesty's opinion, yet he is not inclined to promote him at this time. Neither will he force Mr. Attorney† so much against his will. The promise that I mentioned in my last that His Majesty was put in mind of was for Mr. Keating,‡ and my Lord Feversham is the person that minded him of it. But yet His Majesty thinketh it too sudden a leap from the Mr. Attorney to be Lord Chief Justice ; but thinketh that if Judge Reynolds§ were advanced to be Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Keatinge were made Judge in his place it would be

* Sir William Davys, Prime Serjeant 1675, became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland on the next vacancy in the office in 1680.

† Sir William Domvile was appointed Attorney General at the Restoration, and held his office until removed by James II. in 1687.

‡ John Keatinge became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in succession to Chief Justice Povey, promoted to the King's Bench. He was removed by William III. in 1691.

§ Evidently Sir Richard Reynell is meant. He was at this time a Puisne Judge of the Common Pleas. He was made Lord Chief Justice by William III. in 1690.

generally satisfactory. But whether Mr. Keating would accept a puisne place is more than any can tell; so His Majesty will take no resolution till he hear again from your Grace, who can best judge of the matter. I have this day your letter with that for Sir N. Armorer's patent, which I shall get despatched by the next post. The business of the Bill of Attainder maketh no progress, and because of that, at least as is pretended, nothing else of public good moveth.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, April 8, London.—Your Grace's of March 31 I have received, greatly to the encouragement of my duty and diligence in my constant advertisements, acceptance being the greatest reward I can propose to myself. I confess for two reasons my pen flagged in registering the stings that waspish person endeavoured to stick into your Grace's conduct of Government. But the steel of a clear reputation so obviated them that they were ineffectual. I left the ungrateful reputation to others who he had less provoked and knew more. What else I know of moment I shall fully report. As yesterday my Lord Lovelace began in the Lords with a complaint against one Robert Hicks, a farrier and gamekeeper at Woodstock, having a vindictive woman's deposition (who had threatened to do him a mischief) that he said he hoped my Lord Treasurer would yet show as honest a face as those that stickled against him. None thought it worthy the bringing into that House; but when 'twas there overruled his being brought in custody to that bar by four votes. Then came up my Lord Russell from the Commons with their impeachment against the five Tower Lords, which was further referred to the Committee of Privileges (and they to sit that afternoon) to consider the method of proceeding in such cases, and to report them next morning to the House. Next one Sydway was brought to the bar, who had aspersed three reverend bishops with the scandal of Popery; but he was so far from making anything like truth appear against them that whereas he pretended he derived his knowledge of it from Cardinal Barberini and Cardinal Northfolk Howard some three or four years since at Rome, yet gave contrary accounts of both the Cardinals, and a very mistaken one of every part of Rome itself. Yet because he was called the King's evidence, and was ushered in by an eloquent Earl, it was carried but by five voices for his commitment. To close that day my Lord Essex made a self denying motion that he might have leave (it being so extraordinary a case, else it had been needless, everyone having an inherent liberty to offer what he should think fit) to bring in a Bill to inhibit all future Lord Treasurers or Commissioners of the Treasury to make directly or indirectly, by sale of under offices or otherwise, any other benefits or advantages than their mere salaries. This my Lord Shaftesbury diverted by proposing rather a Bill to

prevent any person being Lord Treasurer for the future ; it being of too great an importance and influence for any one subject : instancing in himself who (he pretends) once stood fair for that staff, in the misjudging eye of others tho' not in his own thoughts. At which time he saw such an unexpected reverencing behaviour at Whitehall towards him that he was amazed till my Lord Clifford (his worthy good friend) unriddled it to him. He inferred from the influence of this groundless supposition how much more the possession of that staff will operate, and concluded the unreasonableness of any one subject having it. However my Lord Essex was left to his discretion what bill of that nature to bring in, and so their Lordships adjourned. He added also that it might extend to the Lord Lieutenants of Ireland.

On the particular bills of the Commons that need it I shall paraphrase the best I can. John Blythe mentioned was a constable who refused to guard Mr. Reading after the Commons had committed him. The complaints against Sir John Robinson was that he had indulged the imprisoned Lords with unjustifiable liberty, as coming together when they ought not, nay even sometimes permitted to be out of the Tower ; all which he denying, the examination of the truth was referred to a Committee. But however he is not long to stay in, for my Lord Arlington is forthwith to be Lieutenant and Tom Cheekes to be his deputy. This report of Mr. Secretary Coventry's concerning Mr. Reading's letter to Mr. Chiffinch was ushered in by this story, which I think not fit to be omitted ; that Mr. Reading having baffled the Committee's expectation of his considerable confession after he himself had raised it, was committed close prisoner, and such great anathemas denounced against him, that his cunning, humorous wife found this stratagem to convey her counsel to him ; sending him two caps, one thick within a thin one, between both put a scrap of paper which advised him not to fool away his life by delaying his confession too long or making it too short. This the careful Serjeant at Arms found, but considering its useful contents returned it between the caps, and delivered them : whereupon he pressed for the allowance of pens, ink and paper, that he might (for the better method's sake) digest his evidence into writing, which being allowed him, in the foul shirt sent to his wife he conceals a letter to Mr. Chiffinch, wherein he pretends what great discoveries he could make, but desired that he might first whisper them into the King's ear ; who according to the Vote transmits all over to the Commons, who construed it firstly a great evidence of the King's favour to and confidence in them, for which they returned their humble thanks (your Grace's old acquaintance Colonel Birch greatly haranguing on his sacred Majesty's gracious goodness), and Mr. Secretary did write accordingly to the King's name to Mr. Reading.

The delay of the report concerning the army till Wednesday was occasioned because the day was far spent, and this day was designed for the debate concerning Irish cattle. What this new design of improving the militia will amount to I confess I cannot yet imagine, tho' many of the wisest I perceive are brimful of it. It is these amendments of most consequence that the Commons disagree with the Lords about in the Earl of Danby's bill. Yet the most violent of them conclude him not worthy of death, even my Lord Shaftesbury's Mr. Bennet himself owned as much, and that all he wished was that he was well rid of him by banishment, concluding him all this while doing mischief here; as that he was advising the King to sell Tangier for 600,000*l*, (how he came to fancy it, I know not) and Jamaica for so much, and then he would not need the Parliament giving any money. Whereupon my Lord Cavendish moved that Tangier being of so great importance to the trade of the nation might by Act of Parliament be annexed and fixed to the Imperial Crown of England, and that a Bill ought to be brought in to that purpose, which was ordered accordingly.

This day in the Lords' House, on the motion of the Lord Lovelace himself, the criminal Robert Hayes was released. Next the Committee of Privileges reported the terms and methods previous to the Lords' trial, as that the King ought to be addressed to make a Lord High Steward who was to be Speaker *pro tempore*. (Accordingly His Majesty has been addressed to, and has promised to commission one, but not yet named him). Then the Lords must be brought to the Bar, and there kneel; and after standing up hear their charge and answer the dismal question Guilty? or not Guilty? If the latter, the Commons must be ready by such a day to make good their charge. The Lords are ordered to be at the Bar tomorrow morning, so that in a short time the secrets of the Plot will be revealed. Next the Commons sent up their reasons to the Lords why they could not concur to their amendments; which the Lords immediately took into consideration, and after a long debate whether to adhere to their own amendments or concur with the Commons, a middle way was found out that the Lords should intercede at a Conference with the Commons. In order to this the Lords sent down to desire a Conference, whereupon both Houses sat this afternoon. The Lords finished their reasons, or rather permissive arguments to induce the Commons to decline that harsh word Attainder. I here enclose a copy of the Commons' reasons why they could not comply with the Lords, but those from the Lords must be wrapped up in my next letter, the Houses rising so very late. The Votes of the Commons I also enclose for the morning, but cannot hope for them of this night till tomorrow, nor can they signify anything when they come; for the Lords only had the report of their reasons made them, and approved of

them, and demanded a Conference when they delivered them, and so adjourned, as did the Commons also, as soon as the report of them was made. Only this afternoon the Commons sent up their first Bill to the Lords, save that of Attainder against the Earl of Danby; it is a kind of enlarging *Habeas Corpus*. The time hinders me. Pardon this hurry, my next shall endeavour to make amends.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, April 8, Whitehall.—I write this to yourself to let you know the true state of affairs here. Never were the King's necessities greater, nor the confidence and complaisance of Parliament less. Every action and promotion of men is scanned with much rigour, I would I could always say with as much justice. I doubt not my Lord of Ossory hath acquainted you what has passed in the Lords' House concerning Ireland; and I have several advertisements there are intentions of bringing in complaints into our House. Their open complaints are against my Lord Chancellor, but you have your share by consequence. Amongst their complaints none is aggravated more, and that by men of consideration, than his endeavouring to engross the great charges of Church and State in his own family. They think Primate in the Church and Chancellor in the State to be too much in his own person. And if to this the prime place of judicature in the law be given to his son-in-law, the whole government of spirituals and temporals is his. So that the present advancement of Sir W. Davys would make that flame that already smokes, and it is the opinion of all your friends here it will be of great prejudice both to my Lord Primate and your Grace. And for this reason I told you in the enclosed note upon this subject some posts ago, I do not think the King in a disposition to agree to his promotion, though you should persist in it. But else I believe whoever you shall nominate will take place, though at present he approves of the two named in my letter. My Lord of Essex is not only Commissioner of the Treasury, but is of the Cabinet Council, and seemeth to be in very good grace.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1679, April 9, London.—Having now acquainted myself in some measure with my Lord James, I presume it may not be unreasonable for me to assure your Excellence that I find him sufficiently receptive of the improvements of knowledge, and persuasible to everything that is proposed to his advantage. As to Mr. Drelincourt, he seems to be a very sober, diligent and honest man: and tho' a little accident happened which has cast some blemish on his prudence, he will I doubt not approve himself not only faithful to, but also sufficient in his trust. When anything of moment occurs in reference to

my Lord James, I shall take the boldness to represent it, thinking it more eligible to fall under the charge of being impertinent than of being careless and negligent. I am now by a particular occasion drawn to town, where I find much more endeavour to prosecute private hatred and ambitions than to promote the public peace. And although the exigence of the nation require all our cares, we are at leisure to debate the administration of Ireland. Almighty God who has wrought miracles for our preservation hitherto, will I hope even against our merit and endeavours continue to preserve us, and continue your Excellence a blessing not only to the kingdom over which you preside, but this most distracted country: which is the earnest and daily prayer of your Excellence's, etc.

Postscript.—Whereas your Excellence mentions a desire which the Vice-Chancellor has expressed of being released from his employment, by the nomination of a successor; he is very early therein, it being not usual for a new Vice-Chancellor to enter on his office till Michaelmas. And I humbly conceive that since in this interval many accidents may intervene, it will not be advisable to nominate any person at so great a distance of time before the resignation is to take place.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, April 12, London.—I have nothing worth your knowledge which the journals and gazettes will not inform you. In the latter I am careful to have inserted those things done in Ireland in order to let the world see your care for preventing any mischief from the Irish. I perceive my Lord of Essex did value himself much upon his care in getting the young Lord of Clancarty to be educated in our religion, and my Lord of Shaftesbury pressed much to have an account of what minors were so bred up since that law passed which I think appoints that those children whose parents left them minors should be entrusted to those nearest akin that are Protestants, in order to their being brought up that way.

The porter's place of Somerset House being void, my Lady Dorset pretends it in her disposal as house-keeper. The right is in you. But I find the Queen has a mind to a fellow that now exercises the office. I imagine you will not dispute it with her, but I desire your directions as soon as may be.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, April 12, Dublin.—All I can write from hence is that yet the Regiment is not landed and that I fear some disorder is happened amongst them, or some misfortune, for that your mules that made the same or a longer voyage are come, and that in sixteen days from Rotterdam. There are but four of them, and I wish they may prove worth what they

will cost me with their trappings and all, of which they say you have the most useful parts, as trunks and hampers, fitted to the saddles at London.

There happened some disorder at and after the suppressing one of the mass-houses in this city. One of the Lord Mayor's officers struck a priest as he was kneeling at the altar in his ordinary clothes, but the officer being ignorant that other vestments are necessary to say mass in, thought he was then saying one, which provoked him to that rudeness to the priest. The blow provoked the priest to say that if Christ were Christ he would avenge the abuse, or words to that effect. In short that night when it was dark the officer was assaulted by four or five men, and much bruised and wounded, and we are by proclamation and reward endeavouring to find out the persons that did it. This account I give you of that affair because it may be otherwise represented by letters hence. Another business concerning one Newterfield, a Jesuit, is much misunderstood and repined here where the matter passed, and therefore may more easily there. But that passage will be at large sent drawn up by the Clerk of the Council. These things, as light as they are, may make noise there as everything does, and therefore I send accounts of them.

Sir Stephen Fox to Ormond.

1679, April 12, Whitehall.—I acknowledge myself so much obliged to your Grace's favour in your generous concern for my being put out of my place that I think it my duty to acquaint your Grace of my being restored to it and His Majesty's countenance again. And without presumption I do believe I shall never be out of it as long as I live for any undutiful action or thought; which assurance I give your Grace and my most humble thanks for your great goodness to me, wishing it was in my power to show my affectionate zeal for your Grace's service.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1679, April 12. St. James's Square.—I have used all the industry that can be, and cannot yet find any hopes of recovering those two papers—the state of the Revenue and your letter from the Council. Mr. Bertie tells me he will write to my Lord Danby about them; but what success that may have with a man under his circumstances, and in what time they may be retrieved, if at all, is uncertain, and how soon there may be use of them none can tell. So that it were certainly advisable (as your Grace I perceive by yours was thinking) that duplicates were sent over to be ready when wanting.

One of the four letters is approved by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, that about the Archbishop of Tuam. Against the other three there are some objections

which I am directed to acquaint your Grace with. To the letter for making a fund for erecting a Hospital for unserviceable soldiers etc., it is said that being a work of charity and for people who will be very necessitous, there ought to be as little diverted as can be, and the whole design should be managed with all possible thrift, so that the clause about an allowance to be made to a receiver ought to be further considered. It is now without any limitation or certainty, and therefore may end in erecting an office too considerable for so charitable a purpose. Whereas the King having a surveyor of works there, who has now a convenient salary, and this building being like to be near Dublin, the erecting it may very well be under his oversight, and there will be no need of a receiver till the house is finished; after which, if such an officer shall be thought necessary and that the duty cannot be well performed otherwise, it is conceived that the fees allowed him should be particularised in the letter, not to exceed such a sum as shall be moderately thought convenient.

The letters for allowing some warrants for money laid out upon occasion of the Northern expedition meets with this obstruction that some of the particulars of expense mentioned are of the nature of such contingencies as are by the establishment to be defrayed out of the Concordatum money. And it is being required by the establishment that an account of concordatums should be every three months certified over hither, it is at least necessary that before these sums are allowed such an account should be accordingly transmitted.

The last letter which is for appropriating the overplus of the revenue to public uses is looked upon as a very good and necessary work; but before it passeth it is thought for His Majesty's service that some way of discharging the arrears of the last quarter of the year '75 be first found out. The Farmers were willing, about the time my Lord of Essex left that Government, to have undertaken the payment of this arrear, if they might have been secured out of their rent in case they were not reimbursed by my Lord Ranelagh by a day limited. But other matters intervening, this agreement was not perfected. It is now desired that either the same (if the Farmers will agree to it) or some other expedient be made use of for paying these poor men, who have been so long out of their money, while this overplus, not being fixed, is capable of being a security.

Primate Boyle to Lady Ranelagh.*

1679, April 4, Dublin.—I am infinitely obliged to your ladyship for the honour of your ladyship's of the 8th instant, which I received yesterday, wherein you have been pleased

* Elizabeth, daughter of Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, 1st wife of Richard, 3rd Viscount and 1st Earl of Ranelagh.

to give me the greatest argument of friendship that is expressible, by letting me know what in these busy times those who have no kindness for me have been pleased to speak to my disadvantage.

To what your ladyship writes of Col. FitzPatrick, I must not deny that I have a respect and kindness for him. He was a near relation to my wife* ; he is one whom I have long been acquainted with, and who hath been civil to me by many obligations. I must acknowledge that he had an extraordinary interest in this country and especially upon his own countrymen ; but I must inform you that he hath ever had disagreements with the titular Archbishop Talbot and his partizans, and (as I believe) shocked them more than anyone of his persuasion did in the whole kingdom. Affairs standing thus between them, why it should not be reasonably supposed that I might make as good use of him for the advancement of the Protestant interest and for His Majesty's service as he should influence to their prejudice, I cannot readily assign a reason. But that occasion of offence is now removed, for near a week since he hath quit this place upon the commands which His Majesty sent over for that purpose upon the address from the House of Lords.

As to the Bills that were sent on or preparatory for a Parliament here, which your ladyship are pleased to tell me have some reflection on me, I answer the whole Council that were in town signed them as much as I did ; every paragraph and line of them were argued with all the freedom that was desired, as well at a Committee as at the Council Table ; and when they were transmitted hence, they were submitted to such amendments and alterations as the King and Council of England should think fit. And how the Protestant interest in this kingdom should be designed to be prejudiced by these Bills is beyond imagination. They were to pass a Protestant Council here, a Protestant Council in England, a Protestant Parliament in this kingdom, and what is more a Protestant Parliament whose fortunes were for the greatest part of them made up by the new and forfeited interests in this country. And how under the test and trial of all these it could possibly be supposed that Bills designing the prejudice of the Protestant interest should pass seems to me a kind of riddle which I cannot resolve. Perhaps indeed there may be differences and by consequence mistakes in opinion ; and some may think one way best for the settlement of the interest which others do not approve ; but that there could be any design or intention to wrong the Protestant interest cannot be well conceived.

I must acknowledge that times are much changed and the face of affairs altered since these Bills were sent away.

* Archbishop Boyle was twice married ; 1st to Margaret daughter of Dr. George Synge, Bishop of Clogher ; 2nd to Mary daughter of Dermod 5th Baron Inchiquin. It was to the latter lady that Col. FitzPatrick was related.

We had then no knowledge or supposition of any Plots or conspiracies by the Papists; and therefore those measures which might have been thought convenient at that time to perfect the final settlement of the English interest may be very reasonably rejected now; and this lies still before His Majesty and Council to consider. But why this should have any reflection upon me, or upon any other single person of the Council I cannot apprehend. But I find by some letters out of England, as I find by the honour of your ladyship, that I am discoursed of there by very many that I am a great favourer of the Papists (whether it be on the occasion of those Bills or no I cannot say, or upon what other reason I cannot guess). Truly I cannot recollect how the Papists have deserved any such kindness from me, unless it be by having been as great a sufferer by them from the beginning of the Rebellion as they could make me. But as to the objection: if by being a favourer of the Papists they intend that I am a favourer of their religion, it is a scandal which I disdain to answer, since my whole life, conversation and profession from my youth until this day hath been a constant and uninterrupted testimony against it to the utmost of my capacity. If they mean that I am a favourer of those interests in this kingdom, it can imply no less than that I am a traitor both to my religion and to my country, which is more uncharitable and severe than the former. For to the former imputations this must likewise be added, that I am a madman too. Few sober men design against their own interest. That little fortune which I have is for the greatest part of it upon the new interest. I have many children and relations and friends, and these not very inconsiderable, whose being and subsistence depend upon the Act of Settlement and Explanation. And for me at this time of day (being above 64 years old) to decline the consideration of myself, my children, my friends and relations for nothing but a vain, airy and impossible supposition that I should expect a better provision for myself and them under an Irish-Papist interest than I now enjoy, must needs conclude that I stood more in need of hellebore to cure my madness than of any other conviction or reproof. Besides those who know how far I have been publicly engaged against the pretensions of the Irish interest before the King and Council in England, in my attendance upon the Act of Settlement for the Protestant interest in this kingdom (whereof my Lord of Ossory is a competent witness), for I then was employed by the Lords Justices (whereof his lordship was one) upon that service, must conclude that I who went so far and was so successful against them in the greatest concerns that I had in the world (viz., their fortunes and estates) ought never expect any safety, much less advantage from their favour.

Another objection which I am informed is taken up against me, is that my two employments of Primate and

Chancellor are inconsistent in one person. As to the Primacy I must confess it was not ambition that put me upon it, nor any particular benefit, for I was well enough before, and my advantage was not considerable thereby, but for reasons referring to the public it was thought fit that I should be recommended to the see, which I submitted to, tho' perhaps with greater reluctancy than is supposed, or will be believed by some. But as to the inconsistency of them together, there is doubtless no other argument than for the inconsistency of the Chancellorship with the Archbishopric of Dublin, against which I heard no objection all the time that I was Archbishop of that see—nor is there any difference in the matter. For there lie appeals equally from both unto the King in Chancery. And it ever hath been so while the Great Seal hath been committed unto either of those Archbishops, which hath been very frequent. And this satisfaction I have to myself in that particular of appeals to the delegates (for the appeal is not to the Chancellor himself, but to such delegates as shall be appointed for the cause, who are usually constituted of some of the judges and some eminent divines and civil lawyers, and these are to be named by the consent of both Chief Justices, and the Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Treasurer, or of any two of them, whereof the Vice-Treasurer to be one) that ever since I had the honour of serving the King in the condition of Chancellor, which is now about ten years, I never yet had any complaints against the proceedings of the delegates, for all the matters of this nature are managed by persons of quality, of public employment, and in public places.

Madam, I am much out of countenance that I have drawn this letter into such a tedious length, but I preferred to do it for your ladyship's satisfaction, and for the satisfaction of such as shall discourse to your ladyship upon that subject, and I cannot doubt but, since your ladyship gave me the occasion for it, your abundant charity will pardon it.

Endorsed in the Primate's hand "A copy of mine to my Lady Ranelagh."

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, April 15, London.—This morning my Lord of Shaftesbury brought into the House a copy of Col. Fitzpatrick's grant, casting many reflections upon it and upon the person, all which were seconded very vigorously by my Lord of Essex. I averred with much truth that I was ignorant, at least did not remember the particulars of it; but at the desire of the Committee I promised to inquire how the matter stood, and would speak of it with my Lord of Longford, in whose name this grant for Fitzpatrick was passed. Just now my Lord of Longford was with me, who will discourse with Secretary Coventry and consider what is to be answered. It will be difficult to give satisfaction in this point, so great is the

prejudice which is generally conceived against this gentleman, for whom I have appeared as far as the rules of discretion and my friendship for him would go, and for the future shall endeavour to prevent his having any injustice done him.

The clearing towns from Irish Papists I find the House is very fond of. As I am sure both in them wherein you have an interest as well as in all your estate you have endeavoured to get English Protestant tenants, so I would be glad you would furnish me with some instances to prove this truth. I find many very much exasperated against my Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and great noise made against the decree in favour of St. Leger. I doubt not he will be able to justify the integrity of his actings, if right and not violence take place. My Lord of Burlington told me as a friend that it was taken notice of that there was not a day set apart there of humiliation, as was here. I think the case differs much, but however I thought it proper to give you this hint. I am told my Lord of Danby has writ to the Black Rod to let him know where he will be this evening.

Rev. Henry Aldrich to Sir Robert Southwell.

1679, April 11, Christ Church, Oxford.—By advice from Mr. Percival I understand with how great honour and generosity my Lord Ossory was pleased to resent the late unhappy error of his servant. I am obliged both in Mr. Berkeley's behalf and my own to acknowledge his lordship's great goodness in it, and to return our humble thanks to you for the trouble you received and the favour you did us in making a fair and equal representation of the whole thing to my lord. Mr. Drelincourt is since so very sensible of his error, and hath made so fair an acknowledgment to Mr. Berkeley, that I am sure he will not only repair an injury but gain a friend by it. I humbly request that when he comes to make testimony of this to my lord you will be pleased to countenance him, and join with his intercession that my lord will be pleased to honour the reconciliation by a share in it, and to receive Mr. Drelincourt into his good opinion again. And I doubt not that as his lordship has laid a great obligation upon us in receiving an unwilling complaint, so he will infinitely add to it by accepting this address, which is much more suitable to our inclinations to make, and more welcome to your charity to assist.

Rev. Peter Drelincourt to Sir Robert Southwell.

1679, April Oxford.—I should have long since answered your letter of the 12th of the last month ; but I having nothing to write but the returning of thanks I thought it needless to trouble your honour with an empty letter, especially in such busy time, and among the weighty affairs you are taken with in Parliament. Mr. Mulys I suppose, Sir, hath informed you of the order his Grace the Duke of Ormond hath given about

money to serve my Lord James' occasions. His lordship is very well, and goeth on in his studies as I wrote to you heretofore. It is no easy matter to persuade my Lord Courcy into learning of French. He gives me fair words about it, and daily puts me off from week to week. I'm very ready to do him any kindness that lieth in my power. When I took the liberty to acquaint your honour with my design of keeping weekly accounts of my lord's expenses in the College, I did it thinking it not inconvenient, having received advice here to do so, and that from more than one student of this house; and even my lord bishop told me something towards it, the day after our arrival here.

I would not make bold here, Sir, to trouble you with the reading of an idle story, did I not think you have heard of it afore to my great disadvantage and discredit, and that it may make some ill impression in your mind concerning me. The thing is, in short, Sir, that my Lord James, having been several times abused here by one Mr. Berkeley, and that having brought his lordship to such sad humour and discontent that he was pressing me day and night to write to my lord Duke and my lord of Ossory for to get him out of this place (or at least of this College), so that I had very much ado to persuade him to put on his gown any more, or to eat in the hall as he used to do, or even to bring him to his studies. Seeing my lord bishop (by whose means only we might hope to receive any satisfaction) was not here, that no redress could be made in his absence so as to satisfy my lord, being mighty sensible to see my lord in such condition, and finding no other way to content his lordship and to bring him to a better temper of mind, and in order to prevent also his fighting with the sword, Sunday last was sennight the quarrel having been renewed at supper, I went after to look for Mr. Berkeley, and having met him I asked him the reason of his continually abusing my Lord James, which boldly and straightly denying I answered him he did not say true, since he done it that very night; and since he was so apt to forget and to deny it, I went so far as to give him (though very softly and only upon his hairs) a little box. Thus I confess, Sir, I have done and no more indeed; though it be from hence very maliciously reported with many strange additions and exasperations, at purpose to make me forfeit my lord's illustrious friends' favour. It would be the greatest trouble in the world to me if they could obtain their end. I hope, Sir, you will be pleased to put a better construction upon this fault of mine, which I have not committed at first, but upon several provocations, when my lord bishop was not here, when I could no otherwise satisfy my lord when he daily complained to me of my suffering him to be abused, and transported with a passion warmed by my real affection for my lord.

My lord of Ossory hath acquainted me with his disliking that action of mine very much, and commanded me to beg

the young gentleman's pardon ; which I did as soon as I had read his honour's letter, and made reparation at the same place and at the same hour wherein the offence hath been done, even before far greater company than there was when it was done. For there were but two persons witnesses of the first, and there were nine or ten of the other. Even yesterday morning when the gentleman went away from hence, I renewed my excuses to him again. I humbly beg yours, Sir, if I have displeased you on this occasion, and I hope of your wonted goodness and charity that you will be pleased to assist me in recovering my lord of Ossory's and my Lord Chamberlain's goodwill, if it be so that I have been so unhappy as to lose it in great part by this unlucky business, so far against my continual desires and endeavours. This if you are pleased to do, and to continue me your favour and protection, which I set a very high value upon, you shall thereby put a very great obligation upon me.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, April 15, London. Yesterday was the fatal day to the Earl of Danby. In debate of his bill the Lords spent all the morning. The question was whether their lordships should adhere to their own bill for his banishment or concur with the Commons for his attainder. At last it was carried by three voices to concur with the Commons. Six bishops went out and gave no votes, and seven stayed in and all voted to adhere ; but the Court party did not befriend him as the Duke Mon.[mouth] Lords Roch[ester], Mulg[rave]: Nap : [?] Manch[ester]: etc.

By this time the Commons were risen having appointed to sit again in the afternoon, so the Lords adjourned also to the same time. The Commons were more for listening after what the Lords did than doing themselves. Several debates they had before them. The most material were these. Being informed that the Lords had entered in their books all the reports that Committee had made to whom the examination of the Plot was referred, and that amongst them were some secrets that as yet ought to be kept so, they appointed a Committee to search the Lords' Journals and the next day to report what they found there. Then they proceeded to consider the state and condition of the whole nation, taking in foreign preparations as well as their own. The first branch at home was that of the militia, which whilst they were consulting how to manage and improve, and render more practicable for the safety of the nation, a scruple was raised that till the hands in which it was now lodged were better the strengthening of the militia might but weaken themselves. Some expressed their exceptions against the Lord Lieutenants, some dissatisfied at the Deputy Lieutenants, and others disliked the officers. The objections were also extended to the Cinque Ports and the whole fleet, some proposing a general alteration of all those officers, as either

created or influenced by the Duke. At length that of the militia was respited till Wednesday, and the rest till Thursday ; and so that House adjourned till the afternoon, designed only for the hearing of the Leicestershire election. But when they met they soon found they had other fish to fry : the Lords saluting them with a design of a free conference, to which they readily condescended. At which the Lords acquainted them that they had agreed to their Bill of Attainder, only lengthening the time for the Earl of Danby's coming in till the 21st (from the 15th). The Commons took the Bill, and as soon as they had reported those amendments to the House, they concurred and sent back the Bill. The Lords were no sooner possessed of it than they appointed an Address to be delivered to His Majesty by the White Staves, to desire his passing the Bill next morning, and so adjourned. The Commons proceeded to hear what Sir Joseph Hartop could say against the return of Lord Sherard and Lord Roose for Knights of Leicestershire, but could not go through that cause that night.

This morning the Lords received an account that tomorrow the King would come in his robes, it is presumed only to pass the Earl of Danby's Bill, but His Majesty hath not yet bespoke his own errand. The greatest part of the morning was spent in hammering upon Irish bills against the growth of Popery, and to secure it against the danger of those who are so, which hath formerly been on the anvil, of which I suppose a lord of that House will give a more particular account. At last they resolved to commit it, but I presume they begin now to find their own error ; that the way of Ireland is not so naturally by an Act of Parliament here, as to be recommended and represented to the consideration of the King and Council to be transmitted into Ireland, and to have its sanction by the Parliament there. I do visibly perceive that though all these maladies and remedies pretended to result from a love to Ireland, it is really no effect of kindness, but to create guilt and then apply it.

My Lord Bellasis sent in his answer this morning and 'twas received because he is not able to bring it himself, but the other Lords are ordered to attend with theirs at the Lords' bar tomorrow morning.

The Commons, to show their concern for the prosecution of the Plot, this morning have ordered their Committee of Secrecy to sit from time to time, though the very House sits. Then on Sir George Downing's reports of the accounts of the Army, amounting to about 2,000*l*, and Mr. Secretary Coventry pressing for His Majesty's supply, they have ordered tomorrow morning to resolve into a Grand Committee to consider for a supply for His Majesty for disbanding the Army.

This afternoon the House hears the Leicester election at the bar, what Sir Joseph Hartop can say against the Lords

Sherard and Roose why they were not duly returned Knights of that shire. I have enclosed the Votes of yesterday morning and afternoon, and also of this day.

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE to ORMOND.

1679, April 15, London.—Upon my coming hither but last week (for I stayed a month in and about Staffordshire) I found that the House of Peers had made several animadversions upon the present state of Ireland, and although without reflection (as divers of their lordships assured me) yet have pressed several things as necessary to be done for the security of that kingdom, which I could wish had their rise (and I think it's not too late), as I presume they must have their desired effect, from your Grace's concern. The greatest of them I take to be the Oaths and Test, enacted here and now proposed for us also, upon a received opinion that our Parliaments in Ireland must not have a different constitution. The present state of the cities and corporations, the militia, the garrisons, and what is overplus of the revenue above the charge, are some of the matters I perceive of general inquiry. The Commons are not less inquisitive, albeit their being otherwise taken up for the present has not given them the leisure they have had above, to move these particulars.

I could not have imagined, may it please your Grace, till I found it, that what I have affirmed to many here concerning the proceedings in Ireland should so little obtain, especially touching the search for the dignified and regular Popish clergy, as well as arms. But as to the securing of persons liable they have been also inquisitive; and I could confidently assure them, as I did, that your Grace gave the necessary orders in all places most strictly upon the least suspicion, of which I had many instances. And now my lord as I have no design by this most humble address to your Grace but the highest duty to your person, government and family, so I could most earnestly wish that such things as you conceive for the general future good and present security of Ireland may be represented hither, which might anticipate some essays from other hands in this juncture.

As to the Bill for quieting possessions, I find it as liable here as it was to those who on the other side were not able to comprehend the advantage of it to the settlement. I have very frequently by my Lord Ossory's permission attended him since my coming, and he was pleased to oblige me by presenting me to kiss the King's hand. I shall upon all occasions apply myself to his lordship where I conceive it may be of service to your Grace

EARL OF LONGFORD to GEORGE MATHEW.

1679, April 15, London.—The election in Surrey wherein I met with so ill success has proved so chargeable to me that

the inconveniences of it necessitate me now to draw bills of exchange into Ireland payable the 12th day of May next; and therefore, to preserve my credit, I must entreat the favour of you by that time at furthest to pay the half year's rent of my wife's jointure, which will be due the 1st of May, unto my steward Hoyle; for which I assure you I would not have so early called upon you, who are so punctual a paymaster, but that I am at present somewhat hard put to it. For though I have in the East India Company's hands a good sum of money, yet I cannot call upon them for the payment of it till the arrival of their next ships from India, which are expected in June, and by which I have the prospect of a very considerable return from thence of my brother's estate. For this reason I hope you will pardon me for my forwardness in calling thus soon upon you.

The prosecution of Colonel Fitzpatrick continues still in the House of Lords, where this morning was moved a repeal of his grant of the Quit Rents. You can easily guess with what design this was moved. But pray be not frightened at it. For our friend who is principally aimed at will not be much hurt by these glances. You know he is Parliament proof, and will stand his ground and outride the malice of this storm endeavoured to be raised by his enemies. The Bill for attainting of the Earl of Danby yesterday passed the Lords, after all their struggles to compound it for a banishment; but he has time to appear till the 31st inst. The Lords by my Lord Privy Seal and my Lord Roberts moved His Majesty for his speedy royal assent to the Bill: to which His Majesty answered that he would tomorrow appear in his robes, and ordered the Lords to do so too; so that it is believed the Bill will then pass into a law.

All the Lords in the Tower this morning sent their plea of Not Guilty to the Lords; but all their pleas, excepting Lord Bellasis' were rejected because they did not personally appear at the bar to give them in; and my Lord Bellasis' was received because he is lame of the gout, and could not be there in person. Mr. Reading is to be tried tomorrow for endeavouring to suborn Mr. Bedloe; and tomorrow the House of Commons will take into consideration the disbanding of the army, and the making the militia useful in case of an invasion from France, where there is now a large preparation of men of war and land forces on the sea coast. Thus Sir you have all the news I can collect for this time

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1679, April 17, Castlemartyr.—This morning at 9 of the clock I had an express from Kinsale, with letters from Lt. Col. Alexander Monro, giving me advertisement of his landing at Kinsale with nineteen companies, and that two more were put into Cork Harbour. I had also letters from the Sovereign of Kinsale, apprising me that on advice with

that Corporation he found they were not able to quarter above four companies there. I had also by the same express enclosed in Lt. Col. Monro's the honour of your Grace's to me of the 18th of the last month. I wish I had received it sooner; for then I should have been able to have known where all those twenty-one companies might have been most commodiously quartered, and have had the orders on the place for the same, to have met them on their landing. But now being strengthened in time, I have according to the best of my own knowledge and the best advice I could get sent them orders where to quarter till your Excellency commands them other quarters. I found it so impossible to quarter the said twenty-one companies closer together than in this enclosed list of places, unless they were quartered in private houses, which being against law and practice, I durst not order it.

I humbly present your Grace the copy of my letter to the Lieutenant Colonel, and a copy of one of these warrants which I direct to the several places where the companies are to be quartered. Only I direct to the chief gentlemen of those places they are to quarter at those warrants where the places are not corporations, or have no civil magistrates. Your Grace will see in my letter to Lieutenant Colonel Monro that I expect the five companies to be quartered at Kinsale shall do the duty at Rincurran, so that now Captain Hillier's company need not be returned to Kinsale.

The Sovereign of Kinsale writing to me that Mr. Upton would not deliver our money for the month's pay of the regiment till he had orders, I judged it necessary to write to him as I have done in this enclosed, which is a true copy of my letter to him. I have also written to the [illegible] Justices of the Peace, as your Grace has commanded in your Excellency's letter to me of the 18th of last month.. Whatever has been omitted by me in the hurry of these despatches for the quartering of that regiment shall be mended either by me, as soon as I perceive it, or as soon as it shall be signified to me by the Lieutenant Colonel. And whatever further commands your Excellency shall honour me with, they shall be punctually and cheerfully obeyed.

Lord Lieutenant and Council to the Commissioners of Array of the Several Counties of Ireland.

1679, April 18. Dublin.—After our hearty commendations, having by former letters from this Board given you notice of the sudden exportation of arms and ammunition out of England, wherewith the militia troops and companies of that country might be supplied with such a proportion as they should have occasion to buy; We now think fit to signify to you that the arms and ammunition are arrived, and that the rates of them are agreed on and settled at the Board according to the list enclosed; at which rates the said arms and ammunition are to be issued by the officers

of the Ordnance here, with the licence of us the Lord Lieutenant to such persons as will make application for them.

We holding it necessary to have a full accompt of the present state and condition of the militia in the kingdom have thought fit hereby to require you to agree upon one of your own members, or to appoint some fit person in the nature of a muster-master to take a particular and muster (in your view) of the several militia troops and companies of that county, and for each of them to make up a muster roll in due form, therein adding to each person's name the quality of the arms and the condition wherein they are. And as well the said muster-master as one or more of the commissioned officers of the said troops and companies respectively to subscribe the said muster roll, which being so perfected you are to return unto us by or before the last day of May next, and to certify unto us whether the said troops and companies have been trained and exercised since they were arrayed upon the last commission, and how often and when they were last so exercised, and also the names of the particular place or places appointed by you for the general rendezvous of the said troops and companies, and for lodging the arms, ammunition, drums and colours belonging to them. And so, expecting an exact account from you of these particulars we bid you farewell. From the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 18th of April, 1679.

Your loving friends,

ORMOND.

Mich. Armach, C., Jo. Dublin, Arran, Lanesborough, Blessinton, Chas. Meredith, Hen. Midensis, John Cole, Jon. Davys.

To our loving friend the Sheriff of the County of Dublin, and to our very good lord the Earl of Meath, Lord Viscount Blessinton, Lord Viscount Lanesborough, Lord Santry and Sir Thomas Worship [Worssop] Knight, or to any of them to be communicated to the rest of His Majesty's Commissioners of Array for the said County. The like letter to the Commissioners of Array in the several counties of the kingdom.

EARL OF OSSORY to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1679, April 19.—I received your letters of the 2nd and 8th of this month. As ill news commonly flies fast, so I believe you have before this heard of my daughter Derby's being delivered of a child dead, but she I thank God is very well. I most humbly thank you for your kindness to my wife and me. As affairs move so we will guide ours, and either stay here or else accept your most kind invitation of her to shelter herself and run the same fortune with you. I beseech you to let Colonel Fitzpatrick know that I would have appeared for him more than I did if I could anyways have served him. But so violent and unjust were the proceedings of some, that no

opposition could be made. I will not forsake my friends for being unfortunate, and as occasions may happen I will do him more right than if I had vainly and more obstinately pursued his defence. My Lord Shaftesbury and I had long discourse, wherein he assured me of his value for me, and respect for our family, upon which we parted upon fair terms, he assuring me he would first tell me his exceptions, if he had any, as to the affairs of Ireland, and I undertook to satisfy his doubts all I could. He professed to be against Colonel Macarty's being here; the more because he valued him. I told him if he were such in his opinion, I thought it would have troubled him to have made a harsh motion towards a person going away to serve abroad, he having very wisely made capitulations to serve the King of Denmark. I also showed this lord a reference favourable enough in behalf of Fitzpatrick when his lordship was one of the Treasury. But at his desire I put it into his hands, and assured him I would make no ill use of it if he would not more persecute this gentleman, and that if he would give us fair quarter we would live upon good terms: so our conversation ended. If very strange informations and circumstances be true I have reason to believe my Lord of Essex is one of the bitterest enemies my father has. Of all this make your use, and let what I wish be no ways known. I wish you all happiness.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 19.—I received this morning your letters of the 1st and 12th of this month, and am glad my proceedings in the House of Lords have not been displeasing to you. I assure you besides the speech reflecting on Ireland and Scotland, my Lord of Shaftesbury had severely mentioned things relating to you, which occasioned the return I made to you of the 12th. I am sorry if the mules do not please you, and that there is some lost. The equipage that belongs to them I will send by the first occasion. The man, if it be la Vyne that brought them, is a very honest and useful, sober man. I did offer the King this letter relating what passed between the officers and the priest, as also what was done about the [*illegible*] which I shall make use of as occasion offers. A judicious and worthy friend of yours has conjured me to assure you of his service, and that in recompense of his not writing to you, having the gout in his hands, he will be watchful and do his utmost, when he hears anything wherein you are concerned. The pains of Sir Robert Southwell, and his and my Lord Chamberlain's zeal for you and your family, can never be too much acknowledged by us. You will receive a long letter which would render anything I should now say further very impertinent.

SAME to SAME.

1679, April 22.—I doubt not but you will have a relation of the King's dissolving his Council, as also the names of

others that are chosen. His Majesty was pleased to make very kind excuses that I was not of the number of those he had again elected. Upon which I assured him that I did not in the least repine, and begged him to believe that I would ever be ready to serve him in any station; that, if anything hard did ever befal me, I had reason to believe it would proceed from the ill will of others, having had many and sufficient proofs of his graciousness towards my family, and myself in particular. As the Queen this afternoon returned from Somerset House, Mr. Oates met her in the courtyard of Whitehall, and passing close by her chair did not vouchsafe to take off his hat as he looked full in her face. My Lord Shaftesbury, otherwise my Lord President, in a debate this morning, whether or no Nonconformists should be obliged to take the oaths, said that, if some things were not done, for his part he desired not the honour of being in His Majesty's counsels, by which several guessed that he thought his being of them was upon necessity, and that he did grace in coming to them. Great whispers are against you, as Sir Robert Southwell informed you. I hope in God the worst they can do will be to remove you from your present station.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, April 22, London.—Sunday the 20th was a day of great surprises. The King summoning his Privy Council dissolved them; declared he took no exceptions at any man, but thanked them well for their services;; told them he was resolved for the future to have no Cabinet Council, and to reduce the Privy Council to the usual number of thirty; besides a President, when there should be any, (now my Lord Shaftesbury), and the Secretary of Scotland when here, and those of the blood, as Prince Rupert. The whole thirty should be thus comprised; fifteen to be partly out of the officers of the Crown, and partly out of those of the Household; ten to be chose out of the rest of the nobility by two out of each class, and five Commoners. To represent the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London; the Law, the Lord Chancellor and one of the Chief Justices, (now North); the Treasury, when no Lord Treasurer, the eldest or first Commissioner of the Treasury (now my Lord Essex) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (now Sir John Ernely). For the Fleet, in the vacancy of a Lord Admiral, the Chief Commissioner of the Admiralty (now Sir Henry Capel), and the Master of the Ordnance (now Sir Thomas Chicheley). Then follows Lord Privy Seal, Lord Steward—(the King declared the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when in England, to be constantly of the Privy Council; so that your Grace is doubly entitled to it)—Lord Chamberlain, Master of the Horse, Groom of the Stool and two Secretaries. Of the Dukes, Newcastle and Albemarle; of the Marquesses, Winchester and Worcester; of the Earls, Bridgewater and

Salisbury ; of the Viscounts, Falconbridge and Halifax ; of the Barons, Roberts and Hollis ; of the Commons, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir William Temple (tho' no member). Mr. Seymour (the old Speaker), Mr. Powle (my countryman), His Majesty also declared he would make these seven following : the Commissioner of the Admiralty, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Dan. Finch (Lord Chancellor's eldest son), Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Thomas Meres, Sir Humphrey Winch, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Hales (son to Sir Edward Hales of Kent, we suppose).

Monday morning, [April] the 21. The new Council was sworn, and the King came into the Lords' House in his robes, and having sent for the Commons to the bar, gave an account of what he had done and what he resolved to do ; that he had dissolved one Council and chose another, who next his Great Council, who he resolved chiefly to be guided by, he resolved to consult ; and therefore hastened them to consider of and despatch the public affairs depending before them. More than this, little was done in the Lords' House, only some days appointed for hearing appeals, some reports of new discoveries made before the Committee of Examination, and on a petition of my Lord Danby's presented by my Lord Frechvile, and seconded by the Duke of Monmouth, the time of putting in his answer was lengthened from Wednesday till Friday. The great and only business in the Commons House was the hearing the Norfolk election at Bar, where Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Sir Neville Catline were returned knights for that county, and objected against by Sir John Hubbard. At nine at night the election was voided, and new writs ordered to be sent out.

Tuesday, April 22. The Lords entertained themselves with a long Bill of Religion, and a longer debate how they should separate, or whether they should separate, the other Nonconformists from the Papists. So many champions appeared *pro* and *con.* that it was thought fit at one o'clock to adjourn the House till tomorrow and the debate till Thursday ; nothing else of moment falling under debate.

The Commons having sworn a member, and received some reports (as concerning the Bill for all the Convocation to take the oaths and tests) they received a private bill for sale of land to pay Lord Mohun's debts. Sir Francis Winnington craved leave on behalf of the private Committee who were to draw up my Lord Danby's new charge, to send for (by way of [*illegible*]) any member of the House to give them information, that they might have a solicitor allowed them, and sit from time to time during the sitting of the House. Then they read the first time the Bill for the disbanding the Army. Several other particulars I shall omit to insert because I have now got the Votes of both days, which I here enclose.

There is great expectation of great advantage from this new change, the effects of which (as long as I continue in

this part of the world) I shall presume to communicate to your Grace. The great doubt now is whether my Lord Danby or the five Popish Lords shall have preference in their trial, for the resolving which doubt great debates are expected. But I believe the five lords will first come to their trials. One can yet make no conjectures what will be the event of these great changes, because the surprise and amazement is not yet over. The King seems very cheerfully, yet very jealous of the French, insomuch that new supplies are sent down to Parliament. Old Major Giles Morgan died this last week in his government of Jersey, and Sir John Lauder [? Saunders] (if I mistake not his Christian name or do not misspell his surname) succeeds him ; which the Commons grumble at because they know him not, concluding him both a Papist and a Frenchman. And last night poor Davy Walter died, and George Legge succeeds him, which is all that at present occurs to my frail memory.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, April 22, Whitehall.—This last post brought me three from your Grace, two of the 7th and one of the 10th inst. Mine of the 8th to your Grace hath acquainted you how the King had complied with Mr. Attorney's refusal, and had made no determinate resolution, nor would till he should hear from your Grace : so that I have not acquainted him with what you write this post in expectation of your answer to mine of the 8th inst. Yours and the Council's letters concerning the Earl of Tyrone have been read at our new Council, and the method you have taken is approved of ; and His Majesty has thought fit not to intermeddle, but leave it to law, where it now is. Your narrative I have likewise lodged at the Council. Sir Nicholas Armorer's letter is at last come from the Commissioners of the Treasury, who in their report have excepted against the clause of during his good behaviour, and would have it run *durante bene placito*. I believe I cannot get it signed and entered tonight, but I doubt not before the next post it will be ready. Your Grace sent a letter in behalf of Lord Massereene which is full of blanks. I desire your Grace would fill up those blanks, for the King cannot sign to a blank ; and the Commissioners of the Treasury would be troubled to fill them up without any light given by your Grace. As soon as you transmit it so filled up, I shall give it all despatch imaginable.

Our reformations here are sudden and great. I wish they may produce the desired effect. But to be well heard at Court, and well spoken of in Parliament is a great good fortune, if our new Ministers can acquire it. But though they have as yet done neither good nor evil, I find the bare being preferred maketh some of them suspected, though not criminal. From abroad we have little news, only the death of the King of Sweden, which though we have no certainty of, yet many

circumstances make us believe it. As we come to be a little more settled I shall not fail to give your Grace an account more perfect than this.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1679, April 22, St. James's Square.—There has been another great change of affairs since the last post. The King on Easter Day dissolved his Privy Council, and instituted a new one to consist of thirty members, besides such Princes of the Blood as he shall think fit, and a President. Fifteen of these are to be as many of the great officers of the Crown; ten noblemen (two of each order) and five commoners.

Lord President, Earl of Shaftesbury ..	Dukes	Newcastle. Albemarle.
Lord Chancellor	Marquesses	Winchester Worcester
Lord Treasurer or Chief Commissioner ..	Earls	Bridgewater Salisbury
Lord Steward	Viscounts	Falconbridge Halifax
Lord Privy Seal	Barons	Roberts Hollis
Lord Chamberlain	Commoners	Lord Cavendish
Groom of the Stole		Lord Russell
Chancellor of the Exchequer ..		Sir William Temple
Master of the Ordinance ..		Mr. Seymour
Master of the Horse		Mr. Powle
Two Secretaries of State		
Archbishop of Canterbury		
Bishop of London		
One of the Lord Chief Justices (at present the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas)		
Secretary of Scotland, if the King please.		

He has been pleased to appoint the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Sir Henry Capel, who is therefore a Privy Councillor, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Thomas Meres, Sir Humphrey Winch, Mr. Dan Finch, Mr. Hales of Kent (son of Sir Edward), Mr. Vaughan (son of the late Lord Chief Justice).

Other changes are talked of too, as the Court of Chancery and the Mastership of the Ordnance, shall be put into Commission; that all the Lieutenancies and Commissions of the Peace through England shall be reviewed, and most of them altered; that the governors of the seaports and the masters of ships shall be reformed; and, in fine, that a general inspection shall be made into all places of trust in the nation. In this so universal an alteration (as 'tis thought there will be) I hope I shall have your Grace's pardon if I acquaint you that it is said that the Lieutenancy of Ireland

shall likewise be in commission. Before any change of this kind happen in that kingdom (which that it may be long first, for the service of the King and good of the country, I wish) I humbly conceive it fit to acquaint Mr. Brisban with what I received from your Grace last Saturday night by yours of the [ ] instant, because I am very sure your Grace's being in the Government will be a great part of the encouragement.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1679, April 22, Dublin.—I have, for the present, no answer to make to your lordship's of the 17th of this month, concerning the quartering of the Regiment lately landed in these parts, but that I approve of the care your lordship has taken in it, to which nothing can be added. I sent this morning to one of the Farmers. I am assured by him that the Collector has advanced some part of the month's pay I ordered long since to be ready at the landing of the regiment, and that the remainder shall be soon paid. I observe that in the order your lordship gave for quartering the companies, you inserted a clause which declares that it is against law to billet any soldiers anywhere but in inns, ale or victualling houses, without the consent of the housekeeper, which I wish had been omitted. For tho' the law may be so, yet if I am not mistaken, the contrary has been practised in this kingdom, even in time of peace, ever since the Conquest, at one time or other, in most if not all the Governors' times. Nor have I ever seen such restriction put into any patent or order for quarter soever that I can remember; but the directions go to give the men sufficient quarters, the manner being left to the civil officers, who are to distribute the men with equality to the inhabitants. And possibly such a declaration may be more inconvenient now than another time; for your lordship knows the Government has found it necessary to give order for the doing of some things as little warranted by law, and less by custom, than the quartering of soldiers upon private houses. Corporations do seldom need to be put in mind of their privileges as such, or as subjects at large, but will often insist upon them against their profit. And I have observed that none among them are more apt to challenge the benefit of laws they suppose made for them than those that give least obedience to other laws they do not like.

If it were in my power to contribute more than I have done to your Lady's and your own safe and easy passage I would do it. Give me leave, my lord, to own the great civility of your expressions concerning me in a letter of yours to the Lord Primate, which he was pleased to read to me, and to assure you that I am a great stranger to my own nature if I am so arrogant as to expect that men of much less capacity than your lordship should do the least violence to their reason

and beliefs in complying with mine. And if it had pleased His Majesty to have left me on the same level with your lordship as I was before he put me in this station, and shall be when he removes me from it, our difference in judgment could have brought no other inconvenience to me than that most men might think me in the wrong. But while I am acting for and in some things as the King's servant in matters of the greatest importance and in a conjuncture of danger and distraction, your lordship's disapprobation of my counsel and action cannot be so indifferent a thing but that I may be allowed to complain of my ill fortune, and wish your disapproval had been more confined or declared by a man of less credit. Your lordship professing it was not from intention to do me prejudice in the matter or manner of your advices and despatches and going now where they may have done me hurt without your purpose, I shall rest assured that you will as opportunity offers and justice may require, rectify those that may have mistaken your meaning. And so wishing you a happy voyage, I am etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, April 23, Dublin.—I received yours of the 15th late last night, and am just now to celebrate the day. It is not hard to guess by whom the injury concerning the grant supposed to be for the benefit of Fitzpatrick is set on; and since things of that nature are come in play, possibly I may be able to inform of some much less justifiable than that in question. About a week hence I may be better instructed, and I suppose that will be time enough, if the Parliament proceeds upon those discoveries and matters of greater consequence they have taken in hand. It is no less easy to guess whence the clamour against my Lord Primate proceeds. I am confident upon a fair hearing, which I do not doubt but he will have, he will be found to have administered justice very ably and uncorruptly.

I doubt it is not known or remembered there that in the time of my Lord Berkeley's Government there issued a proclamation to let all Papists at one blow into Corporations, and if Mr. Bridgeman be examined, he is able to tell at whose solicitation the letter commanding such a proclamation was procured. It may concern my Lord Chamberlain to look into this matter, if he was then Secretary. Upon this occasion the glut of Papists got into towns and cities, contrary, I think, to the intent of the Act of Parliament, which leaves a power in the Chief Governor and Council to admit some, which has not sparingly been exercised. For my towns, first there is none of them a sea-town; and whatever they are, nine parts of ten of the Papists that inhabit them are got in. We were hereupon looking into the matter before the Votes of the Lords came to

us, and we have received from most towns an account of the Popish inhabitants, and from some the number of Papists they desire should remain amongst them, as some principal traders and useful artificers. From Limerick, where my Lord of Orrery is Governor, and in a great part proprietor, we have got no return; which he excuses upon the death of the Mayor, who was one of those who were to make the inquiry and report. And if it be safe to say so, it is apparent that trade cannot be carried on in towns nor husbandry in the country without some Popish merchants, and very many Popish tenants, unless a large plantation of English of all sorts could be sent us, for which we would be very glad to make a double return of Irish Papists.

The matter of the Fast and Humiliation was not unthought of here, but the appointing of it and the manner of solemnization are peculiar prerogatives of the King, which we cannot find imparted to any Chief Governor. But I have sent to know His Majesty's pleasure about it, and expect a return very speedily.

This may give you some light what to answer to these things, and, to avoid repetition, it may be fit to give copies and extracts of it to our friends. My Lord Massereene tells me he does me justice upon all occasions; you shall do well to encourage him in it by civility and familiarity.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1679, April 25, Castlemartyr.—I have the honour of your Grace's letter of the 22nd instant. I am glad your Excellency is pleased to approve of what I did in quartering my Lord Dumbarton's regiment, and very sorry that the words in my letter to the magistrates for no quartering any but in inns, alehouses and victualling houses, without the consents of housekeepers (as being illegal), has offended your Excellency, which I humbly beg your Grace to believe is what I study to avoid and always shall do. The reasons which induced me to insert those words in those letters was not to put the magistrates in mind of their privileges (for I have often chid them for standing too strictly on them), but this new regiment has long served in countries where quartering in private houses has been constantly practised, I inserted that clause to prevent disputes between them and the magistrates, which I believed could only be that way done on such a sudden. Though at the same time I also writ to the magistrates and chief gentlemen to desire them to use their best endeavours to prevail with the people to quarter voluntarily the commissioned officers in private houses. But since your Excellency does not like that expression, I heartily wish I had omitted it, and I am sure it shall never again be inserted by me.

Though Mr. Upton, the Collector of Kinsale, was not obliged to pay a fortnight's pay to this new regiment till

after fifteen days' sight of the order to do so, yet he paid it on demand. And the other fortnight's pay charged at Youghal will be paid on the day, as Lieutenant-Colonel Monro tells me, who intends on Monday to go towards Dublin to wait on your Excellency. I foresee disputes will happen between the old captains of the army and the captains newly come, and therefore I beg your Excellency's pleasure for regulating all things may be signified. I here enclosed humbly present your Excellency the names of the field officers and captains of that regiment, and the places where they are quartered.

I am truly sensible of your Grace's great favour in your obliging orders for my wife's and my transportation to Bristol, and we both pay your Excellency our most humble acknowledgments for them. But since the time that I begged your Grace's leave to go to England (both for my wife's health and my own) I find by my English letters, especially in those which came by the last post, great preparations are made by the French ; a considerable army is drawn to the sea side, and a fleet prepared to transport them. And what is written to private hands seems to incline men to think we of Ireland may have some, if not all, of that storm fall on us. I therefore judge it a conscientious duty in me not to stir hence until I know where the impression of the French will be made. And therefore, if it should be made on us, neither the posture we are in, nor my present distempers can make me hope to do any good service to my King and country, yet I resolve to suffer for my King and with my country. But, God willing, as soon as this threatening is over, I shall make use of your Grace's leave to go.

What I lately writ to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland (which I find he did show to your Excellency) is what my heart did dictate. I am one who abhors dissembling, and I faithfully assure your Grace that in what your Grace was pleased to write to me on your last arrival in Ireland, and on what my brother Burlington had written to me, I did not only rejoice to be restored to your favour, but assiduously endeavoured to have a title to it. That I am unfeignedly troubled when my own private judgment is so unfortunate as not to agree with your Excellency's in all public things : that even in those particulars wherein it is under that unhappiness, I have and still will (within my little sphere) contributed as much to advance your Excellency's public resolutions for His Majesty's service and the good of this kingdom as if they had been taken up on my humble advice : I believe beyond this your Excellency does not expect, and short of this I dare not go. I further beg your Excellency to believe that I have seen, and daily see, enough of this world to prefer retirement before the best stations in it ; which is not only what my crazy health inclines me unto, but also what my reason and experience

does. And, therefore, what can I have in prospect worth contending for? So that nothing is more desirable, or indeed desired by me than to have a Chief Governor who has his whole temporal interest in that same vessel in which the temporal interest of the family I am of is embarked. That to live well with him, to get his kindness to me and my friends, and for me and my friends to entitle ourselves to it by all fitting services, is my earnest desire, as the obtaining it would be my great satisfaction. When I can meet with these particulars in a Chief Governor of Ireland, I am certain I shall in all the ways of honour court it. When I do not, I can retire into England, where I can live as well, if not more at my ease there than here.

I have in this written my heart without disguise to your Excellency, who will on due examination find me a plain but honest man. When I am in London I shall make it my proposal to rectify any mistakes which may have been run into on any of my letters to any of my friends there. What is more common than for men to be of different opinions how the same affairs may be best managed. But I still judge it the duty of an honest man (though he cannot change his belief) to help the declared resolutions of those that are in public authority. I will humbly beg your Grace's permission (for I write only to yourself) to say that at longer run you will possibly find me more your servant than you have believed. That possibly the number of your Grace's ill-wishers might have of late been increased had not the intentions of some been resisted by him who will make honour and justice the steady way he will walk in to his last step. And therefore I will presume, since it is for your Grace's advantage and service, humbly to lay before you the sad condition that those western counties of the kingdom are in. We have our militia with few arms, no powder, match or ball, and consequently not trained and consequently not much significance. I know the State wants money, and daily tell those who lament our condition—'pray propound a practical way to redress.' I humbly beseech your Grace that a competent proportion of arms and ammunition may be sent to Cork for this province, as the safest place nearest the centre of it, by those contractors who have brought in arms and ammunition to Dublin, whereby such as are able and willing to buy may supply themselves regularly out of it. For since no others but those contractors have had licences to bring in arms and ammunition, if they should not send them into all parts, whereby they are wholly unprovided, [we] may have this, in case of rebellion or invasion, objected against the Government by such as are not great friends to it.

I further take the confidence to mind your Excellency that in the honour of your letter to me (in which the Council joined) dated the 3rd of December, 1678, you were pleased

to let me know your Excellency's resolution of settling Governors in all counties. If such Governors were established with fit authority, and were pitched upon of quality, knowledge, interest, and constant residence in the counties, it might be of good use. For really, my Lord, I observe what is equally the business of many, seldom does any perform at all. If the militia were regimented, it might, I think, be very advantageous in many respects. But at present, as things are, who knows who is to command the militia of any county, or any part of it, should troops and companies of it be commanded on present service. Might it not be permissible that your Grace would write to two or three chief persons in every county to call the militia captains and officers together, and represent to them how necessary it is that their troops and companies be forthwith provided with ammunition, and with as many arms as they really want; and that they should let them know that they have your Grace's orders to make speedy returns of such as will comply herein, and of such as do not. And if to this they had leave to assure them that such as may need arms and ammunition for this end shall be repaid out of the first money granted by Parliament for the arming and defence of the kingdom, on certificate thereof from those whom your Excellency shall authorise to give it, I hope it might produce desirable effects.

I will not only beg, but also humbly hope for your pardon for this I write, since I do it out of present duty to my King, my country and your Grace, and because I would do the like were my own brother Lord Lieutenant. If this way of proceeding be acceptable to your Grace, I have many important things further to lay with all humility before you. But should such letters be otherwise considered, then from my soul, though I intend them for His Majesty's, the kingdom's and your Grace's good, and to stop the mouths of your Grace's enemies, I shall on the least notice never run again into the like honest folly.

Ormond to Viscount Massereene.

1679, April 26, Dublin.—I received your Lordship's obliging letter of the 15th, when we were taken up with the divertisements and solemnity of the holidays, of which the 23rd made one. Without doubt there are few things more worthy of the consideration of the House of Lords than the condition of this kingdom, for it cannot be in disorder and danger but that it must proportionably affect England; and we have late experience how much blood and treasure it has cost England to preserve and reduce Ireland, when the hundredth part, seasonably and prudently employed, might have prevented all the calamities the Protestants underwent. God be thanked we are now in such a state

that we require nothing from England but leave and authority to secure ourselves, which perhaps hereafter will not do this work. I do not wonder that our proceedings here are misrepresented from hence and misunderstood in England. It is not possible that all men can be satisfied, or very easy to keep those that are not from instilling the public with their public discontents and disappointments. I know a man of your lordship's parts and acquaintance may do much in the satisfaction of satisfiable men; and though it be a justice to truth, yet it is no small obligation to me that you are pleased to take pains in it. As to the Bills transmitted, they are where they may be amended where they are amiss, and they are sure to come to receive a final conclusion where nothing shall pass hurtful to their interest who are to pass them. The King, I am sure, intends nothing by the Bill of quieting possessions but the safety of his good subjects and their satisfaction; and if that be not done to their mind in those Bills they have no more to do but to propose what may do it better. I conclude with thanking your lordship for your lordship's letter.

Copy.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, April 26, Whitehall.—Your Grace will by this post find the letter for Mr. Keating sent to be Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: that for the removal of my Lord Chief Justice Booth is already with your Grace, so that there needeth no fresh letters.

I suppose your Grace did, upon the news of the reduction made in the Council of England, foresee that something of that nature would follow in Ireland. His Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your Grace that he will proceed in the same method there; and therefore doth expect from your Grace a list of the present Councillors, and likewise what those officers are that you judge fitting should be Privy Councillors by virtue of their places. His Majesty proposed the reducing the number of Privy Councillors in Ireland to twenty. I humbly offered my opinion that would be too little in respect several occasions did draw some members of them into this town always, which would leave few to supply the several Committees of Council the affairs of that kingdom require. However, I suppose there will be no resolution taken till His Majesty hath heard from your Grace.

To morrow, though Sunday, the House of Commons have voted to sit, and great points are intimated: rules for the successive disorders of the Government in England, Ireland and Scotland, not without reflection upon the Governors of the two latter, though your Grace is not directly named.

In discourse to-day with my Lord of Essex concerning the accompt you sent up concerning the extraordinary

charges since your coming to the Government, he told me the Commissioners had observed that there was no accompt given of the concordatum money since your Grace's coming to the Government, and that in his time it was always sent up hither quarterly; and this, I suppose, they have wrote to your Grace, but, however, I thought it my duty to let you know it. My Lord Strafford hath oftentimes spoke to me to know whether you had not wrote to me in order to recommend him to a troop of horse, as he pleadeth your recommendation here. I told him I knew nothing of it, but should put your Grace in mind of it. Our affairs have been long dark and the mists arise hourly. When or how they will be dispelled I am not weatherwise enough to know. One thing I am sure will not change which is my being with all respect, etc.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, April 26, Dublin.—I have yours of the 19th, and read that of the same date to your Mother, also the long letter with much care; and yet I am not ready to frame any judgment, much less resolution, upon it. I think the case very ingeniously stated as to the public, and as to my particular I will take a few days time to consider, and then send my sense. In the meantime I think you should without affectation keep on the intercourse with the person you had a long discourse with. If he keeps his word and finds it not to be his interest not to be satisfied, I am confident he may receive satisfaction, and though he should be resolved against it, yet we are but where we were.

The Scotch regiment is landed, well quartered for their refreshment, and have received a month's pay. The difficulty will be how to continue this good treatment to them; but I will take all the care I can.

I have some confirmation of what you write at the end of your letter to your Mother concerning that nobleman not being my friend, but know no cause I have given but that I love myself better than him—a fault I cannot mend.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, April 26, London.—I shall direct my account to the passages of the Lords' House only, because the fulness of the Commons Votes will save me the labour of a comment, unless some passages relating to neither House shall occur to my knowledge, as the death of honest Davy Walter, who George Legge succeeds in the Lieutenancy of the Ordinance. I also enclose the King's Declaration, not trusting to the diligence of others to do it, because each part of it is worthy your Grace's view.

On Wednesday their Lordships wound themselves into a kind of labyrinth, coveting to secure England in general

from Popery, and the City of London from Papists, by expelling all (even tradesmen) out of it who should refuse the oaths and test. Till they were convinced that such a general banishment, by taking in all sorts of Protestant dissenters, would thereby shake the very trade of the City, such being so numerous in it, they found a great difficulty to winnow the one from the other; and the day being far spent, and no prospect of any expedient in the point, they adjourned the consideration, though I hear since the Quakers offer to set their hands and seals to an obligation of their obedience and declaration of their opinions in all these points, and will admit of it to be felony without clergy if any amongst them shall ever be detected of Popery. But how far that will amount towards satisfaction, until I see the proposal I cannot conjecture: a copy whereof I am promised, and shall enclose in my next letter after I receive it.

The same day my Lord Clare happened to express his dissatisfaction at an expression in the King's Declaration, whereby Prince Rupert is entitled to a seat in the new Privy Council, by virtue of being a Prince of the Blood: which his lordship observed was a language not so well understood in England, not being to be found in any law book or Act of Parliament, no not in the Statute itself that treats of honours, at that degree His Highness stands related to the King's person. But the new Lord President, having first anticipated what he apprehended the others might object, as if with his place his judgment should alter, assuring their Lordships his conscience should always guide his tongue, gave this answer:—It were unreasonable to deny the King the liberty of terming his near relations how he pleased, especially since it was both an intelligible appellation, and what did not entitle him to anything to the prejudice of anyone else. But my Lord of Strafford grafted a further objection upon that discourse, it being a French term of art, and of a large extent there; and that already the King's natural sons did greatly encroach on the ancient nobility by placing themselves above all others of the same classes. But this uneasy discourse to some who heard it, as it had the bad luck so abruptly to be begun, so had it the good luck to end quietly, neither being answered nor seconded by any, but fell of itself.

Thursday, the 24th.—Their Lordships were early invited by the Commons to a conference, at which Sir Francis Winnington reported the Commons' exceptions against the Popish Lords' answers (which your Grace may at large read in the Commons' Votes of that day) which, when reported to the House, their Lordships referred the consideration of the three Lords' evasive and argumentative answers (for so they are styled) to the Committee of Privileges, and ordered my Lord Bellasis to put in his the next morning. My lord's pen proved no fencer, his answer being a downright denial of

all he was charged with. This day Mr. Reading, the lawyer, came to his trial, when it was apparently found that he attempted to suborn Mr. Bedloe's testimony against the Tower Lords, for which he was adjudged to stand in the pillory, to undergo a year's imprisonment, and pay 1,000*l.* (a great punishment, and a great fault, and what seriously reflects on those Lords).

Friday, the 25th.—The Earl of Danby put in his answer at the Lords' Bar, in which, though he confidently asserted his innocency, yet was advised by his counsel also to plead his pardon, because else it could not be pleadable at any other time. What else he may lose time will show, but he gains the reputation of an excellent speaker: that is allowed him by his very enemies. After him they desired Lord Bellasis cross to the Bar with his answer; whose tongue proved his best member, who delivered a very satisfactory answer very satisfactorily: both which were immediately sent down by their Lordships to the Commons, as their Votes mention.

This day three Lords, Powis, Stafford and Arundel, appeared at the Bar, where they were told by my Lord Chancellor the character the Commons had given of their answers, who demanded of them whether they would put in new or abide by those. They sheltered their answers under the advices of their counsel, who informed them that they could not safely give a more direct answer to so general a charge. But if their Lordships would advise them to put in others, they would do so. My Lord Chancellor answered 'twas not their parts to advise, but to judge; only gave this advice that they should consult their own interest. At length my Lord [ ] surprised their Lordships by telling them that fencing would but weaken their credits with their judges, and exasperate their prosecutors; and therefore he had brought another answer with him, short and conformable to that method approved of in my Lord Petre's; whereupon the other two also produced and gave in theirs also, only craving the return of their former; which was granted, and the old ones were delivered back and the new ones sent down to the Commons. So that now it is presumed the trial will soon follow.

I am now to tell your Grace a tale without head or foot, and yet 'tis fit I should let your Grace know as much as I do of it. Mr. Oates today produced one Lane as a witness before the Lords of the Committee of Examination to prove the Earl of Danby offered him a reward if he would get Oates to withdraw his testimony. Lane, being asked, declared he knew no such thing. Mr. Oates his men were also called in, but instead of impeaching others fell to arraigning Mr. Oates himself, as one that had spoke the basest and most contemptible words of the King imaginable, as if he associated himself with none but whores, rogues, pimps and panders, and that Mr. Chiffinch was a pimp, the son of a pimp, and that the

King never went sober to bed, and thence proceeded to such beastly bawdy discourses that the Lords stopped his mouth and would hear him no further nor believe him so far. What will be the consequence of this must be the subject of future letters ; only I hear the King (as he hath just reason) is highly incensed at it. I confess I have not my story very perfect, though I have heard it from several of the Committee ; for seriously no one, methought, could make sense of it, and all differed in material circumstances.

Since I have little hope to obtain the Votes of this day time enough to send them by this night's post, for that House is now sitting to finish the Bill for disbanding the Army and it is already dark, I shall give your Grace the punctuallest account I can of those no small matters that have happened there this day. They began with a petition from several persons who had more French commodities on their hands than they could hope to make sale of by the 1st of May, the limited time for all such goods to be destroyed. They therefore craved a longer time to prevent their ruin, who could be no way guilty because they had the possession of them before there was any prospect of that act. But to show the indignation conceived against all things as well as persons of that nation, they not only rejected the petition, but also ordered the bringing in of a corroborating act, if the Committee to whom it was referred to examine that act should find it defective, and that by Friday next. Then came in a report from the Committee who were to scrutinise into the causes of the late London fires, that a maid servant had confessed that she fired her master's house by the persuasion of one Stubbs, my Lady Shrewsbury's butler, a Papist, and one who had prevailed with her to be so ; who being apprehended also, on promise of pardon, confessed that his father confessor, one Gilford, had obliged him both to get it done and to conceal it : telling him further that all those scaffolds in Westminster Hall were but a piece of pageantry, for that none of those Lords in the Tower should so much as come to trial, nor any of those condemned priests should suffer : that the King should yet be sent to death before the middle of June, and six thousand French immediately land, with several other particulars. Whereupon it was ordered that an Address should be presented to His Majesty, by the Privy Councillors of that House, for his pardon for the maid and Stubbs, and for a proclamation to proscribe Gilford and two other persons who had been active in the firing of London, and that there might be a promise of pardon to encourage such as should come in and make any discoveries of that nature. Then came a message from the Lords to inform them that the three Lords had been at their Bar, had withdrawn their former answers, and put in others they would abide by, which they were desired to peruse and to return with what speed they could conveniently.

They also ordered another Address to His Majesty that Pickering and all other condemned priests may be forthwith executed, and all other Papists banished ten (if not twenty, for I am not certain) miles out of London. This alarm is so hotly received in that House that though they are now sitting (and it is dark night) on the Money Bill for the disbanding of the Army, yet they have voted to sit tomorrow (tho Sunday) to consider how to provide for the safety of His Majesty's person and the established Protestant religion, both in the King's time and his successors: which the wise foresee will be a hot day, and 'tis feared will scorch Queen and Dukes. And where and how 'twill end God only knows, I dread to think. It is also whispered that impeachments are preparing for other Lords, but I will wish I may be a false prophet. The Votes of this day shall come with the next packet.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, April 26, London.—Considering the uncertainty of affairs, and how liable persons are to be displaced to serve those who are now looked upon to be able to assist in these extremities, and finding my Lord Marquess of Winchester pleased with his growing credit, I fell upon the discourse of the late attempt that had been made for your Staff, and by way of confidence gave him the detail of the whole matter, to find if he would be a person likely to purchase it, if you had upon a reasonable consideration a mind to part with it. I had my aim; for when I told him after many compliments the honour and advantage of that post, to which always a blue ribbon was annexed, he told me that if the King and you consented to put a bargain, he would give in ready money 10,000*l.*, but not more. As I assured him that what I said was without any knowledge or commission from you, so I would know your mind with all speed, and doubted not but to have either your negative answer, or to forbid me any such dealing, or else full power to treat and conclude. We have both promised secrecy until your pleasure be known, which I desire may be speedy; and according to your commands I shall endeavour to acquit myself to your satisfaction. I have nothing more to write at present.

SAME to SAME.

I am informed that my Lord Ranelagh is getting up articles to present to the House of Commons against you, upon which I acquainted the King of this proceeding; who seems very much incensed, and assured me that if it could be proved, or that if he could have grounds to believe that contrary to oaths that Lord held such practices he should not continue an hour in his place. I am put in hopes of having the articles, together with sufficient reason to persuade that he is the author of them. In this particular I

hope you will believe that I shall not be remiss. I have ordered Mulys to send a printed paper relating to transactions in Ireland, which I hope you will not dislike.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, April 29, Dublin.—I have no more time to write than will serve to assure your lordship that as I have great reason, so I really am much satisfied with your lordship's of the 26th of this month. What you write concerning the public is with great prudence, and in what concerns me in particular is very obliging. The ammunition and arms desired to be sent to Cork shall be sent to that port with all the speed that may be. It is most necessary that the militia should be regimented, and it shall forthwith be gone in hand with. The letter to the principal gentleman in each county is well worth and shall have due consideration, and your lordship shall have my thoughts more fully upon it by the next post.

If I am dissatisfied with any part of your lordship's letter, it is with that part of it in which you are pleased to excuse the freedom of your proposing [suggestions]. Whatever shall come from you to the ends you mention shall have no other interpretation from me than you shall be [fully satisfied with].

[This letter has been much injured by fire, and is in parts illegible.]

Copy.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, April 30, London.—I did hope that I should before this time have begun my journey towards Ireland; but the House of Peers are so stout on the point of permitting their members to stir from their attendance that they refuse everybody that asks leave, and resolve to imprison and fine every peer that shall not appear at the trial of the Lords, which moves so slowly that I doubt it will be near Midsummer before those trials will be finished. My Lord of Danby was this day at our Bar, who being acquainted that the Commons excepted against his plea of the King's pardon has been given time till Saturday to resolve whether he will adhere unto it or alter it. If he does the first, his life must depend upon the validity of it; for after that day he cannot change it. But if he pleads not guilty, then his innocency only must acquit him. The House of Commons, who sat on Sunday last, passed the Vote, a copy whereof I now send your Grace. To morrow it will be in our House debated, the Commons having desired our concurrence therein. The Bill for raising money to pay off and disband the Army will by the Commons this day be passed, and to morrow be sent up to us. If the weakness of my hand, which a fit of gout did lately render so, had not kept me from making use of it, I had sooner begged the honour of your Grace's commands,

which I do now with the assurance that nobody shall more punctually obey them.

Postscript.—I am very much obliged to your Grace for putting a stop to the Duke of Monmouth's patent till my right was heard.

Ormond to Henry Coventry.

1679, April 30, Dublin.—I do not remember any Session of Parliament held when I was out of England but that I was hotly alarmed by my friends of preparations and contrivances to accuse me; and I have sometimes made voyages thither principally to prevent, or to be ready to answer anything that could be objected against me; and it has fallen out that upon my arrival I have still been suffered to be quiet. I have now again the same informations, and I have at least as much reason to give credit to them as heretofore; and if I were at liberty I would hasten over to defend my honour, innocence and conduct in the trusts that have been reposed in me as well as I could. I know the chief grounds of men's ill-will to me are malice, because I would not bear calumny and envy to the places I hold, which are motives that will never die or be at rest as long as the object remains. And I am now come to an age and inclination so fit for retirement that I would be content to purchase it at any rate but that of dishonour or prejudice to my fortune and family. Therefore, though I could with all imaginable cheerfulness and content lay this great and envied place at His Majesty's feet, from whose hands I received it, yet I cannot bring myself to offer it as a ransom or composition, but had rather undergo the strictest inquiry and trial of my actions. Thus you know my case and present disposition as well as I know it myself; and it is now time you should know that my humble desire is that His Majesty would send me over a permission to attend upon him at Court in the usual form, which I think may be found in your office, that I may be at liberty to make use of it when I shall think fit; that my son Ossory may be sent with it, and power given that he may remain Deputy in my absence; or if His Majesty approves not of him in this conjuncture, that the Lord Chancellor and my son Arran may be Justices; or in the last place, if His Majesty find reason not to appoint any of these, of whom I would not have proposed any if I could think of fitter, that he would direct into what other hands to put the Government, till he shall have resolved either to return me to it or where else to fit. I do not intend that whoever His Majesty shall place here in my absence shall be any addition of charge; but am content that the usual allowance shall be taken out of my appointments. That which I would further desire is as much secrecy as the matter will bear, and a speedy signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

[*Copy.*]

SAME to SAME.

1679, April 30, Dublin.—Mr. Ryder and his partners are come to a fair agreement without bringing their difference to a public debate, which I think is all that is necessary to say in return to the letters he brought me from His Majesty, the then Lord Treasurer, and yourself. The state of their farm had been much better than it is if they had never fallen out, or agreed sooner; but as it is I am in hope they will continue to make their payments at least as well as they have done in the time of their disagreement among themselves, and if they do there will be no great reason to complain of them.

Copy.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, April 30, Dublin.—All the resolution I have ever been able to bring myself to as yet is to write the enclosed letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry. The copy is for you to show to my Lord Chamberlain and Sir Robert Southwell, and then to resolve when to make use of it, or whether at all or no: wherein I depend on Mr. Secretary's judgment and kindness as much as upon any man's. If anything be to be changed or added there may be time for it, if all the great things in hand shall take place of the concerns of this kingdom, as much less have usually done. Perhaps if my Lord of Shaftesbury or any other that may wish this Government in other hands saw how I am disposed in the matter it would do no hurt. But all is left to the determination of my friends. It was but last night that I knew Mr. Ryder would embark this morning, so that I had not time to write with all the care such an affair would require, nor now to say any more to you.

Copy.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, April 30, .—I think it would be a difficulty upon your Grace to write upon any subject and not to write all that the subject would bear. Your Grace's letter to Mr. Secretary is so full to the purpose that very little may be added to it, or subtracted from it, except in that one particular which refers to me; wherein upon the confidence of present circumstances I must presume to differ from your Grace's opinion, and humbly propose that my Lord Arran may be named single as Deputy, if my Lord of Ossory doth not come: against which there can be no other exception but his relation to your Grace. And if that be looked upon as an argument of any force, then it must follow that whosoever shall be named by your Grace will be disallowed there. So that your Grace doth upon very good considerations leave His Majesty to his own choice for Justices. But if

your Grace should think fit that my Lord Arran should have a colleague, perhaps my Lord Granard may be more acceptable, or free from exception, because he was once Justice, than many others. As to my own particular I must acknowledge that I have not the least inclination under the present juncture to appear more to the world than of necessity I must, unless it may be for your Grace's service. Pardon me, my Lord, that I do not understand the connexion of those words in the first line of your letter "and it hath so fallen out I have still been suffered to be quiet." I believe the transcriber hath omitted some words, which renders the meaning somewhat difficult.

Your Grace's letter to my Lord of Orrery is mightily obligate, and will certainly beget your Grace a whole volume of acknowledgments.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, April 30, Wednesday morning, the first day this letter was began, London.—We were all in an amaze, the King summoning first of all the Lords to come in their Robes, and then all the Commons to appear at the Lords' Bar, where all suspicions of at least a prorogation ended in an assurance of His Majesty's favour in the enclosed speeches. If one may infer the heart from the voice, theirs was very joyful, for I never yet heard so loud hums so often repeated as on the occasion of this speech, so that there was a great pause of silence necessitated between every paragraph. After their Lordships had voted their thanks and desired to have each speech printed, they proceeded on that long tedious *Habeas Corpus* Bill sent them up by the Commons, and most elaborately finished it before they rose. Then the weighty considerations of May Day, and a great greyhound match between the Duke of Albemarle and Sir Ralph Dutton, when the latter was the loser, and that the King had an inclination to see Windsor, convinced their Lordships to adjourn till Friday. The Commons (as the Votes of that day declare) happened thus to return their thanks. As soon as they were returned and the speeches reported, Mr. Bennett moved for thanks, and extraordinary ones, suitable to His Majesty's graciousness. Many were the competitors for the honour of seconding the motion; but at last stood up Mr. Sacheverell and cautioned them not to be over-hasty in giving thanks, for he had seen it repented for in the last Parliament when persons offered to propose anything different from what was thanked for, that their thanks were thrown in his face, and he upbraided with the thanks that had been given. Col. Titus seconded him, urged that the benefit ought to be well weighed, that the thanks of the House might the more justly be proportioned; he observed yet they had nothing but words, and they, like

clouds, often proved but air; that he had read a thanksgiving for rain, never for clouds, because they were often prorogued 'ere they distilled in showers, (I would I had a cipher) and therefore moved that the consideration of the speeches might be appointed for Monday; and so it was, as the Votes show.

As for Thursday, I have little to say of State affairs, the Votes speaking for the House of Commons, and the Lords not sitting. Yet that I may not leave an absolute blank on that day, I presume to give your Grace an account of Hampton Court Olympic, where the King honoured the pastimes with his presence, and thousands followed his example, so that the breadth of the paddock course was fain to be divided with stakes and ropes. The first match was made this time or month between Tom Cheeke and Sir Ralph Dutton. The latter was confined to his single dog *Hog* to run for 200*l.* next May Day, which was Thursday last, with any dog in England. *Hog* held sound till a week before he run, then had a cut on one toe, and a kind of boil on the other. Tom Cheeke agreed to 20*l.* forfeiture, but since the Duke of Albemarle laid 100*l.* of his dog *Smoker's* side against *Hog*, Tom Cheeke rather chose to pay his 20*l.* than hazard his 200*l.*, and after betted on Dutton's side. For though the main match was off, yet the second part of it was judged by the King to be run, and Dutton's lame dog was beaten five lengths. So that Tom Cheeke, who might have won two hundred guineas, lost forty; twenty he paid as forfeiture and twenty as bets; besides being laughed at sufficiently. The next match was run between a black bitch of Mr. Dutton's and a fallow dog of that excellent poet Ned Howard's, whose dog, having better feet than his verses, won his match. But in the third course a little bitch of Mr. Harvey's went by his goodly fallow dog, to the loss of many six to seven. After the match was over, the King coming that morning from Windsor, dinèd with the Duchess of Portsmouth at her house, called on the Marquess of Winchester at Teddington, and after crossing that [*illegible*] went a horseback through the park to avoid the dust, and met the Duchess on horseback also, with whom side by side he rode through Putney, and so entered his barge.

Friday, May 2.—The Lords were very intent on the Bill for banishing Papists ten miles out of London, on which a debate arose which cost much time whether the oaths and test should be tendered to all, or the oaths only. The arguments ran thus: the oaths are only snares to catch innocent Quakers in, through which dispensations would let all the nocent Papists escape, as appeared by several of those papers had been taken, and depositions also. But the sacredness of those oaths of supremacy and allegiance so inspired their champions that it was carried (and but by one vote)

that oaths and test should go together. Then came up from the Commons the disbanding Money Bill, swollen to so prodigious a bulk with the Commissioners' names that Sir John Trevor (the messenger or person to convey it) could scarce bear his burthen; but it being late and the Bill being long, its reading was adjourned till five in the afternoon; and then (contrary at least to custom, as your Grace well knows) they read it here over, dispensing with forms, because every day's delay cost the King between 1,200*l.* and 1,300*l.*; upon which thrifty account it claimed that extraordinary expedition in its dispatch. To the Votes I refer your Grace for the transactions of the Commons. The only warm debate was about a particular not taken notice of in the Votes of the day. The Committee appointed to examine what moneys were unpaid of the last tax, there being 50,000*l.* that was designed to pay for the clothes, but not till the army should be disbanded; the army not being disbanded, they exacting an account thereof, on examination it appeared it all went justly towards the disbanding that part of it which was already disbanded, notwithstanding that it was well employed. Yet because not strictly pursuant to the letter of the act, many would have reflected upon others, particularly on Mr. Kingdom, the Paymaster (as a member of the House), who found out an expedient to stop their mouths who were opened widest against him, by offering to advance 3,000*l.* on the security of the second payment of this new act, which would be enough to pay off all the common soldiers what is allowed them to carry them home, being ten a man, this not going either to pay for their clothes or quarters. Thus a little water well applied served to quench as fierce a flame as hath yet been kindled, to the great disappointment of those who designed to improve it further.

Wednesday, May 3.—The Earl of Danby appeared at the Lords' Bar to declare his election what plea to abide by, and gave this answer that he put in his first plea by the advice of all his counsel unanimously, and by their advice he chose to abide by it. But being asked further to declare what he meant by the first plea, answered he pleaded the King's pardon. Which answer of his, being reduced into writing, was sent down to the House of Commons, as also was the new Bill for banishing all Papists beyond ten miles out of London. A motion was made to send down to the Commons to know when they would be ready to proceed against the Lords in the Tower, but seeing the debate was like to prove long, and they to sit again in the afternoon, that debate was adjourned till Monday, and the House till the afternoon, as soon as they had finished and sent down their answer that they would sit in the afternoon as the Commons had desired.

When the Lords were met they finished the perusal of the Money Bill, only reserving some uneasy parts of it for debate on Monday; as that no innkeeper or alehouse keeper shall be obliged any further to quarter soldiers than to treat [*illegible*] which is construed to extend to the standing forces, and if so who will quarter any? The Commons (for I despair of having this evening Votes time enough to send by this post) as soon as they met fell on Lord Danby's plea, which had no more quarter given it than is designed for its author. It was called at best by many uncertain, and consequently insufficient; but at last the debate was deferred till Monday. Then both Houses met at a conference desired by the Commons; at which they gave in their reasons for disapproving the Lords' amendments, which when received both Houses adjourned till Monday.

I had like to have forgotten one pertinent circumstance happened this morning in the House of Commons. Sir John Trevor bringing in a Bill against Irish Cattle put the House into no small flame; but at last it was deferred till Tuesday morning: more of which in my next, lest the post make more haste than I do. I have here enclosed, besides the Votes of four days, the King's and Chancellor's speech, and Sergeant Rigby's report of two confessions; both which have gained great credit among us, and if true are very remarkable.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1679, May 2, Castlemartyr.—I had last night the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 29th of April, and the great satisfaction to find in it that what I had presumed to write to your Grace in my letter of the 24th of last month (both as to what related to the public and as to my particular) had met with so favourable an acceptance from your Excellency. I am glad of it, and more than I can express; for there are few things I more desire than to serve my King and country, and to have my poor endeavours therein relished by your Grace, whose favour (and, if I may presume to say, friendship) I am very ambitious of.

Had I had the honour at any time before your Excellency's last coming to the Government of this kingdom to have had one hour's discourse with you alone, I more than believe there would not have been the least misunderstanding of me; for I will never knowingly step one foot out of the way I propose I will walk in. But I have written so amply on this subject by this post, to my Lord Chancellor, that I will not trouble your Grace with a repetition of it; for I believe he will read to your Excellency what I have now writ to him. But if ever I have the happiness to wait on your Grace, I believe I may satisfy your Excellency that even whilst I was under your disfavour I have acted towards your

Grace as if I had been in your favour; and I should not speak an untruth, tho I should write that hereof I have given very good evidences. Neither shall this be my way of proceeding only while your Grace is in the Government, but also should you be at any time out of it. For I resolve (let me have been never so much misunderstood) I will never act towards your Grace but as an honourable man and a gentleman.

I am very glad your Grace has ordered the ammunition and arms humbly desired for the militia of this county to be hastened to Cork, and that your Excellency will regiment the militia. I have given notice of both by an express to the Commissioners of Array, that they may tender your Grace their humble acknowledgments and get the officers to try them as soon as they land. Really, my Lord, there needs a course speedy and effectual to be taken to put the militia on a posture, and to ascertain who shall command them and take care to have them trained and ready usefully on any occasions, which I hope your Excellency will do. In your Excellency's choice of them if all necessary qualifications cannot be had, men must in reason be content with the best that may be had.

I doubt the other counties in this province are proportionably as deficient in arms and ammunition as the county of Cork is; and, therefore, if as the same ship which brings a supply of both to Cork, there were also sent a proportion for the other counties, it might be a husbanding of time and expense. And possibly if none be sent but to the county of Cork, those in other counties might doubt they were not equally minded. Whatever is sent for the counties of Limerick, Clare and Kerry may, I think, be best sent to the city of Cork, it being the safest place near all the other three counties to which arms can be consigned.

I have so many letters of necessity to write with my own crazy hand by this post, that I must defer till the next some particulars which in obedience to the last part of the honour of your Grace's last letter I am preparing humbly to lay at your feet. Your Excellency's commands about the new regiments' captains is humbly begged; for every day the old and the new captains of the regiment have discourse concerning it—I will not say disputes. Some of the new companies have by their officers let me know they have neither powder, match nor ball, and none of their arms are matchlocks. I have told them as soon as there is need they shall not want; but I believe had they match ammunition as the other companies have, it might not be amiss.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, May 3, Dublin.—To the most important part of yours of the 26th of last month, my answer is that if His

Majesty will allow of it I am content to part with my Steward's place to my Lord Marquis of Winchester for ten thousand pounds ready money. The King may take what part he thinks fit in the contrivance of the exchange the more to oblige that lord, if he approves the exchange, as I hope he will. But if not the nobleman may be told that I am not willing to part with my staff. In case the bargain goes on it may with reason be proposed that my Lord of Winchester should over and above lay down what my allowance will come to at Midsummer next, which is the end of a quarter and which I will with all the arrears due to me assign to him. What that amounts to Sir Stephen Fox, upon sight of his account betwixt his cofferer and me, will soon compute. But if you find any great difficulty in this, I will stick to my arrears and stay till they shall be paid with others, and let the agreement go on. I think there needs no more formal demission than this from me; but if there should, I am ready to make it. If this bargain takes place, it will be fit for you to place the money in secure hands immediately, and such Sir Stephen Fox will help you to, if any man can: with whom you may advise whether it may not be remitted into Holland, and thus securely placed, so that it may at pleasure be taken out.

SAME to SAME.

1679, May 3.—I have received yours of the 26th of the last month, wherein you mention the treaty you have had with my Lord Marquis of Winchester touching my place of Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household; which I am content to resign to His Majesty, in case it shall be his good pleasure to give it to the said Lord Marquis.

Signed, ORMOND.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 3—I received yesterday your letters of the 23rd and 9th of the last month, and do think that in return to the objections made against Fitzpatrick's grant you can not do anything more prudent than to give instances of others of the same nature, especially if equal exceptions may be made against them. Therefore I hope you will send me them with all possible speed. My Lord Chamberlain remembers that the letter for permitting Papists into Corporations was got during his being Secretary, but when he was absent, and at his house at Euston. He has promised to inquire about all those concerns. If you could send me a computation of what you parted with upon the score of the settlement, as also a calculation of what your grants do amount unto, and this in good method, not doubting but your care will be such as nothing can be objected as to the truth of such a narrative, I think it will be very useful to

stop the mouths of such who exclaim against vast gifts, though obtained by the most legal ways and honest grounds, nothing being beyond an Act of Don: I have not anything more to trouble you withal; only I find my Lord of Derby very nasty as to giving his wife leave to make you a visit, which she desires above all things. But I did use all my endeavours herein to persuade his ill-natured and obstinate lordship.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD

1679, May 4, Dublin.—To that part of your letter of the 26th which concerns my Lord Treasurer and to the cypher I refer you to him. To something you writ to him in a former letter I have this to say, that I showed my Lord Chancellor that part of a private letter from Mr. Secretary to me which concerned his lordship to let him know how good a friend he had, and because I knew he would make very prudent and grateful use of it, as he has done. For in what he writ to my Lady Ranelagh it was not possible for her to guess with any probability from what hand he was informed of what was laid to his charge, and he was sure of your lordship's care.

If cabals against me are carried on at one and the same time at Whitehall and Westminster, and if I have the great lady and the zealous Protestants at once my enemies, what fence is there for it, and why should I wonder to find Papists and the worst of Protestants agree in their endeavour to destroy me? It has been my lot ever since I came into business, and I believe will be till I am out of it, and of the world too. When the actions of a man's life who has been in Government in difficult times are taken to pieces by a malicious observer, all the circumstances that can be taken against him singled and insisted, and those that make for him omitted, no doubt but he will be made a strange figure. And if he should be put to refute all that should be thus collected and thus scattered, he would find work enough and perhaps create himself more than he finds by drawing on replications and new calumnies; and all the while beat the air, as men do in the dark when they see no enemy. For against whom do I contend when I say to the first of the objections that your Lordship mentions, that there can nothing more false be invented than that any soldier was ever placed to guard a mass-house, or that there is one mass-house left unsuppressed in this city. I may be as well charged with sending a soldier to pull one of our own Bishops out of the pulpit and murdering him. If I were, would any man in his wits give credit to it, or were I in mine if I should go about to answer it? The second is true in some sense, but as false as the first in the scope and meaning of it. It is true a proclamation was issued against regular priests and Jesuits

to banish them. The word regular in the objection is left out, and so it falls out that some secular priests being apprehended, and neither within the Proclamation nor the late votes of the Lords on the old Address of Lords and Commons, were set at liberty. Here is no contradiction to the Proclamation, which is the thing suggested. It is true also that some regulars were permitted to stay, and they are not five in the whole Kingdom, at least I think so, and those are such as by reason of age and physical infirmity could not be transported, or such as would be worse used in any Popish country than the law can use them here, by reason of their declaring against the Pope's power with Peter Walsh, and to force such away would show more inhumanity than prudence. I wish we may never be questioned for banishing the King's subjects without law, and that some may not at one time or another say it is a dangerous example to trust the Government with judging when it may be done. But the best is I have the King's command by the advice of his Council in England, and the concurrence of his Council here for what I have done, as well for banishing them as permitting some of them to stay.

To the third it is hard to answer very particularly. For it is fourteen or fifteen years ago since not only the Protestants but the Papists were disarmed. But it is false that none of them obtained leave to carry arms. For what was the whole Army then but Protestants? What all the Council, the Justices of the Peace, the Magistrates in Corporations and all the Judges and Officers belonging to the Courts of Justice? And no one of them were disarmed, or if they were they had them soon restored. Let it be remembered that those arms were actually the King's, that Mr. Blood's Plot was on foot and brought near to execution, that during the sitting of the Commissioners of Claims it was fit to keep Papists and fanatics in peace by disarming both; and let it be remembered that I myself not long after set up the militia, consisting only of Protestants, and left them well modelled and armed, but found them now utterly broken. Upon the whole matter I shall be heard before I am condemned, or I shall not. If I am, it is all I ask. If I am not, the hurt may come to me, but the shame will belong to others.

Copy.

Rev. Christopher Vowell* to Earl of Orrery.

1679, May 5, Kiltworge.—Before I come to the particular business which occasions the trouble of this letter to your Lordship, I would humbly beg leave to lay a few thoughts before your Lordship's eyes (which are ever open for the public good) as touching the state of the country here in

* Christopher Vowell, the writer of this letter, is described by Lord Orrery in a letter forwarding his communication to Ormond, dated May 6, 1679, as "a beneficed minister at and near Charleville."

this neighbourhood. 'Tis indeed very sad and calamitous, men's hearts generally failing them for fear, in expectation of those things which are coming upon the earth. And I wish that these fears and perplexities were built upon fancy and nothing else, that we may be more afraid than hurt. But when your lordship will be pleased to consider that there is scarce a night but that some house, stable or barn is broke up, that the Irish gentlemen swarm now more than ever, that not one jot of their presumption or confidence is abated: if these premisses be duly considered certainly this conclusion will easily follow that all these bold villainies are but the prologue to a future intended tragedy, but the shaking of the dice in order to throw at all, even our lives and fortunes. But I do but trouble your lordship in representing that after an ill manner which without doubt you have had from better hands after a more large and ample fashion. God awaken the magistrates who sit at helm and give them a due prospect of the rocks and shelves before the bark be split and the poor passengers committed to their charge be lost amidst this much to be feared tempest.

The particular business of this paper is about Henaghan, who is secured by Captain FitzGerald. His design was to get a pardon, that so he might be placed in a capacity for doing more mischief in this country, and in order thereunto procured a certificate from Sir Richard Kyrle and Captain Wills, worthy gentlemen, good patriots and sworn justices, and therefore cannot be supposed to forget their own honour, and their obligation to God and their country so far as to do what he there charges them with, to sign a certificate so very prejudicial to the King's subjects. I shall trouble your lordship no further about this business because the certificate itself, his letter for the same, with the petition, is sent your lordship by Captain Wanman. Only this one thing I thought fit to intimate to your lordship, that this Henaghan was in London at the time of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey's murder, that he left London immediately upon the proclamation which issued forth for detection, that in all probability he was acquainted with those Irish priests, Munster men, who committed that black deed, that he is a stiff Papist and very great profligate, and so must be supposed fit to receive an impression were the thing opened to him. And if so be that he knew anything of the matter, it's probable that were his chamber searched in Dublin some papers might be found referring to that subject or of some other good use to the public. There is one Edward Bowerman in the College who knows his room and may direct thither; so that, if expedition were used, I am persuaded something might be found out of concernment.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 5, Whitehall.—I have your Grace's of the 26th of April, and humbly thank you for it. As to the part of

the Judges I have not mentioned it to His Majesty, because I would first expect your Grace's return to mine of the 26th of April, which told you of the letter signed for Chief Justice Booth and Mr. Keating; for I find much expedition in this case hath hindered the conclusion, I having obtained the letter for Mr. Keating upon your Grace's letter the post before this, viz., the 7th of April.

For the letter I received from your Grace and the Council concerning publishing a General Fast conformable to what was by proclamation here, you have free leave to do it. I have been asked a question whether your Grace had given leave to all Protestants to arm themselves. I answered I was sure you had given leave to all the militia; further I knew not, neither have I any order to give your Grace in it, only to desire you would please to give me notice what Protestants have permission to arm themselves, and who are forbidden.

I am likewise advertised this last week that there were freighted from Rotterdam by one Mr. Washington, an English merchant, four thousand arms for Ireland by commission from one Mr. Lewis. Your Grace will be pleased to inquire whether these arms be provided by merchants commissioned by your Grace or no, and where landed, and upon whose accounts. I will not trouble your Grace with what passeth here, you will have it particularly sent you.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, May 6, Dublin.—I am something doubtful that the principal person you may depend upon for discovery of the practice against me in framing of the articles you mention in yours of the 29th of the last will not be held a good author if the proof shall rest upon his single credit and assertion. Nor am I very confident that he may gather up loose discourses and old materials of the late Earl of Meath's articles and Peter Talbot's *quæres*, and tell us they are framed into accusations to set a value upon his own industry and zeal, not without hope of reward. I confess my nature and some experience of such a sort of men do incline me to such suspicions. Yet since such are more like to make discoveries who are busy in all corners and companies I would not have informations from them utterly rejected but warily managed, since it is certain that a complaint made upon unconvincing grounds rather establishes than weakens the party complained of. I have no more to say at this time.

Copy.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, May 6, London.—Your Grace will by this night's packet receive an account of some discourse Mr. Secretary Coventry had with my Lord President of the Council concerning the arming of all the English there, the general

liberty whereof his lordship says is restrained there. I imagine his lordship means by it those licences granted to merchants for importing of arms, which were recalled upon the proposition of the officers of the Ordinance there to furnish that kingdom with arms.

Yesterday the House of Commons by message acquainted the Lords that they were ready with their evidence for the trial of the Popish Lords in the Tower, and this day their Lordships have appointed this day sennight for their trial. The Commons upon the debate of my Lord Danby's last answer, wherein he insisted upon his pardon, voted the pardon in their opinion void and invalid, and that it ought not to bar justice against him upon the impeachment of the House of Commons. And they further voted that the whole House with their Speaker should attend the Lords, and at their Bar demand judgment of their Lordships against the Earl of Danby, whose pardon they thought void and invalid and ought not to bar their justice against him upon their impeachment, which was accordingly put in execution; upon which their Lordships referred it to the Judges to give their opinion to their Lordships this day upon the validity of the pardon. In order to which Sir William Ellis, Sir Francis Pemberton, and Mr. Serjeant Raman were sworn in the afternoon to qualify them to give their opinion in this matter. But I have not heard that the Judges have declared themselves yet in the point. Upon discourse with Mr. Attorney-General, he is of opinion that the pardon is void. The aforesaid three Judges have accepted of their Commissions during pleasure.

This day the House of Commons have voted an address to His Majesty for the removal of my Lord Duke Lauderdale from his person and councils. In defence of His Grace, Sir Hugh Cholmondley made a speech very reflective on His Majesty, for which, though he received no public rebuke from the House and was answered by none but Mr. Secretary Coventry, yet I find the generality of the House were not pleased with it. The debate concerning the succession lies without a day, and by some very understanding men of the House I am told much of the heat of that matter is blown over. My Lord Russell by command from His Majesty yesterday acquainted the House that His Majesty would give speedy order for the execution of Pickering, and that by reason of the approaching hot season His Majesty desired them to despatch the matters of public concern, and particularly a provision for the fleet which was the public security of the nation; which being provided for, His Majesty would not desire any further supply this session. I was in good hope by this packet to be able to give your Grace an account of the new articles your enemies are preparing against you, but my friend has excused himself for a day or two longer, and by Saturday's packet I hope to be able

to send them to your Grace. For the rest I must refer your Grace to my Lord Arran.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, May 6, London.—Yesterday the Lords began with the Disbanding Money Bill, and tho' the importance of it quickened their zeal for its despatch, yet 'twas thought providence to give it so much delay as these two amendments would require :—1. That College and Hospital Trustees should be exempt by particular exceptions out of that general provision made for tenants that the landlords should sustain the burthen of this tax. Secondly, That since both the consequence and danger of Jersey and Guernsey were so great that the provision thereof might be suitable, one thousand men might escape disbanding to reinforce those considerable islands at least till a fleet should be set forth competent for the safety of the whole seas. But before these exceptions could be licked into shape and method an interruption came up from the House of Commons to desire the continuance of their Lordships sitting, because the Commons had somewhat of importance to impart to them. But because their designs were so indefinite some exceptions were taken. However, the answer returned was that they would sit a competent time, though 'twas pretty late. Soon after came up the Speaker, with his mace before and the whole body of members after, to the Lord's Bar, where they demanded judgment in the name of the whole Commons of England against Thomas, Earl of Danby, for that the pardon by him pleaded was illegal and void. This at the very first sight gave great umbrage to most of the Lords, it being in some sort an invading of their jurisdiction, it being to give a final judgment in the case of an appeal depending before their Lordships, and was concluded by all an unmethodical way of proceeding. Yet for calmness' sake the debate was adjourned till next morning, and the House till five that afternoon, for the despatch safe of the Money Bill for the disbanding.

For the several gradations of the Commons in their proceedings against the Earl of Danby, the enclosed Votes are particularly accountable ; against whom the indisposition of that House seems so severe that it is apprehended by many and owned by some of that House that, unless they may be gratified in his condemnation, nor Fleet nor Plot shall be considered. Thus that case seems to be stated this Monday noon.

That bill in the Votes for the better attendance for members to sit in Parliament needs this explanation. It is a self denying bill that no member that shall for the future be elected to sit in Parliament, or now sitting shall be capable of any Court employment on forfeiture of his seat there, a new writ being immediately to issue forth for another to be

elected in his room; and this is meant by "For the better attendance, etc."

The King's message to the Commons, with his gracious promise to ask no more money this sessions, on the condition they would in providing a good fleet provide for their own safety, and resigning up Pickering to execution, with the reason for reserving the rest of the condemned priests, was all abundantly satisfactory; convincing the hardest hearts how tenderly His Majesty is concerned to preserve a right understanding. Yet still the consideration of the speeches, and consequently giving thanks, is deferred.

This day the Lords began with debate whether the Bishops should have votes in the case of my Lord Danby's pardon, because by consequence it might relate to Blood; because since he hath pleaded his pardon, if it holds not good, attainder is presumed to be the consequence. After some hours' debate a message from the Commons gave interruption, to acquaint their Lordships that they were ready to make good their charge aaginst the Lords in the Tower. The natural question was what day should be appointed for their trial; yet other debates fell in, as whether they or the Earl of Danby should be first tried. At last it was over-ruled that the first question should be put concerning the trial of the five Lords. The competition was this day sennight or fortnight. It was resolved that the five Lords in the Tower shall come to their trials this day sennight. And it was afterwards resolved that the Earl of Danby shall have notice to make good his pardon next Saturday in Westminster Hall, and that the Commons have notice also. I shall not repeat the numerous foreign motions that were made, but all ended in what I have wrote.

I shall repeat little of what the Commons did, because the Votes are full; only add that Sir Richard Grimes (or Graham) first moved for the address against my Lord Lauderdale, and that only three spoke for him, Mr. Denehey, Sir Hugh Cholmeley, and my Lord Hunting-Tower. The latter gained great applause for a speaker, but not for a convincer, gaining no proselytes; nor could an angel as the case stands. We shall now quickly have (one way or other) an end of these Lords who have lain so heavy on our hands all this while, and then have cause to hope we shall move more nimbly.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, May , Dublin.—Since my right hand was disabled by the gout, I have not so much regretted the want of the use of it as now, when by it I should congratulate the Duke's return to his proper place and station. My heart is as full of joy, as it was with sorrow; and since His Royal Highness is returned with safety, I think the testimony he has given the world of what he is ready to do and hazard for the King

his brother's service and his country's peace, is worth the discomforts and inconveniences he has undergone by the separation. There seems to be a sort of people so unreasonable and so wicked that will be satisfied with nothing but his being out of the world, or in it with dishonour. I hope they are the least numerous and least considerable. However, there seems to me nothing for him to do but to maintain his post, which that he may long do in all prosperity and happiness is my hearty prayer.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 6.—I had not writ this post unto you had I not received your letter of the 30th of April, which Mr. Ryder brought me this evening, having not anything to impart unto you relating to those concerns in which you are most interested, and those of what relates to the proceedings in Parliament being sent you by other hands, there is no haste requisite for delivering your letters either to Mr. Secretary or Sir Robert Southwell. By the next post I shall give you an account, I hope satisfactory, as to what I shall do. In the meantime I shall only tell you that I cannot find out any design of removing you presently from the post you are in. The noise of such purposes have, I am told, prejudicee others, but not you. It is not improbable but a rupturd may happen among the men now in affairs. I pray God in these changes the King may find his account. I do not perceive that my Lord of Shaftesbury grows in credit since his being a Councillor, or that since his dignity he gains much with his own or that which ill men call the Court Party. I write this freely, not valuing much his lordship's good graces.

SAME to SAME.

1679, May 7.—The news of a rising in Scotland came hither this forenoon by an express. We are impatient to hear how they have proceeded. The rebels have affronted some of His Majesty's troops, and being sixteen hundred strong it may reasonably be feared that this beginning may have ill consequences and may reach even England and Ireland. Upon discourse with the King, I find he thinks it will be necessary for me immediately to attend you if this eruption be not suppressed, and that in order to serve either in my station there or else to carry over forces for suppressing that commotion. This is but the first thoughts, which, however they may hereafter be altered or digested, I thought it my duty to give you an account of them, that you may bethink yourself what to do in case of extremities. I doubt not but you will have an eye upon those parts nearest to Scotland, for if this be a framed design it certainly will reach all places where those fanatics are anyways numerous. I

am commanded by the King to let you know the deduction of a shilling in the pound should continue as was the custom out of the pay of the men in the regiment that was lately my Lord of Dumbarton's.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1679, May 7, Dublin.—I am very glad you are restored to the use of your hands, and though you may employ them better than in writing to a person that can make you no return but the acknowledgment of his favour, yet your letters cannot be more welcome to any man than to me. Cary Dillon has made so many compelled retrenchments of the Duke of Monmouth's grant that what remains will not, I think, be worth His Grace's passing the patent. I am sure a knowing man told me it would not come to 200*l.* a year, composed of many miserable scraps. The Lords have certainly great reason to draw all the assistance they can gather from their own body, and to part with as little as they can. The things under their deliberation and judgment are of the greatest consequence to the Crown, to the nation, and to their own honour and security, I mean as they are a House of Peers. I pray with the Litany, whilst it is the fashion, that God would send you all grace, wisdom and understanding. I should have been glad the public would have permitted your lordship looking upon your private concerns in this kingdom. I might then have had the satisfaction of telling you oftener, tho' not more truly, that I am, etc.
Copy.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May 10, London.—These four following days have been busy ones. May 7, the Lord President began with some motions and complaints relating to Ireland, particularly that merchants might have liberty to carry over arms to make sale of, provided 'twas to none but Protestants, supposing them disarmed, and that this would be the cheapest way to furnish them. But it appearing impracticable that these merchants could discriminate between Papists and Protestants (tho' many merely imaginary expedients were proposed) it came to nothing. Then my Lord Huntington, in a set elaborate speech, brought the Bishops on the stage again in relation to the Earl of Danby's plea of his pardon, whether or no they were to have votes as to its validity, being (after a manner) in the case of Blood; for if his pardon should prove not good, then he had confessed his guilt of what he is accused. This was not the first time it had been argued, and with mutual heat and ardency; but the Bishops and their cause found so many champions that my Lord President himself moved to have the debate adjourned *sine die*. The King then took notice to many of that House, particularly to my Lord Wharton, of that barbarous murder

of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who going from Edinburgh to his own house in his coach and six horses, only in company with his daughter, and singly attended by one footman, a dozen of the Conventiclers overtook his coach some two or three miles from his own house, discharged several pistols into the coach, shot him, after dragged him out of the coach, and in the sight of his daughter barbarously murdered him, giving eight mortal wounds. The King expressed great indignation against both the assassinates and their faction, of whom we since hear two are taken.

I shall only add to the Votes an account how the Commons came to resolve to sit on Sunday. It was on the motion of Mr. Luson Gore [Leveson Gower] that all the time was so spent on lesser affairs that the main chance was most neglected,—the safety of the King's person and the Protestant religion during his reign and his successor's. 'Tis true there was a zealous vote passed Sunday was se'nnight for a bill to be brought in to banish the Papists, and next morning was delivered accordingly, and had ever since lay still on the table, as if that which indeed was our greatest was our least concern. And, therefore, since all other days were anticipated by appointments, he moved Sunday next might be appointed to that important consideration. This speech set many's zealous tinder on fire. Some guided theirs against the evil ministers, others against the evil principles imbibed at Court. Others excused both in comparison of the ill ones of the other sex, urging Samson's being betrayed by his Delilah, and Solomon outwitted by strange women, and that no good could be expected whilst the French interest and the Popish both were centred in one person (which some did not stick to name), and she admitted a place in the King's bosom. From these premisses was drawn the conclusion of that Sunday sitting vote.

Thursday, the 8th.—The Lords received the Earl of Danby's petition for an order for his counsel to plead for him, without which they pretended they durst not do it; which they granted accordingly. A petition also came in from the other five imprisoned Lords for a week's longer delay of their trial by reason of the remoteness of their witnesses; but that was denied them. Then at a conference the Commons gave in their exceptions against the Lords' amendments of the *Habeas Corpus* Bill (which I also enclose), and at another conference the Commons desired (according to Sir Thomas Clarges' report) that a Select Committee of theirs might join with one of the Lords for adjusting the methods in order to the Lords' trials. This cost a long and late debate. In conclusion, the Lords were so tender of admitting anything that might look like letting in the Commons to any shadow of judicature that (by half in half) it was carried in the negative, and so adjourned till the afternoon, then only receiving the *Habeas Corpus* Bill.

That address concerning Duke Lauderdale is long and a very harsh style, but if I can transcribe it it, shall also be enclosed; but many of the members were very bold with His Grace.

Friday, May 9.—The Lords began with a conference at which they signified to the Commons that, rather than delay the Money Bill, they would recede from their amendments, so that the Bill was forthwith brought up to the Lords' Bar, with a Bill for the payment of Sir Francis Drake's debts, and there passed by His Majesty. Then their Lordships at another conference told the Commons they could not agree to join a Bill of theirs with one of the Commons in a matter of judicature without injury to themselves, being the Supreme Court of Judicature. The rest of the morning spent about the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, which they adjourned to the afternoon and then finished.

The Commons were much dissatisfied at one passage of their Speaker, whose ignorance pleaded his excuse. As soon as the Black Rod appeared to summon them and their Money Bill up to the Lords' Bar, without orders the Speaker whipped out of the Chair, took up the two bills as they lay upon the table, and away he goes with them, not minding the many calls on him to return back to the Chair, where 'tis said he very dully delivered a very dull speech (but as long as its subject was money, it was taken well enough with all its faults). At his return Mr. Sacheverell, as I take it, moved he might be sent to the Tower, and the train took till it had like to have blown him up. But it being considered rather as an error of weakness than wilfulness was remitted; but it occasioned that order for a Committee to inspect precedents in such cases. When the Commons met in the afternoon, they were much nettled at the Lords' refusal to join a Committee with theirs on that subject to methodise the trials, whence followed those sharp votes.

This day the Earl of Danby came to my Lord Great Chamberlain's chamber, by the Prince's lodgings, expecting his trial, whence he sent in his petition, humbly complaining to their lordships that all his counsel had left him, being so awed by the Commons' votes the night before that he could not prevail with them so much as to come to Westminster. He besought their lordships to consider his condition: matter of law was to be argued for his life, and no lawyer durst argue for him. At a conference the Lords communicated it to the Commons. And at a conference the Commons also pressed the necessity of having all methods adjusted by a Committee of both Houses in order to the trials. This was largely debated in a full House, consisting of ninety temporal and sixteen spiritual Lords, in which were strange kinds of divisions of all sorts. At last the question was put whether they would allow such a Committee. It was carried not to allow by two votes, 54 and

52. Then the proxies were called. They were but four (for no lord who hath not taken the oaths and test could make a proxy), and then it was carried the same way by two, one for agreeing with the Commons, and three for not agreeing. The winning side seemed most distrustful before the question was put, and the losers as confident.

The Commons' Votes mention a late fire that thus happened at a house called the New Prison at Clerkenwell, to which amongst many others a priest happened to be committed, who 'tis thought set his own chamber on fire on purpose. For it first took at the wainscot, and after he might have come out of his chamber, nay was called upon to do it, but obstinately refused, and as it is believed burned himself a martyr. It burnt down the house and the two next to it, when great mercy and diligence stopped it. It is said that the turnkey to that gaol was a Papist, that he opened all the doors, set all prisoners at liberty, and is fled. This is the truest account I can yet learn.

That passage that mentions Charles Bertie was on this account. The Committee of the Commons found several sums charged on his name under the notion of secret service. These sums he was required to give an account for. His answer was they were received by His Majesty's special order, and paid out by the same authority, and he had accounted for them to His Majesty and had his discharge, and now could not recollect the particulars, nor durst he if he could without His Majesty's special order. For this he stands committed. The great reasons for this inquisitiveness were these two:—1. To discover who were pensioners last Parliament, and members. 2. What sums fell to my Lord Danby's share; though Charles Bertie offers to clear the latter on his oath, and cannot accuse the former.

Just now, being past 9 at night, the Lords have agreed to sit to-morrow (though Sunday) as well as the Commons, in order to a free Conference to adjust all methods and ceremonies for the trials of the Lords, but restrained their managers from admitting any debate in points of judicature.

Sir William Temple to Ormond.

1679, May 10, London.—I received by last post from my brother an account of some discourse he had with your Grace upon the late changes happened here, and upon some talked of there, whereof I can give your Grace no certainty, nor do I believe any deliberations have yet been upon them. I remember it was once mentioned to make a reduction of the great numbers of Councillors there, or some new constitution like what has been done here; and this being then fresh, the King and several of his Privy Council seemed inclined to it. But the affairs of the Parliament having taken up all thoughts here since that time, have I doubt left them none either for Ireland or foreign matters, how necessary

soever. I confess when that about the Council in Ireland was mentioned I was not in my own opinion determined whether it was a thing very important to the King's service there, considering how much [*illegible*] those affairs (which are things of great moment) are to receive from the Privy Council here. And on the other side I know not how such a constitution could be made, if it should fall into the debate of a numerous Committee of the Council here. Therefore I believe if your Grace should think it necessary, you were best able to make the digestion of it and submit your thoughts upon it to His Majesty, who might that way easiest fix a resolution then regarding debates here.

I suppose what my brother speaks about calling a Parliament there is a matter likewise the best to be advised from thence. At least I am sure all that relates to that kingdom is so much out of my head that I am a very ill judge of it; and for that as well as some other particular reasons I took care to have my name excused in the list of that Committee of Council where it was upon the first naming. But I shall never desire to excuse myself upon any occasions of your Grace's service, nor obey any commands with greater satisfaction, and my brother may at any time transmit them to me without the trouble he tells me you were pleased to think of giving yourself. For the rest I will assure your Grace that since I writ last to you from the Hague, I have ever continued the same designs of ending all public thoughts, having never found pleasure in them further than I could propose to myself some great public end, which since that period I have ever despaired of. In whatever condition or place I happen to pass the rest of my life I beg your Grace to believe that I shall be ever with the same true and constant passion what I have been so long, etc., etc.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1679, May 10, Dublin.—I shall only at this time say to the last of the proposals in order to the calling of a Parliament, which only can provide effectually for the present and future security of this kingdom, that I have very frequently importuned the Ministers of State in England to hasten the calling of one. But things nearer home have come so thick and cross upon them that I do not wonder their own concerns took up all their time and thoughts. My despatches concerning this particular lie still before the King, and those who have succeeded in the management of affairs, and they are by every post told they do so; yet no return is made . . . *

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, May 11, Dublin.—I have yours of the 3rd and 6th, and in one of the former date from my Lord Longford I had the queries relating to my vast gettings, small estate before

* The greater part of this letter has been rendered illegible by fire.

the Rebellion and miscarriage since, which it was not hard to find. For they are of at least ten years' standing, and many of them composed by Peter Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin, now prisoner in this Castle. So that whoever brought them is not to value himself upon the service. It were of use to have any new objections, if there are any such really framed, as I much suspect there are not; unless he that brought the queries composes them himself and would have them pass for the work of some dangerous engineers. I wish he may be pressed to produce them, yet not so as that he should doubt he is suspected. For it is safer as the world goes to anger twenty quiet honest men than one busy knave that cares not what he says or swears. I have such computations as you desire, but I am not of opinion they should be exposed in answer to libels or to stop mouths, because it will not do this work, but draw on replies and rejoinders fruitless and endless.

Copy.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, May 13, London.—The honour of your Grace's letter of the 7th of May I last night received, and am clearly of your Grace's opinion that the part of the Litany you mention is a most requisite prayer for us now to use. Our sitting on Sunday (a day much fitter for other duties) did produce an accommodation between the Commons and us (when things flew very high), and I now believe the trial about the imprisoned Lords will soon begin; but whether in the first place with my Lord of Danby or the other five is a question, and by them believed of importance; since my Lord of Danby's friends would gladly have him the last, and those who are concerned for the other five desire his may be the first, which I am sure it will be. In the opinion of many very able men he has pitched upon a plea of very great hazard, the legality or illegality of the pardon being the point that must either acquit or condemn him.

What the Commons did on Sunday the enclosed will inform your Grace; which though you may perhaps receive from other hands I have adventured to send your Grace, who will I believe find that in some particulars all men are not of one mind. Yesterday the Bill for the trial of Peers was at a Committee of the whole House passed, and ordered to be engrossed. It provided that at the trial of any peer for the future fifty-one peers shall be returned, that forty-five at least of that number shall appear, and that it may be lawful for the prisoner to except against twelve, the major part of the remaining number being to clear or cast him.

There are almost every second night attempts to fire houses, which very often succeed, and infinitely enrage the people here against the Papists, whom they look upon as the promoters of this design, those that are taken proving to be of that profession.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, May 13.—Last night I received your letters of the 3rd and 6th of this month. The first related to the affairs of my Lord Marquis of Winchester, of which I cannot yet give you an account, my intention being to deal cautiously and with advice for several reasons. To your last relating to discourses of accusations, I am confident my Lord of Shaftesbury does all he can, and employs Thornhill and one Mansel that was cashiered in Ireland. St. Leger this morning told me of libellous queries in the hand of the former, and will endeavour to get me a sight of them. I will use my endeavours to get such a discovery of this fellow's practice as to have him punished, which consequently may concern others also. I intend to deliver Mr. Secretary your letter, and to conjure him neither to make use of it, nor to let it be known. My Lord of Longford having communicated to him the scope of that letter upon occasion of a letter my Lord Chancellor writ about himself in that concern, I thought he might suspect our confidence in him if we should conceal our intentions, though our purpose be changed, as will appear, I believe, reasonable unto you by Sir Robert Southwell's last letter writ by my Lord Chamberlain's and my advice.

I did buy a picture for you of Mr. Van Hill, who printed the paper concerning your transactions since the Plot. I took that occasion to qualify him, rather than give him dry money. Fifty guineas I gave him. They say it is touched by Vandyke. The history is King Solomon, and I will send it by the first opportunity.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1679, May 13, St. James's Square.—Whither the designs that have been on foot, and our fears upon that account, may carry us it is impossible to foresee: time only can discover. The House of Commons on Sunday last went so high as to vote that a bill should be brought in to disable the Duke of York from coming to the Crown. The foundation of this vote had been laid the Sunday before by that of declaring that the Duke's being a Papist and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown had been the great occasion of the Plot, and was now improved by an abstract of so much of Coleman's letters as related to his Highness being reported to the House. The harshness of this vote to the royal family was alloyed by another of resolving to defend the King's person and the Protestant religion with their lives and fortunes; and that if His Majesty should come to a violent death (which God forbid) they would revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, May 13.—If I part with my Steward's place and shall be removed from this, it is not like I shall have much joy or

security in living in this kingdom, or perhaps at London. And you know though I should have occasion to be there your mother cannot in the winter season. You may therefore inquire out a convenient retreat for her anywhere within ten mile about London, so it be up the river. In this case my family will be so much lessened that a reasonable house will serve us both (I mean my wife and I). You may make this inquiry on pretence of taking it for yourself and your children to retire in the heat of the season, or upon any other occasion, without naming your mother or me. This affair need not make more haste than this bearer will make. His under officer would not stay but upon such terms as, if allowed to him, would by the example have brought great disorder into the stables.

A—— B—— to Ormond.

1679, May 13, Wandsworth.—The Revolutions since '67 have appeared to me and my thinking friends the inevitable consequences of my old Lord's banishment; not that we were so partial as to believe that if he had died in '66 his place might not have been supplied to all purposes, and the Government continued steady. But the House of Commons debauched by Committee to serve that turn were never afterwards true to their trust, and a new method of retaining pensioners dissolved the very essence of that assembly, who represented not those that chose them, but those that fed them. Happily were they dissolved, though the violence of their successors gives not any hope of a speedy composure. Such of them as come to me (for I rarely go to London) say moderate proceedings can bring no remedy, pretending from private papers to have found the design so laid that it may be yet carried on, if not stopped by these extraordinary severe courses. The particulars I dare not mention, save what is public, that His Royal Highness did assure the Pope upon his arrival to the Crown he would extirpate the Protestant religion in these three kingdoms, and he did obtain a pardon from Rome for marrying his daughter to the Prince of Orange. In the debate Sir William Coventry very dexterously interposed "Before any man can speak clearly it is necessary to know whether you intend after the decease of the King without issue to drive the Government to a Commonwealth, or only to change the line?" The cry was universal, "No Commonwealth, no Commonwealth, we abhor the thought of it." Neither do I find in private discourse there is any so mad amongst them as to design the Duke of Monmouth. Earnest they are to prove the Queen accessory to the murder of Sir Edward Godfrey and the late Plot, that beheading her they may make way for any Protestant lady to the King's bed. I was yesterday told that the heads of a Bill against the Duke drawn by a private hand, to be offered the Committee, make his landing in England or Ireland treason, that

he shall be apprehended by the next constable and condemned by the four next Justices of Peace, and executed within the space of forty-eight hours after his landing. But certainly the Committee will be more modest. For four hundred gentlemen as there are, the most considerable for birth and estate of any in their counties, will not admit it in these times, should the Committee bring it in.

It is thought sufficient to avoid all the Acts of the last Parliament if the House of Commons can prove forty members were in constant pension for their votes ; and this they doubt not to do though Ch. Barton denies them his book. The Long Robe tell them it is treason both in the giver and the receiver, so they design to try both Ch. Barton and several others besides the old members. Angry men assure me they have a list where they find enough to hang us in the shire town of every county in England and Wales : those that escape with life shall forfeit their estates and be branded upon record to all posterity.

Lest any accident should cause their dissolution or prorogation without their own consent there is a Remonstrance to be ready for publication ; and indeed considering the exigence of His Majesty's affairs I do not see how he can subsist without a Parliament, and none can be chosen that will be of another temper. Chief Justice North will certainly be removed as soon as the House of Commons is at leisure to hear the report from the Committee concerning the judgment (some years since) in the case between his brother-in-law, then Sheriff of Suffolk, and Sir S. Barnardiston ; and besides his being displaced he will be fined and incapacitated. Judge Wyndham will be removed upon the same score, though with a more gentle censure, as drawn in by North, who is said to have solicited the other judges to disagree with Chief Justice Hale, Twysden, Rainsford and Wild.

Many discourses have been concerning your Grace's removal from the Government of Ireland ; and that of the three competitors, Lords Essex, Halifax, and Roberts, two have still mutually joined against the third ; which occasions that neither succeeds in his pretensions ; nor do I discover that any other is in prospect, though my Lady Ranelagh defames your Grace more maliciously than ever, and there have been and daily are frequent meetings both public and private for that purpose.

It is thought they will fall seriously on Sir Thomas Chicheley concerning the stores, that they will hang Pepys, remove and fine Sir Richard Holmes, Col. Legge, Sir Anthony Deane, and many other Governors and seamen. The House of Commons has but one work for seven years, and will most certainly change much in the constitution of the Government after this King's death ; making the Parliament annual, or at most triennial, and giving them a power to propose

three to each office of trust, and the succeeding day to choose one. I could enlarge on this were your Grace at the same leisure to read that I am to write, which I am sure you are not.

Your Grace's most obedient and devoted servant,

A. B.

P.S.—If His Majesty do not remove Lauderdale, there is an impeachment ready to present to the House of Commons next leisure day, and there are heads drawn of an impeachment against my Lord Anglesey.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, May. 13, London.—Sunday, May 11. Both Houses dispensed with the peculiar duties of that day out of zeal to the public. The Commons designed it ever since last Wednesday, as the Votes of that day declare, to proceed where they left that day was a fortnight. The Lords having on Saturday voted no Committee, concluded to despatch the same work by free conferences, the adjusting of the methods for the trials being of no small importance, for till then the trials could not commence. So they sat designedly to establish this medium, and accordingly delivered the proposal at a conference, to which 'twas once thought the Commons would have submitted; but some believe, whispers creeping between the two Houses, they were emboldened to stand their ground and desire a free conference on that account, which being granted the point was quaintly debated: my Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal and Lord Ailesbury being the only speakers for the Lords, tho' Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Halifax and others were managers also. The talkers for the Commons were Sir William Coventry, Mr. Poule, Mr. Swinfen, Mr. Hamden, Mr. Symons and one Mr. Paul Foley (one newly started up into great vogue in that House). In fine, the Commons promising they would not invade the Lords' judicature, and it having been carried but by two votes the day before to reject that expedient by a Committee of both Houses, as too invasive of the rights and privileges of that House, and the King uneasy to have such a *punctilio* suspend a matter of so great importance as was the trial of the Lords, which so absolutely depended on the adjusting all methods, etc., of it, the Lords condescended to yield up that point which had been so stoutly adhered to at two debates, and sent a message to give notice to the Commons that they had done so, named their Committee of twelve, which may be found in the Commons' votes, and appointed time and place, and so adjourned past three in the afternoon. After the Commons had appointed their Committee (which was four added to the twelve of the Committee of Secrecy) with great impatience they fell on the work of that day. The Report being made, abstracted out

of those letters and papers of the Committee of Secrecy relating to the Duke, the result was that they were convinced he held a constant correspondence with the Pope, which so inflamed their zeal for the King's person, and the safety of the Protestant religion, that the severest proposals were received with the loudest welcome. They ran so fast that my Lord Cavendish, Sir Thomas Lee, Sir Thomas Meres and Sir Thomas Littleton (heretofore with many others accounted the greatest zealots) could not keep pace with them, nor palliate so severe a vote against the Duke's succession. So bitter a pill that all the gilding and sweeting that followed in relation to the King's person and Protestant religion (tho' excellent good in themselves) will not make it to be swallowable either by King or House of Lords. It was past ten at night 'ere that House rose. It was remarkable to hear how many of the young members of that House, who did not use to deny themselves their plentiful meals, gloried in their kind of martyrdom of being almost starved on this account. Yesterday morning the Committees of both Houses met. The Commons, by agreement at the free conference, were to deliver their proposals as to the methods, which were these four :—

1. That the trial of the Lords (which was to have come on this present Tuesday by the Lords' former order) might be respited, and not fixed till all else was fully adjusted.

2. That they might have a view of all former drafts of Commissions to Lord High Stewards (that they might either know which to approve or what to except against that method).

3. That the Bishops might not be at the trials (urging the precedent of my Lord Strafford's trial, that the Lords themselves offered it to the Commons, and they expected the same now), though I can hear no other argument used besides that their absence would increase the accommodation of more room.

4. To know whether their Lordships intended to go any new way in this trial, for if they trod in the old steps then the Bishops were to absent.

The two first were consented to, but as far as the two latter their Lordships told them they had no instructions to give them any answer. And indeed when it was reported to the House the Lords did not so much as give it any resolution : which when ended Mr. Bedloe brought three witnesses to the Bar to prove that one of his material witnesses of the Plot was sent out of the way. It seems he was a tailor's son, and that my Lord Powis had taken the father for his tailor, and he had forced away his son as the witnesses prove, and that he when on shipboard complained that it troubled his conscience that he could not reveal what he knew, and would fain have landed again. I wonder my friend Bedloe should at this time of day be in want of a material witness. The

rest of yesterday the Lords spent in finishing a Bill for trial of Peers in the interval of Parliament (which it seems hath been thrice refused by the Commons in the last Parliament), but why I do not see, since it only relates to the Lords. I shall only add to the Commons' votes that they spent many hours of that day on a jealousy conceived from the sending twenty field pieces to Portsmouth. Why field pieces to the garrison, unless merely because George Legg was the Governor and the Duke's servant. He handsomely owned himself to be so, and the great obligations he had received from him, and that he took it to be an honour to him to be so. Some grumbled at his gratitude, but most did justly commend it.

This morning the Committee of both Houses met, at which the Commons seemed somewhat dissatisfied at the having a Lord High Steward, but more at the preface to his Commission: it beginning "Whereas there is an absolute necessity that we make a Lord High Steward," &c.; and most that they had yet no answer to that request that no Bishop should sit and vote, and that till they had a resolution in that particular the Commons were resolved they would do nothing. This being reported to the House, they first agreed to alter the Commission, and let it run thus: "At the instance and request of the Lords, the Lord High Stewards are made," &c.; and also declared that a Peer might be tried though there were no Lord High Steward.

Then followed that six hours' debate whether the Bishops should sit at the trial. All owned the point most curiously and nicely debated, and either side appeared confident of carrying it. But when the question came to be put in a very full House, though almost 8 o'clock, this was resolved: "That the Lords Spiritual have a right to stay in Court in capital causes till such time as judgment of death comes to be pronounced," and scarce twenty votes against it. The Commons rose early, did little, chiefly listening what the Lords would do, but I suppose tomorrow will be a busy day in that House. All things run to that wrack and extremity that I fear they will break at last.

Viscount Massereene to Ormond.

1679, May 13, Pall Mall, London.—Seeing I am by the honour of yours of the 26th of April so well assured that what I formerly wrote had good acceptance, I presume to acquaint your Grace when the discourse of removing all Papists out of the cities and corporations of Ireland was most rife, I drew up some remarks upon the clauses in the two Acts, and acquainted my Lord President and others of the Council how needful it was to inspect what had been done already, and thereby to measure and bring into view the proceedings in my Lord Berkeley's Government, at which time a door was opened to let in more than all others besides. For I had observed both in the time of your Grace's Government and my Lord

Ossory's deputation admissions were rare, and I thought it more fair to see what had been done besides the Acts and Rules or against them rather than make a general one of so great comprehension, by which some trading and useful men were removed who perhaps had transgressed no rules in their admission or residence. I cannot affirm, my Lord, what effect this had, but with my Lord Ossory's allowance and command (at my first coming) I put a paper of this sort into my Lord President's and Lord Essex's hands, and discoursed the same with my Lord Halifax, Lord Roberts, and other lords of the Privy Council of my acquaintance, not altogether without their opinion of its seeming reasonable.

The further arming of Protestants in Ireland is what I perceive is deemed necessary, and as I was before confident your Grace would approve of what was done for the safety of Ireland, so I can now with greater confidence assert it. And from the first time I observed a zeal of this sort I humbly desired my Lord Ossory to join in, upon the belief and assurance that whatsoever seemed most for that kingdom's security would be most grateful to you, who had the greatest interest of any subject in it.

The importances now depending exclude the present consideration of these and other affairs of Ireland, and all overtures that may seem now unreasonable ; the votes about the militia, the succession to the Crown, the inspection of what arms had been given forth and what are in the stores —of which some were given and distributed by Mr. Bertie, Secretary to Lord Danby—with other votes, and the method now laying down by the Committee of both Houses for trial of the Lords in the Tower take up all the time of the Parliament ; and by these and other particulars your Grace will this post have an account of, you will see how far the Houses do still manifest an apprehension of the danger to these kingdoms from the Popish party.

One Fitzgerald, a priest, was taken on Saturday last by Sir William Waller, and the King and Council yesterday sent for Sir William, commended his activeness, and gave orders bail should be taken for this Fitzgerald, he having formerly had some allowance from the King to reside. I need not trouble your Grace with the passages of the news. You have it from better hands. Secretary Coventry communicated your Grace's recommendation about the Lough in my favour, but at the same time told me he would write back, and did so, for your Grace's appointment. Now some blanks should be filled up : till which time that business is at a stand.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, May 14, Wednesday.—The Committee of both Houses being met, instead of their proceeding to adjust the methods in order to the trials, the Commons denied the exposition

of their last night's resolve in the case of the Bishops, that they might plainly and clearly understand in what cases they should and in what cases they should not sit and vote. The Lords present gave their sense, derived from the debates of the House and words of the resolve, but for their conclusive satisfaction promised to report their doubt to the House and did so; where the unanimous interpretation was that in all cases relating to law the Bishops are to sit and vote; but when judgment relating to life and death is to be given then they would withdraw. The rest of the day the Lords spent in perfecting and finishing the Bill for trial of Peers in the interval of Parliament, which they ordered to be sent down, and so adjourned, it being too late to begin any new business.

The Commons seemed at first to answer the King's spur with great mettle, in relation to setting forth a Fleet, but after the Lords had made and declared that interpretation they cooled on a sudden, adjourning that important debate, so necessary for the nation's safety, to so remote a day. For all things else relating to that House I humbly refer your Grace to their paper of Votes.

Thursday, 15.—When the Committee of both Houses met, that pretended expeditious way of despatch proved a dilatory one; for the Commons not having reported the Lords' declaration of their sense in relation to the Bishops, which for want of time was omitted, pretended they were tied up by their instructions not to proceed in any other matter till full satisfaction was given in that of the Bishops: which advantage my Lord Privy Seal presently took to arraign this new expeditious way of a Committee, when had they trod in the old track of conferences all had been quickly adjusted. But since he saw no prospect of such a settlement of affairs as was proposed, he would that they might appoint a day for the trial of the five Lords. For it had no small reflection on the Supreme Court of Judicature that they should be ignorant of those forms and methods they ought to observe in judicature, and the whole nation greedily expected the trial. Also the Lords themselves had petitioned for it, nay the Commons had told them they were ready for prosecution, so that the fault would singly lie at their door; and how could they answer it to Magna Charta that the King's free subjects should be under so long a durance without being tried. But his lordship happened to be interrupted by a Bill the Commons sent up for re-imposing the Records that had been burnt in the Temple, which being read and ordered a second reading my Lord Privy Seal resumed his discourse, pressing for a day to be fixed for the Lords' trial. But the Lord President, after he had magnified the greatness of that Lord's parts, his courage, and zeal for justice, craved leave at this trial to differ, considering how important it was to settle that doubt of the validity or invalidity of the pardon, which tho' he should allow to be duly

obtained, and in itself without exception; yet, considering it was granted depending an impeachment, the whole frame of Government turned on that single thing. For if it could be such a King might be that would thereby shelter all criminals from justice, nay and tho' there was but one pardon now appearing yet who could tell but that might be the case of all other Lords when this should be allowed. The same Lord replied, that could not be; for had they pardons by them they had made a plea of innocence, and so disowned their pardons, and therefore moved for their trial when there could be no such rub; but the House seeing every one set for the debate, and it being late, adjourned both debate and House till next morning.

Amongst the Commons' proceedings of this day the most remarkable was (and possibly a more remarkable one never did happen, nor I hope ever will again) that bill to disenable the Duke of York from inheriting. It loads him with the guilt of correspondence with the Pope and Cardinals for the subversion of our religion, nay and to be consenting to the death of the King; not only disinheriting him, but utterly banishing him, and make it treason so much as to correspond with him, nay to own him the rightful heir. Monday is the next day, as I understand, for the second reading. Some struggled to have delayed the first reading, urging the thinness of the House, occasioned by a dog match at Hampton Court, and a horse match at Bansted Downs; but no argument could stem the tide, and read it was.

Now one word of sport. At Bansted twelve horses run for three plates, a plate a heat, when Roger Pope's horse threw and bruised him, and Tom Wharton's threw him and he was taken up for dead, yet is alive again but much battered, and this they call sport. The Duke of Monmouth escaped narrowly. There was so vast a crowd no other could be expected. My providence (to which success makes me [illegible] kept me from being a jockey, to avoid which I avoided that very place.

Friday, 16.—The Lords received another report from their members of the Committee of both Houses, that the Commons did adhere and would not enter upon the debate of any other methods till they were fully satisfied as to the Bishops withdrawing at all the trials. Some looked on this as too much imposing on the Lords, and, against the engagement of the Commons, an intermeddling with judicature; others, according as their judgment led them, advocating for it. But this brought on the adjourned debate again, it being urged that if the Commons would be rusty that would not excuse a failure of justice in the Supreme Court of Judicature; nor could they be so ignorant of their own methods in such trials as to need consulting the Commons. Therefore it was moved that a day of trial ought to be appointed, and at the debate of this controversy there

was mutual calling to the bar between the two great lords the Lord President and Privy Seal. The latter took, it seems, offence at two expressions : the first that the Earl of Danby's pardon was called an arbitrary pardon, the other that in aggravating the crimes of the Earl of Danby beyond those of the other five Lords this expression happened, ' that the Earl of Danby is a great man still.' This was wrested to asperse the King, and had been so construed had not my Lord Ailesbury's notes cleared my Lord Shaftesbury, by whom he sat, that the words only were ' he may be a great man still.' Some observed it was one surer way to make one less by the head, and that the same was a sure way to prevent greatness, which it seems was the great crime. But my Lord Essex would not allow that all the crime of which my Lord Danby stood impeached of, though never so true, could equal to theirs who sought the murder of the King, the change of religion, and subversion of the Government. After all the strugglings and fencings by the great masters of that art came that common end of all debates in Parliament, the question. By which it was carried by four to one that on Thursday next the five Popish Lords shall come to their trials, and so adjourned.

The Commons, as their Votes and former resolutions show, did little ; nothing of importance. I forgot that as soon as the question was over-ruled for the trial of the five Lords, the Bishops desired leave to withdraw at the trial, which was granted accordingly. However they lodged their claim of right. This day the Lords began with private bills, till in a fuller House they received the report from their part of the Committee of both Houses, that the Commons were not satisfied with the order for the trial of the Lords, nor the Bishops withdrawing in their case, but expected it should be owned that the Bishops had no right to sit upon any of the trials, the contrary being implied from their lodging their claim to it. They also expected the Earl of Danby should come first to his trial, because they had demanded judgment against him already, and that till they were satisfied fully in that particular relating to the Lords Spiritual they would not proceed to adjust the methods of the trials. This inflamed the [illegible] and made the Lords not only adhere to their resolution of trying the Lords on Thursday next, but they also ordered their Committee of Privileges to sit this afternoon to debate and consider former precedents in order to the methodising the trial, and that they might have the more time they rose the earlier.

The Commons I leave to speak for themselves in their Votes. What I infer from both Houses is that we are almost run aground. For the Commons are determined to try the Earl of Danby first ; the Lords have ordered as they conceive they had right to do, the trial of the five Lords first. Again, the Commons are not content that the Lords Spiritual

should withdraw and lodge their claims, but would have the Lords confirm their vote that the Bishops have no right to sit in such judicatures. And I really believe the Lords are determined to yield in neither. We are on the very brink of confusion. I have sent your Grace the copy of the Bill against the Duke of York. I wish it were better written, that it might not create a double trouble.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, May 15.—This day in Council it is ordered that all the papers and accounts relating to Ireland and my Lord Ranelagh should be returned into Ireland to be heard and judged there. This is now determined, and I suppose the order will be signed to-morrow. If there be any further proceedings or alteration your Grace shall know it. I hope this may be to the good of Ireland and your satisfaction.

ORMOND TO SIR STEPHEN FOX.

1679, May 17, Dublin.—Among all the alterations I hear of I am pleased with none so much as with that that fixes you in the Paymaster's place. I thought your remove from it was hard, and little for the King's service, and I hope your restitution to it may show it. If this part of our intelligence be true, you are able to tell me whether the officers that were of Colonel M'Carty's regiment and disbanded here without pay are to expect any for the time they served. Their pretensions are the same with those of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment, who were reformed when the regiment was sent hither because they would not take the oaths required. For these Irish officers as well as these Scotch quit their employments in France to serve His Majesty, and they are told the Scotch officers have or are to receive their pay. It will be charity to let these poor gentlemen know whether they are to hope for anything or no, for their condition is most miserable. All the stock, even of clothes, they brought out of France is spent, and several of them are in prison for their lodging and diet. Their religion brings them into suspicion here, and if they had wherewith to transport themselves to begin the world again, I dare not give them passports and testimonials. Besides those of M'Carty's regiment there are some who served in the Duke of Monmouth's regiment; three of them of my acquaintance, and for whom I am particularly concerned, Major John Butler, Captain James Purcell and Captain Sarsfield. Your return cannot be too soon, for I would gladly be freed from the importunity and sight of men that deserve some consideration and relief, which is not in my power to give them.

Copy.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 17.—I discoursed this day with the King about the affair between you and my Lord Winchester, and was

careful to express that you would always be as ready to serve him as if you did continue in that station, which you would only part with to render your condition more easy. I assured him also that if he did not relish this proposition that the commerce should be broken by us, without His Majesty giving any disgust by not affording his consent. All his answer was that he would think upon it, for it was a matter of consequence. If there be any further progress in this matter I will take care to have your money put in sure hands, and if possible shall raise the price. This is all I have to inform you of at present.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 17, Whitehall.—I have your Grace's of the 30 of April both from my Lord of Ossory and Mr. Ryder. I find by my Lord of Ossory that the thoughts of your coming over are laid aside for the present; and for my part I think it is well they are. For your presence here would but precipitate those designs of your enemies by giving them the alarm, and your Grace's moving to come over (if any accident should happen in your absence) would not 'scape odd reflections according to the humour of this present conjuncture; and it would be hard for your friends to give a reason for your sudden quitting your ship in such danger; and if it should be said you did not think it were so, that would be judged a greater crime than any I yet can learn they have against you. All that I hear they yet pretend to are but the old ones in my Lord of Meath's time, and were framed out of my Lord Bishop of Meath's letter. But in all events by staying where you are and taking no notice of whispers and rumours you will still gain time, which is very considerable at present. Something very determining will necessarily appear after the trial of these Lords, neither do I perceive by their proceedings with the Duke and my Lord Lauderdale that they intend to proceed by way of accusation, especially where the matter is not plain; and the great changes that seem to be intended will not allow them leisure of formal trials. They frequently mention the putting of all places both by sea and land into the hands of confiding persons; whether that will be granted or no I know not (I mean they being judges) who are such, if that be once obtained, I think your Grace will rest satisfied of the consequence. How far His Majesty will struggle, or run with this tempest, I know not. But you being in the House of Lords at the time must needs upon daily occasions oblige you either to weaken your interest there or increase the animosities in the House of Commons, where as yet I do not perceive them increase. The only thing they now talk of is the arming of all Protestants, of which I gave you a hint in my last, and I suppose your best way is to send a list to the Council of those you have armed, and to receive their directions what you shall do

further in that matter, and to ask directions and obey them is all I think can be demanded of one in your station. Thursday is appointed by the House of Lords for the trial of the five Lords. I doubt it will be endeavoured to be deferred by the Commons; but if the Lords persist I know not how it can be avoided. In conclusion I think we are nigh a great crisis, but what resolutions His Majesty will take, or when taken will steadfastly maintain, is to acquaint you with what I know not myself. For my own part, I am resolved to be honest according to my understanding; for my safety I leave it to God's Providence, for I confess the danger is beyond my skill. I pray God it may not be beyond theirs that have more share in the guidance of affairs than I either have or affect to have. The laying your command at the King's feet I would not dissuade, if I found any inclination in the King towards your removal, but indeed I do not, and the circumstances are much altered. Your danger was formerly principally from Court, and your interest in the then House of Commons was so considerable that it was that which secured you. I would I could write you now that either you or any man of your principles had so prevailing an interest there now. I am now confined to my chambers, and since I have been so there hath a vote passed in the Council for my Lord Ranelagh going personally or sending some one sufficiently authorised to pass his accounts in Ireland. I hear he will struggle all he can to remove it, but I hope he will not be able.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, May 18. Dublin.—You will with this receive such a letter as Sir Robert Southwell tells me it was resolved at his house I should send, and it is ordered that it may be delivered when it may be thought necessary. I confess I cannot well figure to myself such a conjuncture; but it is a time of such sudden and extraordinary variations that I cannot say but that it may so happen that such a letter may be of use. Whenever the doing it shall be in deliberation I desire Mr. Secretary may be consulted, and that he may have no cause to think that anything concerning me is concealed from him. In this strange uncertainty of affairs, I know not what to think, write or do, or for or against what to prepare. Others I suppose under the same uneasiness, but I know nobody that has such a province as I to manage and answer for.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, May 19.—The Lords received that report from the Committee of both Houses that the Commons did adhere to their former vote that the Bishops had no right to sit and vote on the proceedings against any of the impeached Lords in the Tower; and when that was asserted, and other particulars adjusted, they would then proceed first on the Earl

of Danby's pardon, and after to the trial of the five Lords. After this, and another report which was made from the Committee of Privileges of the methods and circumstances they had adjusted in order to all the trials, they began to comment on the former report, each one (according to his inclinations) accusing or excusing it. Some were unwilling to part with the Bishops for the occasion's sake, some for the Bishop's own sakes; some for voting against their votes, as being themselves influenced by the Commons, some as having influenced them: each one abounding in his own sense as infallible, and with severity enough reflecting on theirs that differed. This proved a great trial of skill (though accompanied with great heat, which usually is no small prejudice to it). There was great fencing to renew the question concerning the Bishops' capacity of voting by surprise, which had been twice otherwise resolved, which was so quickly perceived and so well guarded that 'twas not easy for them to come at it. One party (to strengthen which the Duke of Buckingham was come into the House but the day before, and from whence not known) received encouragement from having at last carried that so often desired demand of the Commons to transact by a Committee and not by Conference. And from the same cause and its ill success, the other party inferred greater caution, that Committee being the occasion of all the delays [that] have since happened, being only empowered to make the report of the Commons resolves, not to admit of any debate by which Conferences would quickly have shortened the work. To avoid running into this troublesome question some would have taken advantage of the lateness of the day to adjourn the House, and the others consented so the debate might be adjourned also. That was opposed because there ought to be no such debate: it being urged to be against a standing order of the House that anything being solemnly resolved on a debate by a conclusive question should the same session be resumed again. Then 'twas moved (that no stone might be unturned) that the House would resolve into a Grand Committee (which it seems cannot be denied to any member in any debate) to debate the business; but my Lord Roberts [illegible] their fault that the question being now only adjourn or not adjourn, a bare question was only proper to determine that controversy; and so it proved, and the House only, not the debate, was adjourned. I am sure the season of the year brings on heat apace, and all these airy disputes gained no ground.

The Commons rose the earlier because they were to deliver the enclosed address by three in the afternoon to His Majesty in the Banqueting House. The greatest time they spent was in making amendments in the Bill for banishing the Papists hence, which though not many are enough to delay the despatch of that Bill also.

This day hath been a day of great and learned debate in the Lords' House on a report made from the Committee of both Houses that the Commons immoveably adhered to their vote against the Bishops having votes at trials, and for the trial of the Earl of Danby before the Popish Lords. They discoursed themselves into the old quarrels again. One which it was thought reasonable that the Earl of Danby should be first tried, but then the Bishops' right to vote was first to be adjusted. It was answered that it was so already. However, insensibly the debate began afresh, and lasted in a Committee of the whole House from ten till five. The Duke of Buckingham, who began to appear last Thursday, and first took the oaths on Friday, is said to have spoken scores of times, but, 'twas said, more pleasantly than learnedly, but my Lord President supplied that defect. My Lord Halifax did his part also, but my Lord Hollis (tho 'tis said his gout has changed his stomach for his foot) was not able to appear. But my Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Ailesbury and Lord Roberts, besides the Bishops themselves, had so studied the point of the Bishops' right that my Lord Roberts (whose very adversaries admire him for the day's work) did not only clear the point that the Bishops might sit on trial, but that they equally ought to do it at least as any other Peers, and that the House could not dispense with them; so that the debate was, as it were, yielded in favour of the Bishops without a question. But the trial of the five Lords is ordered to be first, and yet put off from Thursday next to Tuesday (this day sennight) that the Commons may have sufficient time to prepare, notice being ordered to be given tomorrow.

The Commons chiefly spent their day on Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane, who were accused of sundry miscarriages and are committed to the Serjeant at Arms, the first to make his defence on Thursday, and the other on Monday. Thus your Grace shall know more of the matter.

Ormond to Sir William Temple.

1679, May 21, Dublin.—I delayed my return to yours of the 10th inst. in expectation I might have received some directions out of England in relation to this Government, upon the representations of the state of it which have lain long on that side; I think unconsidered, but I am sure without any return that might guide and assist me in the dangers and difficulties I set forth. But having seen what late consultations and debates have produced, and taking measure by them what work is cut out, I do not wonder that so remote a place as this is for the present left to shift for itself.

I had a command to send over a list of the Privy Council of this kingdom, with my opinion what officers ought always to be of it, which I immediately sent; but without any other remarks or advice than what was called for. I have long

thought there was too easy access to that dignity in this kingdom, which brought it to a lower esteem and authority than is requisite where the King governs by deputation. Yet I know not whether so great a reform as seems to be designed will suit with affairs here, or be at this time seasonable. As numerous as the Council is there are certain seasons of the year when a sufficient number cannot be had to carry on the ordinary business, and if a Parliament should be called (a thing I have earnestly pressed for since my landing) perhaps the reducing of so many Councillors would be better after than before.

I am sorry you found any reason to waive being of the Irish Committee of Council, for as your memory will easily recover clear notions of the state of this kingdom, so your kindness to it and your knowledge of the importance of keeping it quiet within and secure from foreign dangers, will warm your thoughts and advices and give them more life than what may proceed from those that have limited considerations. I will not deny that I have some thought of myself when I write you when anything from me or of me shall be under deliberation, being as confident of your friendship as you may be that I am your most affectionate and most humble servant.

Copy.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, May 21, Dublin.—Your mother being at Kilkenny I sent her yours of the 13th inst. for her satisfaction in our private concerns. I remember you said you would proceed with caution and advice in your treaty with the Marquis, which I approve of. Yet I would have you to consider that if an Act of Parliament shall pass concerning the succession, pursuant to the vote of the House of Commons, it is very like all possible provision will be made to render it effectual, and particularly it is probable that oaths agreeable to the design will be required, at least from all considerable officers and Privy Councillors. How I shall be able to digest such an oath I cannot judge till I see it; only I tell you I am somewhat tender in the point of oaths. The matter must be true in my opinion, just in what they bind to, and compatible with other lawful oaths formerly taken by me, or else I shall refuse them, cost me what it will. You are upon the place and will first see how far things tend this way, and may accordingly hasten or retard the negotiation.

Copy.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1697, May 21, London.—By reason of my Lord Chancellor's term affairs it was late 'ere the Lords sat, and because the Committee of Privileges might have the more time to adjust all the preliminaries in order to the trial of

the five Lords next Tuesday, they were under a kind of necessity of rising early; so that the little their lordships did this morning was to read some bills. Only the Duke of Buckingham took the advantage of some discourses on the subject of the trial to propose that since the Bishops ought not to be there the Bench reserved for them might be otherwise employed, since the room was strait and scant, thereby designing to renew the debate of the Bishops' right of sitting again: which as soon as detected was sufficiently decried, as having after so solemn a debate been so solemnly resolved; so the House adjourned.

The Commons made an end of one of their Bills against Popery, but with so many amendments that the work is not yet over. The Bill against the Duke of York found much more opposition than was expected; the number who at first gainsaid it being but 13, and now there appeared against it 128; so that many infer thence that it will scarce pass that House.

Thursday, May 22.—The Lords received a message from the Commons, both to remind them of the condemned priests who were reprieved in order to their examination, yet they had never yet so much as been summoned; and if they had done with them to have them removed to the several counties where they had been condemned, in order to their execution; and also to remind them of a former desire they had made for the Lords and Commons [to join] in an address to the King that the adjacent militia might be drawn together to secure the trials against any manner of disorder or disturbance, chiefly expected from the Papists. As for the former part, the Lords designed for the priests first to appear at the Committee of Examination to confront those who have mentioned them at such meetings and consults, and who will justify to their faces their knowledge of and being engaged in the Plot, to try whether that and hopes of pardon will draw confessions out of them, and according they shall be dealt with after. As to the other part, they not only sent them word they would concur with them in their address, but also that the King had appointed next day at 3 o'clock to receive it. One remarkable passage happened on this debate. My Lord President reflected very severely on the ill consequences of reprieving these priests, that it had revived the spirits of the Papists, legible in their very looks, and so proceeded till my Lord Clarendon gave this interruption that it was the Lord President himself who was the only mover of this reprieve, whose authority was so great that, because he moved it, it was ordered, without any reason asked or given. My Lord President's evasion was that if he had any fault it was tender-heartedness, an infirmity he could not help. But an end was put to that discourse by a message from the Commons to desire a free conference on the amendments to the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, which lasted

so long that as soon as the report was made the Lords adjourned.

The Commons votes show all they did. The accusations against Sir Anthony Deane were aggravated to the height, and some think their measure hard enough at least. But I shall respite my verdict till the judges have given theirs: it being referred to a legal prosecution; and in the meantime they are not expelled the House.

Friday, May 23.—The Lord President reports from the Committee of Lords and Commons that the Commons were dissatisfied in these three points: 1. Whether the message sent them to give them notice of the trial, and their methods, was in the nature of a resolution or a proposal? If the latter there was room left for argument and debate. 2. Whether their lordships intended that for a full answer to their declaration that the Bishops had no right to sit on criminal matters? 3. Whether they would not permit my Lord Danby to be tried first, since they had in this case demanded judgment, or begin with the five Lords? The tardy answers to these questions consumed most of that day. To the first this was the answer: The message did contain their resolution *de bene esse* as matters stood before them, but that if they should see good cause they should be ready to do what was reasonable. As to the second, what they said in relation to the Bishops was the determination of a long and serious debate, and from whence they would not recede. And lastly, as to the third, they saw so many difficulties to be removed, more in relation to my Lord Danby's trial (as that of the pardon, and that of the Bishops who had leave to absent at the five Lords' trials) than in the others, that they had resolved first to go on with the five Lords. One day being spent, and both Houses in the afternoon to wait on the King with their address, they adjourned.

I shall add this account to the Votes of the Commons, that when Sir Stephen Fox appeared he seemed resolute, and (as they termed it) trifled with them, till Boscawen moved that if he would not deal more clearly a bill might be brought in to confiscate his estate, and take away his life: language it seems he could not so well relish, and then submitted to answer questions more readily. I must add one passage more, that when he was to go for his papers, to oblige him to bring all, Sir John Hotham and Sir Robert Peyton were ordered to go with him. But notice being given to His Majesty, he sent my Lord Chamberlain to tell them he would not have Whitehall searched. So that they were fain to trust him, and he his memory. And as they read over the list of all the last Parliament's members he accused and acquitted as he thought fit. The list I have enclosed, with an addition of six of this day distinguished by themselves. It is true this was all done seven years since almost (for he had nothing to do with payments since the Earl of Danby's

Treasurership) yet the guilt is so highly resented as if done but yesterday. And many (if not all) had other pretensions to such pensions than voting in Parliament, as former sufferings, some in the loss of farms in the Excise, some in the Customs, &c.; yet all these are comprehended in the term of pensioners.

In the afternoon both Houses presented their address to the King concerning the adjacent militias being drawn together at the trials. The King's answer was that he would take all possible care for the securing them and the trial against any manner of disturbance, but did not particularly take notice of the militia.

This day, May 24.—Great part of this day the Lords spent in a trial on an appeal by Mr. Ward (my Lord Ward's son) against a judgment obtained by one Mr. Booth, brother to my Lord Delamere, for whom the cases went and the appeal was dismissed. Then the Lords read and committed the Bill for the banishment of Papists. They also considered the Bill of *Habeas Corpus* and its amendments, which will cost another conference for its finishment. There was also a report made from the Committee of Examinations, that it appeared to them by several evidences that there was of late great resorts of Papists to this city, which will quicken the despatch of a Bill of Banishment.

By the Commons' Votes it appears the trial of the Lords is not so near as was expected. For if neither side will yield there can be no trial at all. Delay begins already to flatten the sense of the Plot, only daily new committed follies raises it again. Upon Sir Francis Winnington's report the six separate pensioners, as they call them, were added to the list this day, and they say by Tuesday next they shall bring in a hundred more at least. Thus ends this week.

Sir John Robinson died last night, heart-broken for being turned out of the Tower, where my Lord Alington now is as Constable, and Tom Cheeke as Lieutenant, not Governor and Deputy Governor as was at first intended.

Order of Privy Council to Lord Lieutenant.

1679, May 21.—At the Court at Whitehall. The King's Most Present Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas a letter of the 17th instant from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to Mr. Secretary Coventry was this day read to His Majesty in Council, together with two informations sent therewith signifying the resort of some dangerous fanatic preachers from Scotland into the North of Ireland, and that one Walsh is supposed to be among them who has been so noted an incendiary, and that the arrival of the people happened soon after the late murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews; His Majesty is pleased to order that the Right Honorable Mr. Secretary Coventry do forthwith signify to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that he take all possible care

for the seizure of the said Walsh; as also to prevent and suppress all disorderly conventicles of the fanatics in those parts from whom any danger may be apprehended; and that the arms which are licensed to be imported do not fall into the hands of such dangerous and suspected persons. And whereas this day Mr. John Tasburgh, of Bodney, in the county of Norfolk, hath had a pass to go with his family into Ireland, there to remain for a year and to follow his lawful occasions, having an estate in Connaught and some law suits to prosecute, the Lord Lieutenant at his arrival in Dublin is to cause security to be taken that nothing shall be done to him to the disturbance of the peace. Whereof Mr. Secretary is to give notice accordingly.

[*Signed*] Robert Southwell.

Ormond to Sir Robert Howard.

1679, May 24, Dublin.—I was very glad to receive yours of the 15th of this month, as it was an argument of your recovery and of your friendship to me. I have also received the Order in Council by which my Lord of Ranelagh and his partners are said to be commanded over hither, where in truth they are most properly, if but only to give an account of their undertaking and of a sum of money they borrowed of the King, to enable them to perform which would now be of great use to help to put this kingdom into a better state of defence than it is or can be without some accession to the revenue. I hope the Lords will see His Majesty's Order in Council obeyed, and that so many of the undertakers as are there may not upon any pretence be dispensed with so as to retard the final closing of these accounts. For on that the safety of this kingdom visibly depends, as is in some measure observed by the Lords in their letter of the 16th to me and this Council. Your assistance herein will be very much for the King's service and this kingdom's.

Copy.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, May 24.—This morning I presumed to inquire of the King if he had thought on the proposals I had made him concerning the exchange I mentioned. He told me plainly that his dislike of the person was such as he could not give his approbation, and desired me to break off this treaty by asking too much, or some way to take from him the hardship of a denial; in which I will obey him the best I can. Just now your letter of the 18th with one to Mr. Secretary Coventry is come to my hands. I believe all your friends will be of my mind that the only use to be made of it will be to keep it ready in case of need; men's thoughts being altogether employed upon the affairs depending between both Houses. I have not anything else to give you an account of.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 24, Whitehall.—I have received this post three from your Grace of the 17th inst; one in behalf of my Lord Chief Justice Keating, the others concerning the revenue. The first His Majesty granted, and I shall get the letter signed with what expedition I can; the other is referred to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. And as to the third, your intelligence out of the North, your letter was read in Council, and there His Majesty declared his approbation of your diligence, and requires you will continue to prevent any evil designs, but more particularly that you would endeavour to seize the person of Walsh, and as soon as he is seized to give notice of it hither. It is not a time to write news, and indeed no very safe one to speak truth. You will have accounts of what passeth from several hands, and when you do there will be no need of making reflections on them: the consequences are too visible.

Your former letter concerning arming the Protestants was read at Council and was very satisfactory. This day bringeth us news again of a great quantity of arms shipped for Dublin. They were sold by one Mons. La Terre which giveth the more jealousy, but I hope they are for the use mentioned by your Grace.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, May 25, Dublin.—I am abundantly satisfied that my remove from this place at this time upon my own desire would bring all the inconveniences you mention upon me, and perhaps some that cannot be foreseen. Nor do I know but that the knowledge of my supposing there may be such a conjuncture wherein I ought to beg His Majesty's leave for it may be taken advantage of to my prejudice. Yet I could not refuse the putting such a letter as mine of the 30th of the last month into your hands upon the advice of my friends, and in confidence you would not present it but at a fit time, if any such should happen. My head is so filled with the expectation of some great event from the state affairs were in when you writ that all I can do is but to keep up the outward show of government and the formal part of business with the same preparation you express of doing my duty when I shall understand wherein. The course held with the Duke and Duke of Lauderdale is not a greater argument of haste than it is an instance and exercise of power. There is indeed great disparity in the cases. The subject matter about the Duke as well as his person are the highest that can come in question in our world; but since to the determination of that the Commons allow the King and House of Lords a share from which upon the matter they are both excluded in the other case, for the Lords are not invited to join in the Address, and it is worded as if little were left to the King's consideration: this I say considered, and the unlimited

consequence of such a proceeding, I do not know to which to give the pre-eminence. At the very time this may come to your hands these reflections may seem, as in truth they may be, frivolous and insipid. But I hope you will not think it at any time unreasonable to receive the assurance of my being, &c., &c.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, May 26, London.—The Lord President made a report from the Committee of both Houses that the Commons demanded of them whether they were empowered to give any answer to their propositions in relation to the Lords Spiritual, and the trial of the Earl of Danby's pardon; and that till they were resolved in those two points, and those were adjusted, they could not answer their lordships' propositions preparatory to the trial. They pressed in the close for a positive assent or denial. But their lordships did not at that time enter on any debate of the report; but proceeded to read the Bill for the banishment of Papists from London and the parts adjacent, and went through its amendments, and then read the *Habeas Corpus* Bill and its amendments and returned it to the Commons. Whilst this last Bill was reading came up a message from the Commons to desire their lordships to continue sitting some time longer. Their answer was they would sit a competent time. Immediately came up a message to desire a conference on matters of great importance to the kingdom, and for preserving a good correspondence between the two Houses, which was consented to. Mr. Sacheverell was the person that made the speech. He declared the desire of the Commons to continue a right understanding and good correspondence between the two Houses, urged the necessity of it from the great importance of the affairs depending, owned the crimes of the five Lords to be great, yet as the case stands the trial of the Earl of Danby ought to have the precedency: aggravated his imaginary guilt, placing on his account all the delays of business and all the differences between the two Houses and all the difficulties they have laboured under; reflecting on his not having been committed when first impeached, as what had prevented all this expense of time and treasure which have been the consequence of his ill management; and the delay of justice, notwithstanding they demanded it the 5th of May. Wherefore as they were surprised with the Lords' order of the 7th of May to prepare the Lords' trial before his, they severely reflected on his being permitted to plead his pardon, as what would dash all impeachment if allowed. And why might not the other five Lords also obviate all their trials with the same expedient? Lastly, that his impeachment was first and consequently his trial ought to be so. His speech was long, and therefore was delivered in writing to

their lordships, a paper betwixt reasons and remonstrances; but it being late the Lords adjourned the consideration of it (after they had reduced it into these two points: the Earl of Danby's trial to be first, and the Bishops to be excluded from it) till 5 in the afternoon. The Commons' Votes shall speak for them, so that I have only a short account to add —that when the Lords met in the afternoon they continued the debate on these two points, and then adjourned the debate until next morning.

This morning, 27th.—The Lords as soon as they met resumed the debate warmly enough. Some heats more than ordinary happened between the Marquis of Winchester and Lord Privy Seal. The former was the aggressor, reflecting on the latter as if he sought to govern the House. But that was quenched. But at last the questions were put and carried by above half and half that their lordships would both adhere to their former resolutions concerning the Bishops, as also concerning the trial of the five Lords before the Earl of Danby. They then had a conference concerning the *Habeas Corpus* Bill, which they most luckily agreed.

Then the King sent the Black Rod to the Commons (all this time the five Popish Lords, environed with spectators of both sexes and all qualities, continued in Westminster Hall in order to their trial). The Commons being come to the Lords' bar, and all the Lords with their robes, provided in order to the trial, the King told both Houses that he had hoped and promised himself great good from this session; but such was the disagreement between the two Houses that he found his hopes frustrated, and as the only expedient left referred to the Chancellor, who declared the Parliament prorogued till the 14th of August. Thus all parted in a mist of surprise. The King remanded the Lords to the Tower. The lawyers say this will enlarge the Earl of Danby by pleading his pardon in Westminster Hall, unless it be unadvisable to the King's service. I am sure Irish cattle may come over now. Till the return of the Parliament this is the last trouble I shall give your Grace; on Friday departing to prepare for buck-hunting. This night my Lord O'Brien was re-married to my Lady Sophia Osborne by the Bishop of Exeter, and last night old Sir Charlie Harbord died.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679 May 27.—I received yours of the 21st inst. By what you will hear has passed this day, you will see there will be time enough to consider of the contents of your letter. What measures will be taken, and what persons most trusted, is as yet uncertain. I will be watchful and use my best endeavours to find out anything wherein you may be concerned; and when we see how things move my Lord Chamberlain, Sir Robert Southwell and myself will act the best we can in order to your service. This with his respects

my Lord Chamberlain desired me to assure you. My Lord Massereene desired me to entreat your favour concerning the business mentioned in my enclosed paper. I am in waiting this week and now called away. This is not an excuse for the shortness of my letter, for I have not anything more worth writing unto you.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1679, May 27.—I now happen to be in London, where I have the opportunity of performing your Excellency's command in preferring to Christ Church the young man whom you were pleased to recommend. And I shall be ready to give him all further encouragement as he shall become capable of it. When I came from home I left my Lord James very well, and the little misadventure of the Governor perfectly composed. The sudden prorogation of the Parliament giving me a more speedy dismission than else I might have had, I propose tomorrow morning to return home, when I shall endeavour to serve my Lord James to the utmost of my abilities.

When your Excellency shall be pressed to nominate a new Vice-Chancellor, I humbly conceive that Mr. Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's College, will be a person qualified to fill that employment. Any time before Michaelmas being time enough for the nomination of a successor, possibly it may not be of use to make a hasty disposition.

I beseech Almighty God to continue His protection and blessing to your Excellency in your great station and private concerns.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 27, London.—Since my last to your Grace of the 24th instant, wherein I gave you notice of the intelligence sent us from Holland of arms transporting for Ireland, this Order of Council is sent to me, which because it is more particular than my letter I remit the copy to your Grace, that you may inquire whether they are arms provided by those merchants you have licensed, or others and to other intents.

This day hath produced great news to me; the prorogation of Parliament till the 14th of August. The particular reasons that inclined His Majesty I know not. But it is certain the animosities betwixt the two Houses were grown to a great height, and probably would have increased to that height that great inconveniencies must have followed. But how these that will follow on the prorogation will be avoided I hope His Majesty knoweth. I confess I do not.

ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL* to ORMOND.

1679, May 28, Cashel . . . . Having this opportunity, I presume yet further to remind your Grace of Dr. Sall, that

*Thomas Price, Archbishop of Cashel, 1667—1685. Dr. Price, who had been a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, had previously filled the see of Kildare, to which he was appointed in 1661.

some better subsistence may be provided for him in this kingdom, where his earnest desire is to spend the remainder of his days; in order whereunto he hath refused good preferment in England. To this purpose I made bold to write formerly to your Grace; but hearing of his letter from Oxford (dated May 12th) being minded to put your Grace in remembrance of him, I have adventured to give your Grace this second memento.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, May 28, Dublin.—By that time this goes to you I believe you will receive a visit from Sir Charles Meredith, our Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Commissioners appointed to inspect the proceedings of the Farmers of the Revenue. I give him the titles of his employments to introduce the testimony I am to give that he has in my observation discharged them with great diligence and ability, and that in all things which relate to the King's service I know none of the King's Council here that manifests more zeal or better principles, or upon whose relation to the state of this kingdom you may more safely depend, as far as he will undertake to represent it. I conceive this account to be not only a justice to him, but some service to the King, that he may know whom he may encourage and trust.

Copy.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, May 31, Whitehall.—I received your Grace's of the 17th inst., and likewise by the hand of my Lord of Ossory the letter you mentioned concerning your coming into England. Your first was very welcome because it stifled a report that was very loud upon the Exchange of the surprising of Kinsale, but by whom it was not said. Yours of the 20th inst. I acquainted you I had showed the Council, so there are two letters directed to you from thence which Sir Robert Southwell put into my hands.

The news of the prorogation of Parliament will, I suppose, be as surprising to you as it was with us; but the truth is had we sat a day longer in all appearance something of great inconveniency must have happened between the two Houses.

Yesterday my Lord Ranelagh petitioned the Council for a reversal of the order for his going to Ireland. He was pleased to say in Council that the accounts given in to the Commissioners in Ireland were final, whereas those very men that subscribed the accounts say they are neither full nor final. He did with extreme assurance challenge any man to make appear that he or any of his partners by his knowledge had ever compounded with or defrauded any of the army; and in conclusion declared that if he might be heard, in one hour and a half he would clear the whole business. Upon this a committee is appointed upon Tuesday next to hear

him and expect this great wonder. His party in the Council were not many, but well placed. I would be glad to be furnished with some proofs from Ireland that the so much talked of composition with the army is not a calumny as his lordship would pretend it.

We are full of jealousies, libels and unquietness; and nothing that I can see to expect from, but good husbandry, an herb that of late years hath not grown much in our Court. The greatest foreign news is the death of the Duke of Bavaria.

[— Bouell] to — Watts.

1679, May 31, London.—My last was of the 27th inst., the memorable day of the Parliament's prorogation, which was not effected by the advice of the Privy Council; but people will not excuse Lauderdale, the French Ambassador, and a certain woman. People talk oddly here as if Tangier were probably sold to the French, and that the King had lately received from the French Ambassador 200,000*l*., part of 700,000*l*. for the same. The new raised forces are now even quite disbanded. One of them told a gentleman, a friend of mine, that he and others had now listed themselves, and that the horses are removed and not sold. Lord Shaftesbury told the King upon the prorogation that there was no need of holding a candle to the King's face, for his intent was visible by his actions. He would have been released of his nominal office and Privy Councillorship, but the King would not spare him. There is a printed paper public which acquits the fanatics of the murder of the Bishop of St Andrews, and lays it on two sons of the Church, whom the Bishop as they conceived had wronged sufficiently and undone. However, none of that gang are taken so much as on suspicion, as I hear. Pepys and Sir Arthur Deane are likely to be discharged upon their *Hebeas Corpus* suddenly. Now the Parliament is up, Lord Chief Justice Scroggs hath given order to have Dr. Batty indicted for a common barrister, and is mightily troubled about the prorogation and the Parliament, as almost all people here are. We had very few bonfires and little ringing of bells the 29th inst; men know not what to say or do, but expect great changes.

I here enclosed send you a printed copy of the Narrative and Reasons of the House of Commons why the Earl of Danby should be tried before the five Lords in the Tower. It is worth your reading. They were sold and printed in three sheets: now that they are printed in one I can send it conveniently. There has been three several impressions of it in two days time, and twice seized; once by order of the Court and once by order of our Lord Mayor. But this publication cannot be prevented, they are so thick brought up. There are expected smart things in print shortly, not unknown to the late Committee of Secrecy. I know nothing to add further at present.

Endorsed "copy of a letter from London to Mr. Watts, received 9 June, 1679."

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, May 31.—I believe you will be informed by my Lord of Longford how a letter of yours to Mr. Secretary Coventry has been shewed the Council, and how it has been inverted, and reports spread abroad as if you did undervalue this Plot, and apprehended in the bottom a fanatic design. These artifices are to be expected from a sort of men who have all their lives practised them. At the same time there was a great noise of Waterford and Kinsale's being surprised by the Irish. The King said that the authors of this report wanted intelligence of the prorogation, for that it was certainly raised to inflame some in the Parliament; for those lies, though found out, yet would serve a present turn. I send you here enclosed a letter from St. Helene to my Lord Chamberlain, upon which you will be pleased to consider what measures to take as to James. For his own son I hear he is an admirable officer and did all the business of my Lord Alington's regiment [in which] he has served: and if you could get him an employment in the army, such as a lieutenant of horse, he would be very useful as an adjutant in case of action. I do expect my wife this night from Knowsley, whither my Lord of Derby is gone. I know not if he is satisfied with me. I am sure I have no reason to be so with him. But this I do conceal, and shall live fairly with him, unless his brutality and ill usage of my daughter forces me to the contrary. If you be not engaged I beseech you to lend me your lodgings in the Castle of Windsor, whither the King will soon go.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1679, June 3, Dublin.—Whilst affairs of that high consequence were in agitation in England, I had little reason to expect that those of this place, which so much depend on determinations there, could be taken into that consideration which they require, and I hope will now be allowed them.

Your lordship will find by the enclosed extracts taken out of the Establishment of this Kingdom and His Majesty's instructions to me, ordered by advice of His Majesty's then Privy Council, what difficulty it is that obstructs my giving present obedience to His Majesty's command signified to me in your lordship's of the 27th of the last month for the payment of Mr. Hyde's pension. And that your lordship may the better understand the reason, and indeed necessity of suspending the payment of all pensions till His Majesty's Revenue shall be increased so as to support the necessary parts of the Government by the payment of the Civil and Military Lists, I send your lordship also a state of the Revenue of this Kingdom as it now stands, and a prospect of it to and at the end of the present farm, upon supposition

that the Farmers shall continue to make full and punctual payment of their rent, and that neither by accident or His Majesty's command any further charge shall fall upon the Revenue. This computation and prospect takes no notice of the stop of pensions (which yet for this year must be applied towards the discharge of the Civil and Military Lists), because I suppose that out of what overplus shall accrue the next year His Majesty may think fit the arrears of pensions should be paid: neither on the other hand is there any notice taken how short the money allotted under the name of concordatums will certainly fall to answer the ends enumerated under that head of the Establishment, which ends must be left unprovided for, how necessary soever they are for the preservation of this kingdom, or the Establishment must be exceeded, and by so much in consequence the overplus expected about a year hence will be abated and retarded. All this is not to obstruct the effect of His Majesty's grace and favour to Mr. Hyde, which I heartily wish him, but to shew that the Establishment upon which the new regiment is by His Majesty's command placed from about the 10th of March last cannot be paid together with the pensions, but that the whole Army must run into proportionable arrear, a thing I would if it lay in my power avoid, because I would also avoid the imputation of its falling into arrear in the time of my Government, with which I have heretofore been charged, tho' I could then no more help it than I can now. If it shall still be His Majesty's pleasure that this or any other pension shall be paid, it will be obvious to your lordship that his commands for it should particularly take notice of and dispense with those parts of his Establishment and instructions which directly oppose it, and that I conceive with the same solemnity and advice the Establishment and instructions were drawn and ordered.

——— to Primate Boyle.

1679, June 5.—Since my last very little has occured here, more than that yesterday upon report from the Attorney-General of the evidence they had against the prisoners in custody upon account of the Plot, and who have not been impeached in Parliament, the Council ordered that those nine against whom they have above one witness to prove them guilty of the Plot should be tried at the Sessions House at the Old Bayly upon Tuesday the 17th instant; the names of whom are Thomas Whitebread, John Fenwicke, William Harcourt, Richard Langhorne senior, Sir George Wakeman, William Marshall, John Garven, Anthony Turner and William Rumley, and for the rest the Council will suddenly consider what to do with them, in order to which the Committee of Examinations sit every day, and those persons whom the evidence is not very clear and strong against they permit to return to their houses upon bail, as Sir Francis Ratcliffe and others,

and the rest remain in custody till further matter comes in against them.

Mr. Pepys and Sir Anthony Deane continue in custody, the *Habeas Corpuses* (upon debate thereof) being disallowed. Into Mr. Pepys his place in the Admiralty is admitted Mr. Hayter (one of the Clerks of the Acts of the Navy Office), but the Treasuryship of the town of Tangier he desires if possible to hold.

The King and Court go to Windsor next week, and remain there till the Parliament meet, which it is said will certainly be at the day.

The Lords in the Tower are now kept as close as before, and nobody to visit them without leave from the Council.

The King has lately had a design to add Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Tho. Littleton and Sir William Hickeman unto Sir Thomas Chicheley to assist him in executing the office of Ordnance; but Sir Thomas refusing to be joined with them, but rather to resign his place, it is not known how it will go. The Earl of Sunderland has sold his office of one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber to the Earl of Ranelagh for 6,000*l.*, who is accordingly admitted into it. The report has been all this and last week that the Duke of York was coming home again: but there is nothing of it nor of the story of an Order in Council against the same, and indeed many malicious reports have been lately spread, which have (thanks be to God) proved untrue.

June the 7th, 1679.—Yesterday was a Council, and at it the King ordered his going to Windsor on Tuesday next, that on Thursday 7th night the Council should be held at Hampton Court, and for the future (during the King's stay) it should there be held once a week. It was then ordered that the trial of the nine men should be on Friday next, and accordingly Mr. D[*obliuated*] and Mr. Bedloe (who had got leave to go [into the] country were sent for back. To night an Extraordinary Council was had upon advice from Scotland of the rising of the fanatics there, who after the death of the Bishop of St. Andrew's (whom they barbarously murdered) and doing other horrid crimes, met altogether, and upon the King's birthday violently seized upon all the records relating to the Objuration of the Covenant and burned them, and then drew up a Declaration in the name of Jesus in which they assert the legality of the late Covenant, and adjure all other powers as apostates to it, and so armed themselves and took the field to the number of 1,500 men, whom some of the King's Troops of Dragoons attacked [and w]ere beaten and driven by them to the gates of Glasgow, where the Royal party fortifying themselves made such a stout resistance that they had beat them off, though with the loss of few of the rebels: but in the royal party two captains, and an ensign, and many men: since which we know nothing, but hourly expect to hear more. The

Declaration was this night read in Council, and thereupon some resolutions taken, that it's hoped may put a stop to this dangerous design. It's said some of the persons that murdered the Bishop headed these villains and declared their design to be to kill any of them in the country. I am weary of writing this unpleasant news.

Sir Robert Howard to Ormond.

1679, June 5, Exchequer.—I have endeavoured to get the best account I can upon the whole proceedings of my Lord Ranelagh since I last writ to your Grace, who is now become a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber in the place of my Lord Sunderland, which I suppose he has purchased in order to stay here, according to which design he obtained a hearing at Council Tuesday morning last, where he pretended to make it clear that the whole business was as fit and proper to be heard here as in Ireland: but I found then and since he did not convince the Council in the least, who continue of the judgment that the business must be properly determined in Ireland. I do not doubt notwithstanding that there will be great endeavours used to obtain the favour to stop my Lord Ranelagh's journey, which I shall endeavour to observe with my best care and diligence.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, June 7, Whitehall.—This week brought me three from your Grace of the 25, 27, 28 of May. The first I shewed the Council, it relating to my Lord Ranelagh's accompts, who, as I told you in my last of the 31st of May, hath petitioned the King and Council for a revocation of the order for his and his partner's going. But yesterday at the Committee for Irish Affairs he confessed that the accompts were not final, and that they could be determined no way but by remitting them to Ireland, and that he would suddenly go in person. I suppose upon the report of the Committee your Grace will have particular orders from the Council how to proceed, and the *quære* in your letter answered how to proceed against such as have no estate in Ireland. The letter for Mr. Gascoigne is signed. Sir Charles Meredith hath been several days in town. but I only saw him accidentally in the Bed-Chamber, but have received no visit nor had any conference with him, much less information from him. Our news from Scotland is bad, though I cannot tell you the particulars, but the Dissenters are up in arms. I pray God keep them quiet elsewhere. We have had a Council about the Scotch Affairs this day, but little resolved: neither do these first letters give us enough to make a true state of the business. All that is in them is that a company of horse with some Dragoons went to disperse a conventicle, but met with 1,500 armed men horse and foot, and were forced to retire

with the loss of eight or ten of their Dragoons. The rebels have put forth a godly rebellious declaration declaring the King an usurper, and declare the Acts of Parliament null that restored him. After their first success they entered Glasgow, but were repulsed by the Lord Rosse with loss, and the militia was assembled by the Council, and if they prove faithful it is to be hoped they may by this time be dissipated.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, June 9, Dublin.—Your Grace directed me to write to Mr. Worth to know the reason why they of Cork refused to trust those of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment as well as others. The enclosed from Mr. Worth, which is in return to mine, will give your Grace an account of that matter. I send your Grace the enclosed out of the North, they came to my hands several hours after your Grace had left this town.
[Encloses the three following letters.]

WILLIAM WORTH to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, June 6, Cork.—In a former letter I hinted to your Grace what apprehensions the people of this country had upon the landing of my Lord Dumbarton's regiment here: but since I find they are better satisfied with those soldiers, and believe them to be other sort of men than they were at first represented. And I could never learn that this city had any unkindness for them, or that they would not trust them, for I have discoursed with several of the most considerable persons here, and they have not the least fears that way; and this afternoon the Mayor and Sheriffs of this city being at my house (and discoursing about the report here that some of the companies of that regiment which were quartered in this city were to be commanded away) they told me that they were confident the whole town was unwilling to part with them, except my Lord Lieutenant should think fit to remove them to make way for English companies to be quartered in their room: and that the generality of the citizens would much rather have these companies continued here than to have any others of that regiment put in their stead, or to have no more than the former English companies which were in this garrison, they being fewer than we would willingly quarter: and I cannot find out the least grounds any sober man has to distrust the men that are in this garrison, the officers being generally very obliging and civil, strict in minding their duty, and keeping the private soldiers under a strict discipline, so that as few disorders are committed by them as possibly could be expected from those who had been soldiers in foreign parts and accustomed to wars.

DAVID MAXWELL to Dr. JOHN COGHILL.

1679, June 6.—I have received yours of the 31st of May, and wrote two posts before that more fully than I had done.

I am of opinion that no discourse can be made now in this place of anything concerning the murder of the late Primate of Scotland, for one Mr. Hugh Campbell, who himself is a rigid Presbyterian and communicates with them, having received a letter employing him in that search, as I am informed did immediately communicate it to the Presbyterian Minister of Donaghadee (from whom he can conceal nothing), and he immediately to his brethren in Scotland, and this, I believe, has made fewer passengers come this way. I think Mr. Hodson, Collector of His Majesty's Revenues at Donaghadee, and these of the same employment at other ports here, since they are sons of the Church and truly loyal, might be as fit for doing things of that nature as any. I have adventured to bespeak them in this affair, and have procured some general warrants for them, by virtue whereof they may seize such as they suspect.

The Presbyterians here did not come to the parish churches according to the proclamation upon the fast day, but diverted the people from their obedience, some of them did not abstain from work, and for the 29 of May none of them observed it, unless it was of purpose to profane it, for all shops were open, and all hands at work, so that we had but very few at church. But as to that which ye desire to know, at Donaghadee one Patrick Peacock is conventicler, a cunning and dangerous man; at Bangor there is one Archibald Hamilton, little better; at Newtown there is one Thomas Kennedy, a perfect firebrand; at Cumber there is one James Gordon, violent enough; at Ballywalter there is one Hugh Red, factious enough but very silly; at Portaferry there is one John Drysdale, the soberest amongst them; at Killyleagh there is one Ferguson, the most dangerous of all; at Killinchy one Michael Bruce; at Taunaghneeve one Alexander Hutcheson; at Knock one Hugh Wilson; at Kirkdonald there is one Cobbum [? Cochburn]; at Holywood one Waugh; at Downpatrick there is one Young; at Ballye one John Hamilton; at Killmeaginie one Alexander Gordon; all men of the same hot and factious spirits, and there are four or five young men who are schoolmasters in the country and are before the Presbytery trying their abilities that they may whensoever there is any vacancy be ready to sally forth. Their names are, at Killyleagh John McBryd, at Newtown Robert Hamilton, at Cumber one Ferguson; there are also at Newtown one John Hutcheson, who teaches philosophy and trains up their young cubs, and one James Gordon, formerly a weaver who hath left his looms and professes the mathematics; he also resolves to turn preacher. Their numbers are great at their conventicles five or six hundred communicants in one day, and some places a thousand. When they convene at their Presbyteries what else they employ themselves about beside entering their young ones I know not. I believe not much good. But they look upon themselves as a Court

of Record, and do keep a registry of all their acts. Their clerk as I am informed is one Hugh Wilson of Knock; if he were surprised and his books searched, a full discovery, I believe, might be made of their actions, but I am afraid it's either too late or too soon to talk of this. I cannot keep correspondence safely and to purpose at this time with any in Scotland: for, besides the confusion that Kingdom is in, the packet boat between Portpatrick and Donaghadee is kept by Mr. Campbell* (although I think at present he hath no salary allowed him for it); so that it may well serve the interest of the Presbyterians, but I dare not trust anything of mine in that bottom. But it is reported by such as come from thence that one Laird Clavers, who commands a troop, hath taken a conventicle; the preacher is in prison and all the men, he only took an account of the women's names. There are some great persons such as the Earl of Dundonald and the President of Scotland, my Lord Stair, and a third who are sent for to London, but here we have no discourse of the cause. Some say the Archbishop of Glasgow hath been attempted or had warning given him that he would be so. The Lord in His mercy deliver us from the cruelty of these brethren of iniquity. I think it will be the safer way to direct my letters as ye did the second enclosed to Mr. Lovell, who will send it safe to me. I follow the same course in sending yours. My seal which I seal all to you with is two cross bars and a mallet. I make no question but ye like a long letter as ill as most men do a long sermon.

Same to Same.

1679, June 8.—Here are just now arrived two conformable ministers of the Church of Scotland, who have fled from their country for fear of the rebels there, who are now so numerous that they believe there will be ten thousand this day in arms in the west. Welsh is their general, and they do openly declare that they will march straight to Edinburgh to relieve their imprisoned brethren and seize the city. Most of the nobility of any note in that kingdom are in London, and this time they have chosen for their insurrection. Those ministers who are now here at Newtown had their horses and their servants' arms taken from them by the rebels. I believe Sir Robert Colvill will send with this messenger their examinations to my Lord Lieutenant, and there the relation will be more full. I writ to you an answer of your last dated the 31 of May by the Saturday's post, which I believe will be with you to-morrow. I enclosed it into one to Mr. Lovell for security, for I fear Belfast to be no secure post for our letters. We had news yesterday that the Laird of Clavers, an honest gentleman in Scotland, captain to a troop of horse, who hath done good service against the rebels, was killed by them, but these gentlemen affirm the contrary. Now their

* See Vol. IV., p. 96.

designs, as they think, are ripe and will take effect, I pray God disappoint them. Sir, I am resolved no opportunity shall offer when I have anything worth your knowledge to write.

Postscript.—A party of the rebels did upon the 29 of May at Ringland, within two miles of Glasgow, proclaim the Covenant and burned the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, June 10, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 6th instant, I have received one from you of the 3rd of this month, which though His Majesty had not leisure to peruse at large, yet I acquainted him with the particular of quartering of soldiers, at which he is not a little offended. The disorders of Scotland that have been long feared by some and slighted by others now appear formidable; 8,000 of the desperatest and worst sort of fanatics being in a body, and have forced the King's troops to retire and abandon Glasgow, upon which His Majesty hath ordered the levying of betwixt five and six thousand fresh men here under the Duke of Monmouth to oppose them. Your Grace is likewise desired to send soon what men you can spare in Ireland, and that I may not mistake in my commission I send you the copy of the Order in Council upon that point.

I send your Grace likewise a copy of the Order in Council concerning my Lord Ranelagh and his partners, and their appearing forthwith in Ireland, either in person or by men sufficiently authorized, his lordship, notwithstanding what I wrote you in my last, having acknowledged that the accompt was not final and that it could be nowhere triable so properly as in Ireland, but only desired that if there should be any particular severities upon him he might have his appeal to the King and Council here, which was neither refused him nor granted him as to make part of the order, because there lieth an appeal to the Privy Council here (if they approve of the reasons it is demanded upon) to everybody. For what concerneth the pension I know nothing of it, nor hear of it; but if any mention be made of it shall not fail to shew your justifications of your proceeding.

Sir Charles Meredith hath not yet seen me, though I shewed my Lord of Essex the favourable letter you wrote in his behalf; since he thinks it not worth the trouble of desiring it, I have not thought fit to trouble the King with it, nor shall unless you command it.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, June 10.—I received yours of the 3rd of this month, but had not an opportunity of shewing it the King. By the news from Scotland you may imagine how much his thoughts are taken up. This morning he commanded me to be ready to go for Ireland, which I told him I should soon obey, but

I offered to his consideration if those regiments in Holland, which according to my articles were to be sent over according as His Majesty should order would not both in point of the goodness of them and also of time be of use in this juncture: ships he has in the Downs sufficient for their transportation; this he promised to consider, and soon to resolve what course he would take. I need not mind you how much it concerns you in regard of the King, the kingdom you govern, and yourself well to consider of the safety of the north, and what number you can spare without hazarding the loss of the country intrusted to your care. This is all I have to say as yet. If before ten at night I learn anything worth your knowledge I shall not fail to impart it unto you.

Ormond to Henry Coventry.

1679, June 11, Kilkenny.—I received yours of the 31st of the last just as I was taking coach for this place on Monday last with two from my Lords of the Council, their commands in both either already are or shall be punctually obeyed as far as shall be in my power. This morning I received advertisement out of the North of great insurrections in Scotland, and of some encounters betwixt some of His Majesty's troops and the conventicling rebels. The actions are so particularized and the numbers in arms, that upon belief that there must be something more than ordinary in the matter, I have already sent orders to ten or eleven troops of horse to rendezvous at Charlemont by the end of this month, my Lord of Granard, Field Marshal, to command them, and I am myself hastening to Dublin from thence to send any further necessary orders or more troops if there shall be occasion. I have also ordered the frigate that has her station at Kinsale to sail with the first wind to the Bay of Dublin, to be ready to convoy men or ammunition or to lie betwixt Ireland and Scotland, as shall be thought fit. If there be any truth in what I am informed, I suppose the next packet out of England will bring me notice of it, and perhaps some directions how I am to govern myself in the meantime. I hope what I have done will receive His Majesty's approbation.

Order in Council for Despatch of Troops to North of Ireland.

At the Court of Whitehall,
The 13th of June, 1679.

By the King's most Excellent Majesty and the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

It was this day ordered by His Majesty in Council that the Right Honourable Henry Coventry, Esquire, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, do forthwith signify His Majesty's pleasure to His Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, to give immediate order for the marching towards the North of Ireland of so many of His Majesty's forces there as well horse as foot, as his Grace thinks may conveniently be spared without hazard to the peace and safety of that Kingdom, there to remain ready and attend further orders if occasion shall be for their being employed in the assistance of His Majesty's subjects of His Kingdom of Scotland for suppressing the Rebellion there according to the humble desire of His Majesty's Council of the said Kingdom.

[*Signed*,] PHIL. LLOYD.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, June 13, Kilkenny.—Tho' I do not doubt His Majesty having more particular intelligence of the insurrection in the West of Scotland than I can send him: yet possibly the disorders committed by the fanatics just over against Ireland may not come to the knowledge of his Majesty's Council of Scotland so soon as to us here, those rebels having perhaps possessed themselves of the passages to Edinburgh. I therefore send you Sir Robert Colvill's letter to me, and the depositions of two ministers, who are fled into this kingdom to save their lives, which they say is all they can now call their own. I hope by the care of the state of Scotland, and by the loyalty of the King's subjects there this commotion will be soon suppressed, as some have formerly been. In that case the disaffected will be sure to seek shelter here, as the well affected have now done, and will certainly find it if they get over, for there are here divers of the same principles. I therefore humbly propose the immediate sending some more of His Majesty's ships to the Bay of Dublin to be employed as there shall be occasion. The force of such ships as shall be sent is submitted to the King's pleasure, and I conceive the least will serve, if there be any at Plymouth or that way they may soon be with us after orders are received.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to ORMOND.

1679, June 14, Oxford.—Il n'y a sans doute qu'un très profond respect pour vôtre grandeur et pour l'auguste fonction qu'elle exerce avec l'admiration de tout le monde qui m'empêche de luy rendre conte aussy souvent qu'a Madame vôtre illustre épouse de l'état et de la santé de Monsieur votre petit fils mon très cher Seigneur. Et j'ose me promettre de la justice et de la generosité naturelle de vôtre grandeur, qu'elle n'interprete pas autrement le silence forcé et respectueus que j'ay gardé avec elle depuis quelque tems. Mais, enfin Monseigneur mon devoir qui m'oblige de le rompre quelque fois m'engage à present de me donner l'honneur de dire à vôtre grandeur, que my Lord James continue, graces à Dieu, d'être fort gay, et en bonne santé

et qu'il fait assez joliment son devoir. Ses inclinations de pieté, de vertu et d'honêteté qui luy ont eté comuniquées en son illustre naissance, se fortifient heureusement de jour en jour au dedans, et se font parôitre au dehors à ma tres grande joye et consolation. Il a visiblement profité dans son ecriture, et parle et lit tres bien en françois. Il apprend autant de latin que son inclination le permet et il fait des progrez assez considerables dans les mathematiques. Il a chaque jour une leçon d'histoire entremeslée de geographie, et à mesure que son jugement se formera, ses exercices seront plus importants et plus relevez.

Mais, Monseigneur j'espère que vôtre grandeur ne trouvera pas mauvais que je luy dise aussy librement que je fis il y a quelque tems à Madame touchant la santé de my lord, que quelque chose que nous puissions faire icy, son embonpoint qu'il a pris cet hyver à Londres (et que l'on trouve trop grand pour son âge) augmente plutôt que de diminuer Suivant l'ordre de Madame la Duchesse j'ay consulté icy le plus fameux medecin que nous ayons, et que Monsieur nôtre bon Eveque m'a envoyé. Et quoy que mon cher Seigneur ayt été quelque tems dans les remedes sa plenitude n'en est pas moindre à present. Au jugement de ce docteur (aussy bien qu'a celuy d'autres) les remedes (ausquels en general il a tres grande aversion) netoyant son estomac eguisent son appetit qu'il a ordinairement tres bon, et quoy qu'il ne boive point de bruvage fort, et qu'il n'ayt que les répas ordinaires du colége le docteur dit qu'en general il croit que la nature des viandes et du bruvage du pays étant fort nourissantes engendrent plus d'humeurs que sa chaleur naturelle ne peut encore cuire et digerer parfaitement : qu'un air plus chaud plus sec et plus subtil (tel qu'est celuy d'Italie ou de la partie meridionalle de la France) dissiperoit ses humeurs superflues, ayderoit et fortiferoit la chaleur naturelle de my lord et que la nouriture de ces pays plus chauds ne fourniroit pas chaque jour les cruditez dont il abonde : qu'une vie plus active et un plus grand exercice que celuy qu'il peut faire icy comme d'aprendre tous les matins a monter a cheval, a faire des armes, a dancer, a voltiger peuvent aussy contribuer beaucoup a rendre son corps sain, vigoureux et leger pour toute sa vie. J'eus l'honneur il y a quelque tems d'envoyer a Madame la Duchesse l'avis que le docteur m'envoyat ecrit de sa main, et qu'il jugea à propos d'être comuniqué a Madame selon le comandement qu'elle m'en avoit fait.

Pour ce qui est de la dépence de my lord je m'étudie icy a joindre l'honestete à la frugalité, au bon ménage et a eviter les depences inutiles : les contes en sont et seront touiours clairs s'il plait a Dieu, et prêts a rendre devant qui il plaira à vôtre grandeur d'ordonner. Je la supplie tres humblement d'être pleinement persuadée que j'aporte a la conservation et à l'avancement de mon cher seigneur touts les soins dont je suis capable et que la conscience et un zéle tres sincére et

treardsent pour l'illustre famille à laquelle ilr apartient et pour sa personne en particulier peuvent inspire.

My lord assure icy vôtre grandeur et Madame de ses obeissances.*

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, June 14, Blessinton.—I have received the honour of your Grace's of the 11th instant, and have presumed to send your Grace the enclosed from Mr. Maxwell (one of our northern correspondents), though it says little more than what your Grace have received from other hands. I hope things are not so bad in Scotland as they are represented by the fears of those who fled away upon the first alarm: though I doubt they are ill enough, and will require some thorough and steady resolutions to suppress them: such as those were the beginnings of our troubles before 1641. I heartily pray that the like design be not now in preparation.

I presume likewise to trouble your Grace with two letters which I received this last packet out of England, which refers much to the same matter, but puts in other particulars besides, of all which I doubt not but your Grace have had a very exact accompt from other hands, but having heard your Grace say that some observations may be made upon the several ways of representing matters by divers hands, I have adventured upon your Grace's pardon for this presumption.

[The enclosures referred to have not been preserved.]

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 14, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace of the 10th of this month, wherein I told you of an order of Council for the appearance of my Lord Ranelagh and his partners, but at eleven of the clock at night His Majesty sent down to the Office that the order should be stopped till it should be further considered of. I gave accompt of it to the Council, but upon their reiterated instances the order was again renewed, and I send it you here enclosed.

I sent your Grace likewise by my last to see what men you could spare to assist the King's party in Scotland if need should be: there is since another order passed concerning that, which I send you here enclosed. There is no action since my last passed in Scotland, at least that we know of; but about this time the King's party there are expected to be numerous and superior in number to the rebels, who want the necessary supplies of good arms and ammunition, at least as we are informed. Our judges are very busy upon the trial of those Commoners that have been accused of the Plot. Yesterday there were five condemned, but not one acquitted, and to-day they are busy upon the same work. Some motion to call the Parliament before the 14th of August, but what the King's resolution will be I cannot yet tell you; a victory in Scotland would be very seasonable.

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

Postscript.—My Lord of Essex seemeth very much concerned about a sum of 13,000*l.* that the Farmers had promised for a particular payment to the army just before his leaving the Government. He farther sayeth he had the King's order under his sign manual for the doing it, that he left the order with your Grace, and took a promise from you that it should be punctually performed, but that after his departure it was neglected, and when some of those concerned pressed the execution of the promise, answer was made by my Lord Lanesborough that it was a debt contracted in the Earl of Essex his time, and what had your Grace to do to look after it, or words to this effect. Of this he speaks with more resentment than usual, and to me very warmly, and intends to press to have a particular order for it. Mr. Langhorne is this day condemned and sentence of death passed upon him.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, June 14th, London.—The letters which came yesterday by the ordinary from Scotland (from whence there has yet come but one express) tell us that the rebels, since the repulse they had received from my Lord Rosse at Glasgow, which his lordship soon after quitted with His Majesty's forces (being five companies of foot, two troops of horse, and one of dragoons), had taken possession of that town and were with their main body three miles nearer to Edinburgh; that they have ebbs and flows, some quitting them and others resorting to them, and that my Lord Linlithgow having with about 2,700 men of His Majesty's forces marched within three miles of them, and understanding their number to be about 8,000, thought it not convenient with so small and disproportionable force to engage so numerous and desperate a body, and therefore retreated to Stirling, having first given an account of his resolution to the Lords of the Council, who approving of his cautious and prudent method of proceeding, directed him to retreat to Edinburgh, and in the meantime issued out a proclamation requiring all the heritors in several counties to appear with all their servants and followers well armed to join with His Majesty's forces in the suppressing of these rebels. This is the day of their rendezvous, and when they meet and join they compute their number and His Majesty's forces together will make up 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse, upon whose appearing together the Lords of the Council there are of opinion the rebels will disperse, which I wish may prove true. For as the report is from several hands they appear very obstinate, and being confident of their own strength and party, will not permit any to be amongst them who have taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, or who have heard the Common Prayer and received the Sacrament according to the Church of England, or who own Episcopacy and have paid tithes to the Church

as it is now established. If it be true that they impose these qualifications upon themselves His Majesty's affairs must certainly thrive the better for them, for these restrictions must reduce their party within a narrow compass and engage the nobility and gentry with all zeal imaginable against them. The Scotch Lords who are here have made several addresses to the King against my Lord Duke Lauderdale upon this occasion, and being required to give them in writing they adventured to shew His Majesty their paper, wherein they complained of great grievances, but instanced in no particulars. They propose the new modelling of the whole Council there, upon whom and their ill conduct they seem to lay the blame of this insurrection, and though they aim at my Lord Lauderdale, yet they neither name him nor describe him. His Majesty's answer was that to comply with their proposition was to overthrow the government of that kingdom, and though they complain of exorbitant grievances, yet they make out none. This is the truest scheme I can give your Grace of the affairs of Scotland both there and here, only that the Duke of Monmouth goes thither to-morrow post by three in the morning, which has amused the new officers, because their levies are not yet completed. My Lord Cavendish amongst the rest is much to seek, the account of affairs in Scotland being so dark and the reason of the Duke of Monmouth's so sudden journey into Scotland being unknown, that he cannot tell what measures to take. My Lord Grey of Werke has waived his regiment and withdrawn himself from this expedition. I suppose your Grace will by this packet receive His Majesty's directions about the sending both of horse and foot from thence to join with the new levies here before their entering into Scotland, but they are not so positive as to lessen the strength there if your Grace has any apprehension of any stirs there. For my own part I am very uneasy in my own thoughts at my absence from your Grace in this conjuncture, being convinced that both my duty and honour call upon me at this time to give His Majesty an undeniable proof of my loyalty, which I am resolved to do if matters grow to extremity, notwithstanding His Majesty has given me leave to attend here for the arrival of East India ships, by which I expect a return from thence of my brother's effects, and cannot till their arrival receive near four thousand pounds now in the Company's hands.

I suppose by this packet your Grace will receive the resolutions of the Council here in the affair of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, which had gone to your Grace by the last Tuesday's packet, but that his lordship by a trick at eleven of the clock at night prevailed with His Majesty to send to Mr. Secretary Coventry to stop them, which the Council on Wednesday so resented that they unanimously made it their earnest desire to His Majesty that no more delays might be interposed, his lordship having freely consented to the Order of the Council, to

which His Majesty consented. But yet my Lord Ranelagh last night said he would not go for Ireland: and his partners here at a meeting they had with him three days since declared they would not sign the account as final unless the 24,000*l.* which was borrowed of His Majesty was left out as a debt upon them, for it having being borrowed by his lordship and paid out by his direction without their privity, they will not have it part of their charge. This nettles my Lord Ranelagh to the heart, and they are now upon very ill terms amongst themselves.

Since the rebellion in Scotland, it has been in debate whether His Majesty should call the Parliament to meet sooner than the 14th of August, to which time it was prorogued. But because it is alleged if they meet sooner they cannot act to do anything as a Parliament (as happened formerly in the case of Chatham), I think the thoughts of their meeting sooner are for the present laid aside.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, June 17, Dublin.—Yours of the 10th met me on the way coming hither from Kilkenny. In Mr. Secretary's of the same date I received an Order of Council requiring me to give my op[inion] what men might with safety of the kingdom be spared hence for the service of Scotland, a question too dangerous for me to give a positive answer unto. The number of the army is known there, and the constitution of the kingdom in relation to Papists and fanatics has been heretofore represented, so that the judgment belonging to the King, and obedience only to me, I have not taken upon me to determine the matter. But I shall by the next post send orders to draw to this place and hereabouts 2,000 foot and 300 horse. If the King shall command them out of the kingdom they shall be ready; if he do not, they shall yet be kept together for some time, and even so they will be some disturbance to the rebels, who will not know when they may be thrown over upon them. The want of money, which is like to frustrate your endeavours in England, hangs as heavy upon us here; but this is no time to lament our want of providence, but to strive to get out of the difficulties we are in. There will not be time to send you a copy of what I [wrote] Mr. Secretary in return to the Order of Council, but if you are there when it comes to his hands he will let you see it. The uncertainty of that would keep me from writing more if [I had] more to say.

——— Bonell to Mr. Watts.

1679, June 17, London.—My last was of the 14th instant, since which an express came to the Lord Lauderdale yesterday of the 14th instant, the contents private. But several letters of the 10th which came this morning tell us that the

rebels were about 20,000 strong, and increase daily ; that they eat up the country ; that they ranged near Edinburgh and swept away all the horse they could find ; that the King's forces durst not encounter them that went also within twelve miles of Barwicke and took all the horse and arms they could meet with ; so that the people do now bring their horses into that town for safety ; that all are up in most parts of Scotland ; that trade ceaseth, men neither buy nor sell, receive nor pay money, and other things of this nature. We have another proclamation reprinted here of the Privy Council of Scotland, which makes the rebels very active, and their design dangerous, but name not their strength, which require all heritors and proprietors of land and their servants to meet at such and such places under such and such officers, upon such and such days on horseback, but have not thought fit to raise the foot militia, it's said for fear of the worst : that is lest they should march away to the rebels, but such as owe knight's service, etc., to the King. At Edinburgh they keep watch we hear, and are afraid lest the young men should slip away to them likewise. We hear they beat the drum for foot forces, but the mischief is that our forces must not go into Scotland (and yet it's feared the King's party cannot else be strong enough for them, so general an insurrection there is) by reason of the Act of Pacification between both kingdoms, whereby the English are declared traitors that march into Scotland, even by an English Act, if they invade or march armed into Scotland, unless the Parliament of Scotland invites them in, and Scotland is equally obliged from doing the like, unless the Parliament of England invites them thereunto, which is the cause that several lords here who were appointed by our Privy Council to march into Scotland have refused to serve for fear of that treason trap, insomuch that all our forces raised or to be raised are said to march only to our borders next Scotland to prevent the worst : neither have the officers got any commissions, nor dare, they say, receive any, which must needs encourage the rebels and weaken His Majesty's forces. These Whigs, as they call them, or fanatics, have many ministers among them that blow up the coals. The Lord Athol told the King that if these forces went into Scotland all the kingdom would as one man rise against them upon that said Act of Pacification. The Duke of Monmouth went hence yesterday by three in the morning to Scotland, who, it's thought, hath Lauderdale's employment of Lord Commissioner, for he is Plenipotentiary to pardon, treat and relax them of their burthens, as he shall see cause ; else I hear he would not have gone on that errand. There are about twelve of the Scottish nobility come to accuse Duke Lauderdale to the King, and they have plied it hard. It is said that Lord Privy Seal is to give it in on their behalfs to the Privy Council here : so that it is thought he will be laid aside, and more than so too. The Duke

of Monmouth is said to be an adversary to Lauderdale, and that by reason of his demeanour in Scotland Duke Monmouth hath great arrears of rent, then it's thought will produce a Parliament in Scotland, but whether the Whigs will acquiesce and lay down their arms till they have full satisfaction for their civil and religious concernments, it is much doubted. A party of the King's forces met with about 150 of the rebels going to their comrades in arms, who cut off above fifty of the said rebels and took the rest. Some fanatics are so wild as to think the pretended forcing of the Scots thus to rise is part of the Plot, and withal a specious pretence to keep up a standing army, but I will leave that and only tell you that Lord Shaftesbury said they deserved to be hanged that had put the King upon such undertakings. The debate concerning the raising of these new forces for Scotland was great I hear in the Privy Council, and the rather because against the Act of Pacification above mentioned. At length it was carried unanimously, except Lord Shaftesbury, who opposed it still, unless (he said) the King would promise to call both the Parliaments of England and Scotland within forty days, that so they might approve of what the Council should direct in this interval, for he would (he said) never undertake to act as a representative of the people in that Council. And at the same Council there being mention made of a Commonwealth (how it was brought in I cannot say), but Lord Shaftesbury thought fit to speak to it in the King's presence, and said if the King so governed as that his estate might with safety be transmitted to his son, as it was by his father to him, and he might enjoy the known rights and liberties of the subjects, he would rather be under kingly government, but if he could not be satisfied of that he declared he was for a Commonwealth : this a member of the Commons told me from Lord Shaftesbury's own mouth. I shall need say no more of the late condemned traitors, all of them for plotting the King's death, only that the warrant the same night they were condemned was sealed for their execution on Friday next, the 20th instant. If Sir George Wakeman had been tried then as was designed (for which end he was in the Court), the business of the Queen would have come upon the stage. It was therefore, some say, put off, others because the Commission of Oyer and Terminer was expired, others because (it is generally reported) he will confess all, but how true time must show. Bedloe said that if the Queen dies not we must die, meaning the other evidences with him : but those gentlemen will not be mealy mouthed when it comes to the point. Southwark, Westminster, and other places refuse to quarter these new raised forces for Scotland, and that even to the King's and Council's faces, so stiff were they claiming the benefit of the late Act for disbanding the late forces. We hear now that the Court gives out as if those letters from Scotland made as if things would be appeased there, but others believe it not ; neither are

the commissions for the officers signed, nor will the Lord Grey, Lord Russell, nor Lord Cavendish accept of theirs. In fine the Court report no particulars, and it is said that the Scots are in a good condition, time will inform better.

Enclosed :—"Copy of letter sent Mr. Watts from London."

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 17, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace here hath little happened worth notice. Your letter for the fine for repairing Christchurch I shall get signed to-morrow. I here enclosed send you the copy of the Order of Council directing me to write to your Grace concerning a complaint made against those that work at your fort at Kinsale. The order will tell you what is expected from your Grace in that matter. My Lord of Essex hath got a new letter wrote out upon the old copy concerning the payment of those soldiers I mentioned in my last, and I believe it will pass the Council to-morrow to come to you by the Saturday's post. Our news from Scotland is a little more cheerful than it was, the rebels not being as yet headed by any considerable persons, neither is their number increased, they having attempted to rise in Fife and some other places, but were suddenly suppressed. The Duke of Monmouth, it is thought, will be there by to-morrow at night. He went hence upon Sunday morning, and resolved great diligence.

EARL OF ANGLESEY to ORMOND.

1679, June 17, London.—I have formerly interceded for your Grace's justice with favour about the lapse money, wherein I have a share of 3,000*l*., whereof I never had more need, having lately married a daughter and agreed for a portion, but God knows noways provided to pay it but by this sum, which your Grace's kindness (now all surveys and the distribution of the particular sums on those who are to pay it are ready) may quickly make ready money: and will highly oblige your old servant who decays apace, and would gladly die out of debt after long painful service to His Majesty and the public. I beseech your Grace therefore to have some regard to me herein. I hope the business of Scotland will get over without putting Ireland to spare any forces thither. I send your Grace enclosed the copy of a letter of Duke Lauderdale's, the contents whereof seem to have raised this flame and are much jealoused here, being now under consideration at Council.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, June 17.—By the news from Scotland I hope that tumult will be soon over. However I doubt not but you will be cautious in answering the letter concerning your opinion what forces with safety you can spare from Ireland, since

I believe the number of those you have it were to be wished were rather augmented than diminished. This afternoon Mrs. Price, a daughter-in-law of Colonel Jeffrys, died suddenly in my wife's outward room. She only called Daniel, my *valet de chambre*, to hinder her from falling, and just as he gave her that assistance she expired in his arms without speaking a word. I have not any further trouble now to give you.

Henry Ball to Viscount Granard.

1679, June 18, Charlemont.—There came yesterday to my hands directions from Sir George Rawdon to several gentlemen in these parts, grounded upon an order from his Grace my Lord Lieutenant to provide quarter in this town, and Ardmagh and places adjacent, for eleven troops who are to come down under your lordship's command, which directions I immediately sent to those concerned, and by the return of my messenger finds that to-morrow is appointed a meeting at Ardmagh to consider of that affair, and doubts not but care will be taken to provide as well for them as the country will afford.

My Lord, the wants of this place has been viewed and returned by several, but are not yet supplied: wherefore I conceived it my duty (especially in these times) humbly to represent the greatest of them to your honour, beseeching you be pleased to acquaint his Grace with them. Besides the decay of some of our out earthworks, the gate of the fort is very faulty, the carriages of our guns are rotten and unserviceable; we want bullets for them, we have no storehouse for arms, ammunition or provision; nor any reception for men as to lodgings but this little castle, where our present store of arms and ammunition is lodged, though very unproperly. This trouble I have presumed to give your lordship in discharge of the trust reposed in me, which I humbly beg you would be pleased to pardon.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1679, June 20, Castlemartyr.—The 18th instant as Captain Douglas and Captain Campbell (both garrisoned at Youghal) were riding together to go a-hunting, on some words which passed between them, Captain Campbell alighted, drew his sword, and then Captain Douglas did the like; but before they could be parted they fought, and Captain Campbell was killed.

A lieutenant of that regiment who quarters two miles off, and who had endeavoured to part them, came immediately to me with the account of this sad affair, and to know from Captain Douglas what I would order him to do, which he was ready to obey. I examined the said lieutenant, whose name is White, and one Skinner, a soldier of White's, who were both present, and who told me the whole passages.

I appointed Captain Douglas to deliver himself up to the King's justice, and I sent for two of the next Justices of the Peace to proceed in all things according unto law. I ordered the Coroner to be sent for and the dead body to lie where it was, till all the law required was done, which was performed accordingly. The Coroner's inquest, and what they found, I here humbly present your Grace. The justices have taken Major Hacket (who I sent for to Cork) and Captain Muncrieth's bail for Captain Douglas, who I have ordered not to go to his command until your Grace's pleasure be known concerning him, which I humbly beg to receive. This accident is the sadder, because these gentlemen were always dear friends. I cannot yet possibly learn what occasioned this quarrel, but it is evident that Campbell was the aggressor, and that Douglas must either be killed or draw.

Tho' three companies be quartered at Youghal, yet the chief officer there is a lieutenant whose name is Rivers. I have ordered him to be the more vigilant, lest the quarrel of the captains might infect their soldiers. I cannot in duty but humbly acquaint your Excellency that there has been of late at least five or six duels in this regiment between the officers of it, and one duel between the private soldiers. I have therefore spoken to the Major and some of the captains my sense thereof, and assured them that the first who either sent or received a challenge should be proceeded against according to the rules of war. And I humbly offer to your Excellency, whether it may not be fit for your Grace to publish prohibitions against duelling, and to appoint severe penalties to be inflicted on such as shall hereafter transgress. Major Hacket is extremely troubled thereat, and protests he never knew such duelling in the regiment all the while they were beyond sea as there has been within this fortnight. I have reason to believe this contagion will spread if not vigorously suppressed; and tho' they think to conceal such combats, yet I know three has happened within this fortnight, and not between the officers of that regiment, for I doubt our gentry look upon it as a fine mode, which may be imitated since it is not punished.

I had last night a letter from Captain Hodder signifying his arrival in Cork Harbour with the arms and ammunition your Grace has sent for the supply of the militia, which is very welcome. I have by an express desired Mr. Robinson to have it landed, and have acquainted the Commissioners of Array with the arrival of it, that those who want may know (for their money) where to be supplied. Captain Hodder writes to me that coming into the harbour at Cork by accident he fell on another ship, and has so broken the head of his own ship that he must go to Kinsale to repair her.

In such threatening times as these are I esteem it my duty humbly and heartily to assure your Excellency that in whatever concerns His Majesty's service I will most cheerfully

employ all the interest I have in the world and my life and fortune in the duty of it, and according to those commands which from time to time your Grace shall honour me with you shall receive a perfect obedience.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, June 21.—All affairs being in suspense until we see what becomes of those in Scotland I did not judge it proper as yet to discourse with His Majesty upon the subject of your letter of the 3rd, but shall by the first opportunity shew him both that and yours of the 13th, which I received yesterday. You will find my sense, in a letter I lately writ to you, wherein I spoke concerning the Council's inquiring what forces you could spare, to be the same with yours. I wish the forces you have may be sufficient to keep quiet the kingdom you govern. As to what relates to the twelve pence deduction in the pound from the soldiers in the regiment late of the Earl of Dumbarton, I obeyed the King's commands, and as you have most reasonably objected to the manner of their being signified unto you, and which I ventured to say before the King that you would do, so I doubt not but when His Majesty will consider of what you have writ that he will either alter that resolution, or else give you commands in such forms as to justify your obeying them. The King is very generous and just in resenting the aspersions laid on the Queen, and is thinking how he may save her from being named by those who I think absolutely accuse her in what they charge Sir George Wakeman withal. This being a difficult and a nice thing, persons skilful in law affairs have under consideration what to offer to the King, wherein he will also have the advice of the Council, where the other day he spoke with all manner of detestation of those who would blemish her innocency, of which he said he was most sure, and would not suffer her to be unjustly scandalized.

Earl of Essex to Ormond.

1679, June 21, London.—When I left Ireland there was a letter of His Majesty's which directed the clearing of the remainder of the charge due on the Establishment at Christmas, 1675, which the Lord Ranelagh ought to have paid, but by reason of a balance on the then Farmers' accounts due to him he did not answer. This balance, as I hear, has most of it been remitted to the said Farmers by the late Lord Treasurer and part of the army, and other the payments due as aforesaid do remain yet unpaid. I well remember your Grace was pleased to promise me that letter of His Majesty's should be complied with, but nothing having been yet done thereupon, there is another letter goeth this post almost to the same effect with the former. I confess I am much concerned for those of the army who were not paid up with the

rest, as also for the undertakers of the clothing, who delivered the clothes at my instance without being paid for them, and indeed I conceive it much for His Majesty's service that this pay should be made good to them: the sum will be about 13,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* Wherefore I earnestly desire your Grace that you would please to order it, according as is directed in the letter, which, though I have not the least advantage by it, yet it shall be esteemed as a favour done to, etc.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to SIR R. SOUTHWELL.

1679, June 22, Oxford.—It is long since I owe you humble thanks for the honour of your good last letter. I do confess I am to blame for having been so backward in acquainting you myself with my lord's good health and progress in his studies (which I know your honour hath been informed of by other hands).

I think myself obliged to tell you now that tho' his lordship looks mighty well and be very cheerful, yet, considering his age, he is too fat, and of late groweth so more and more, whatever care hath been and is yet daily taken with the help and assistance of our best physicians here in order to the preventing of it. I have a while gone given a large account of my lord's condition in general and in this particular to my Lord and Lady of Ormond, and according to their Graces's desire and command sent them also the doctor's opinion and advice concerning my Lord James, which, if you please, I shall impart to you.

Concerning his lordship's studies I crave leave to tell your honour that he doth improve in the knowledge of the Latin tongue (if not as much as could be desired) yet as fast as his inclination to and love of it doth permit. Whatever his tutor (that comes to him and spends half an hour in the morning and as much in the afternoon with his lordship) gives to do, I sit by his lordship to help him in after and afore, and to see and make him perform his task, endeavouring to render it as familiar and easy as I can possibly, explaining and acting it over and over. He makes better progress in arithmetic, and the table he had perfectly to get by heart hath been for a while a hinderance in his going very fast in it (which now he doth). His lordship is daily instructed in history, intermixed with geography, and according to his age and capacity we hope to accomodate and to raise his studies. He writes something every day to strengthen his hand by degrees. For his exercises of piety he is very diligent and careful in, and I do study to cultivate and improve those happy seeds of virtue, honesty and loyalty which have been with a large and bountiful hand sowed in his soul. I have often represented his lordship how much like an honest and generous man (as well as a good Christian) it was heartily to forgive and endeavour to forget the past differences between him and Mr. Berkeley, and to strive to be more civil and better

friends to him than ever, and I thank God I find it happily come to pass, and they seem very good friends. Now for my lord's expenses, I study to practise your good advice and to keep frugality as well as honesty. I keep also an exact account of whatever is spent and how the money I receive goeth, which at any time shall be ready for whose view and inspection shall be thought fit. I have lately satisfied the upholsterer and given him three pounds ten shillings for his quarter. Last week my lord's table expenses and mine were paid. His lordship's since his being here come to a matter of eighteen pounds both for the ordinaries and extraordinaries of his table (and for what others may have battled upon him), mine in particular (eating, as you know, at a different table in the college) are under four pounds only for ordinaries, having never had anything besides the commons. His lordship desires to be heartily remembered to you and to Mr. Percival, to whom I present here my most humble service.

Postscript.—My Lord Bishop and my Lord Courcy are both very well.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679, June 22, Dublin.—I had intimation that one Bonell is a constant and dangerous correspondent with the ill-affected here, whereupon I have sometime opened letters directed to Watts, who is but an ordinary merchant, and as I think the intelligence is intended by him to persons of more consideration. That which I send you herewith is the most important I have met with,* and you will observe that the superscription is not the same character with the letter. If letters directed to Bonell were looked into, possibly some other of his correspondents here might be discovered. I thought it not amiss to send you this letter, and leave you to consider what use to make of it.

23 June.—I am sorry all the pains I have taken to keep me in my Lord of Essex's favour are like to be lost, but when the order for the payment of the sum he mentions shall come, I hope it will appear I have not merited his displeasure in that particular or broken any promise I made, taking with it the conditions that must be implied in all promises: in the meantime that you may see something of the state of that matter, I send you what has passed betwixt Sir Cyril Wyche and me in it. I shall gather materials for a full narrative of it, and if after that I shall receive positive orders to allow of the payment of that sum out of the growing rent of the Farmers (of which there seems to me at this time so great and indispensable use) I can obey with much more pleasure than I can contend.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 24, Whitehall.—Your Grace's two letters of the 20th instant I have received this last post, and shewed both

* See p. 134 *supra*.

of them to His Majesty. As to the larger of them His Majesty is very well pleased with the conduct your Grace hath held, nor hath he as yet thought fit to give any farther orders till we hear something more decisive out of Scotland, from whence an express came yesterday, which brought letters from the Duke of Monmouth, which informed his Grace to be within a mile of the rebels with nigh double their force, they not being above 5,000 strong or thereabouts; so that every day we expect some news of considerable action or at least the dispersing of the rebels. As for your other letter, I find neither His Majesty nor the Commissioners of the Treasury, at least my Lord of Essex, at all disposed to it; we are so extremely bent upon retrenching that we very uneasily receive any proposition that augmenteth expense. A retrenchment more pinching than any of the former is hourly expected, as I suppose your officers of the Green Cloth have already informed you. We are very busy about the two contrary Plots, and meet difficulties enough how to avoid the increasing one disease whilst strive to overcome the other. We every day expect a peace betwixt France and Brandenburgh, and then where the French army will fall is not known, but the States General are alarmed.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, June 24, Castlemartyr.—I most humbly thank your Excellency for the honour of your letter of the 21st instant and for what your Grace has been pleased to impart unto me in it. I am very sorry the rebellion in Scotland is such that the Council there hath humbly craved His Majesty's aid both out of England and Ireland. I more than hope that since in the return your Excellency has made to the Order of the Council of the 10th instant you have not undertaken for the safety of this kingdom, tho' none of the forces of it should be drawn out of it, much less should a part of it be commanded out of it, that His Majesty will be pleased to leave your Grace the army you have entire. For if the rebellion be so great that neither the loyal party in that kingdom nor the forces ordered to help them under the Duke of Monmouth be not able to suppress it, 'tis to be doubted that the small party sent from hence will not be of so much benefit there as their absence will be of prejudice here, since 'tis but too probable if the rebellion there be prosperous it may have too much influence on the Scots of Ulster, who may be also the more incited to assist their associates if they see the forces which should awe them be sent into Scotland. And who knows if the discontented Scots in Ulster should rise, but the discontented Irish may do the like, and both do it with the less apprehension by the absence of a large part of this little army.

But should a body of men be sent out of it into Scotland, doubtless your Excellency's desire of recruiting this army

proportionately to the numbers sent out, it is in my poor opinion the best thing you could propose, tho' I am not without apprehensions that it will be difficult to get as many and as good men and horse in Ireland to fill up the vacancies as those are whose absence will make it. I most humbly thank your Grace for commanding Sir R. Aldworth's company to Limerick, and that your Excellency will send one other company at least to supply such as shall now be commanded out of that garrison, which I wish more expeditiously cleared of those who Sir William King and Sir George Ingoldsby have returned in a list may be well spared out of it. For since they expect to be removed I humbly think it may not be advisable (in such a conjuncture) to let them stay to hatch mischief. The securing of the principal towns is questionless very advisable, and since by doing thereof, as your Excellency writes, the country will be left to the guard of the militia, I most humbly offer it to your Grace's consideration that the care of regulating and of often training the militia in every county may be seriously recommended to some fit person or persons in every county who may be strictly required to see it effectually done, or be answerable if it be not done; and I presume to say the doing hereof is very needful.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, June 24th.—As yet I have not shewed the King either of your letters of the 3rd or the 13th of this month, expecting an issue of the affairs of Scotland, of which we do believe by the Duke of Monmouth's letter to hear very soon that there is an end of them. By yours of the 17th, which I received yesterday, I find you have given that answer to the demand of the Council concerning what forces you could spare which reasonably was to be expected. If I give you not quick accounts of my acting anything upon your letters, I beseech you to believe it proceeds not from slothfulness, but that as I am forced often many days to wait for favourable opportunities of discoursing with His Majesty, so upon other grounds I do defer it even when those do fall out, which are seldom enough. What has passed in the Council I suppose you will hear from more authentic hands. Last night the King commanded the Lords Chamberlain, Essex, Sunderland, Clarendon, Halifax to discourse about the Queen's affairs, and I happening to be in the King's bedchamber he called all the Lords of the Council into the inner room, and my Lord Clarendon was spoken unto to come up a private pair of stairs. I could not refrain from expressing to my Lord Chamberlain a resentment of my being excluded in this matter, averring with great truth that I looked upon it as an effect of the King's complaisance not to mingle me with company unto which I was not acceptable, and to be no mark of ill-will. My Lord Chamberlain said he heard the King send for me,

but I had no notice thereof; upon his lordship's telling him this I suppose it drew this morning the King's excuse, laying the blame upon the forgetfulness of Chivins [Chiffinch] together with his being so taken up with his thoughts of the Queen as he minded nothing else. Since my writing this I shewed the King your letters and have got leave to deal with the Marquis of Winchester and shall drive that affair with all possible speed, and as much to your advantage as I can. As to the penny in the pound out of the pay of the soldiers of the Scotch Regiment, His Majesty thinks it no way advisable, so you will hear no more of this. He commanded me to tell you that he intended not to have this Parliament sit until October, unless some unexpected accident intervene, but will have this kept secret. I then offered to his thoughts calling one in Ireland, which, he says, he will within a few days consider of. If within two hours we learn anything I shall not fail imparting it to you. I hope you will pardon this odd way of writing by snatches. I am desired by my Lord Castlehaven to recommend his concern to you. He has the King's letter, and His Majesty commanded me to mind you particularly of him. This lord is very kind to you and your family.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, June 25th, Whitehall.—His Majesty hath at this instant commanded me to send this express to you to bring you the news of the happy success of his Grace the Duke of Monmouth against the rebels; this enclosed paper will shew you the particulars of the action. This will answer many doubts and questions in your former letters as to shipping, provisions, etc. I suppose what will be chiefly incumbent upon your Grace will be to observe who of those that have been in the rebellion of Scotland or of their conspirators retire into the north of Ireland, and if any of eminency be amongst them to secure their persons till His Majesty shall send further orders. It is now very late, I will not deprive your Grace a moment in receiving this happy news, which I hope will have influence beyond Scotland.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, June 27, Castlemartyr.—When I received yesterday the great honour of your Excellency's letter, Lt.-Colonel Monro was with me, to whom I read that part of your Excellency's letter which concerned Captain Douglas, and I desired him to signify your Excellency's pleasure thereon unto that Captain, that he might pay his obedience to it.

I presume to acquaint your Grace that the new regiment is in want, having received but one month's pay since they landed. I have been necessitated to lend some of the companies money out of my own purse, and to borrow money for them till their own comes. I have lent the commanded

party out of my own troop and company one month's pay for officers and soldiers. For the 25th of March pay having been received before your Excellency's orders came, the money was paid to the soldiers, and they had paid it to discharge their debts, for now three months' pay more is due unto them. God knows, as your Grace writes, the army in this kingdom is too little and too ill-provided of all things to awe those we have reason to apprehend in this kingdom, and, therefore, I do not only hope but have also written to some friends of the Council that if possibly it can be avoided, no part of it may be commanded out of it, and I have given reasons why, in my poor opinion, I made to them that desire. My interest is very inconsiderable towards preserving the peace of this kingdom (which I am very sensible is of importance as to His Majesty's other dominions in all conjunctures of time and especially in the present), but all my endeavours shall never be wanting towards that duty, as your Excellency shall judge fit to command them.

I heartily wish we may not be found too sanguine in our hopes that this Scotch rebellion will be suddenly suppressed, for I much fear this fanatic people that have risen may be backed by persons of greater weight, if they find these first risers need help. The Covenant, I doubt, is deeply rooted in too many there, and I find even in the wild Declaration published the Covenant is mentioned. God grant I be mistaken in my apprehensions, but still 'tis best to provide against the worst. I unfeignedly lament the difficulties your Excellency struggles with. I would I were able to contribute anything which might be of ease to you. . . . .

I most humbly thank your Grace for your so favourably accepting the conclusion of my last letter. All the actions of my life shall evidence the unalterable duty I owe my King and my perfect obedience to his service in all commands your Grace shall honour me with.

Postscript.—We had the other day an ugly mutiny at Cork by Captain John St. Leger's company who cried one and all, but the corporal who began it and one of the ringleaders have been both punished and cashiered.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, June 28, Whitehall.—Since the last to you by the express I have little more to add, only there is a confirmation come from the Duke of Monmouth of the defeat, seven or eight hundred killed upon the place, and about twelve hundred prisoners brought into Edinburgh.

My Lord Castlehaven hath made a complaint to His Majesty, that the interest money for his 5,000*l.* hath been unpaid for above a year and a half; His Majesty commanded to write to your Grace that he desireth justice may be done to the Earl in that particular. Mr. Fanshaw likewise that married the widow of Mr. Sarsfield complaineth that Sir

Theophilus Jones by a contract with His Majesty agreed to deliver up the estate to such and such trustees for the use of young Sarsfield, the minor; that he hath been by virtue of the King's patent reprised, and yet retaineth both the reprisal and the minor's estate. His Majesty desireth your Grace will inquire into the true state of this affair, and if the complaint be found reasonable to see justice done. His Majesty goeth on Monday to Windsor. I shall remain here or hereabouts, and the Council sitteth two days a week here and once at Hampton Court. Your commands will find me by your usual address hither, and I shall obey them with the same readiness I have always done.

Ormond to Earl of Orrery.

1679, June 28, Dublin.—The reflections in your lordship's of the 24th and the advices are most solid and pertinent, and will continue to be useful tho' it should prove true that the rebels in Scotland are dissipated and subdued as a very probable report confirmed by concurring circumstances makes me believe they are. The report is that upon Friday last the King's forces, headed by the Duke of Monmouth, engaged the rebels, that the contest lasted Friday and Saturday, and that then the rebels were routed. The circumstances by which I am induced to believe the main of the report are that the Duke of Monmouth was the Tuesday night before arrived in Scotland, that the next morning by nine o'clock he went to the forces raised for the King twenty miles distant from Edinburgh, that the King's forces were superior in number to the rebels, and, which goes farthest with me, some persons fled out of Scotland with good horses and arms were apprehended in the north as they landed, two of whom have made their escape; which, though it be an ill argument of the care of the officers, is a good one of their guilt, and of the ill condition of their brethren in Scotland. I am of opinion what is said in the letter (whereof I send your lordship a copy) of three days' engagement was indeed three days' retreat, and, being overtaken the third day. I have upon this occasion divers letters and orders to send to the north, and must here end.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, June 28.—I am not wanting in point of diligence concerning the affair of the bargain, but the person being out of town I cannot conclude it until his arrival, which I am told will be within two or three days. It is resolved but not declared that a stop shall be put upon the board wages of the great officers and all others to that degree as the household is not to cost more than thirty thousand pounds a year. I do much apprehend that this may disturb the bargain now in agitation. The loss I receive is more than anybody's of the Court, having considerable salaries

in the King's and Queen's service. I have often put His Majesty in mind of a Parliament in Ireland ; even this day he promised to consider of the thing, and of what preparation ought be made thereunto. Within a few days I will resolve upon some course as to myself with relation to the present disappointment, until which time I shall defer giving my mother the trouble of writing to her.

ORMOND to EARL OF ESSEX.

1679, July 1, Dublin.—As soon as the payments due to Bridges were over, I bethought myself of what your lordship at our parting was pleased to recommend to my care for the satisfaction of those of the army who had not been paid equal with the rest the quarter ending at Christmas, '75, and of those who had given clothes to the soldiers. And tho' I could not nor yet can find His Majesty's letter requiring it, yet I thought the thing so reasonable that I was preparing for it when another charge came upon this Revenue by His Majesty's sending over the Scotch Regiment and commanding that the pay of it should be added to the establishment, which comes to near 20,000*l.* a year. Having now received His Majesty's renewed and express commands for it I shall put it in execution as soon as the account of what is due shall be stated ; for which order is given to the Deputy Vice-Treasurer, not doubting but that your lordship, who is so well acquainted with the state of the Revenue and charge of this kingdom by experience and by the late representations which lie before you, will judge how insufficient the one is to support the other, and to make those provisions that even in times of highest peace and greatest security are absolutely necessary, of which it were in vain to give your lordship a particular enumeration, since you cannot forget in what condition the want of money forced you to leave the magazines, forts and stores of this kingdom, that is how utterly defective in most things and how slenderly provided in anything. When your lordship and the rest of my Lords of the Treasury shall have time to look upon what lies before you in relation to the state of the charge of the Revenue here with the attention requisite, and compare it with the posture of affairs at home and abroad, I do not question but you will so represent the danger of this kingdom to itself, and in consequence to the rest of his dominions to His Majesty, that now whilst by the success of his arms in Scotland God gives time and opportunity for it, some care will be taken so to provide against an insurrection or invasion as to discourage or resist them. And since it appears to me by the retrenchments which I hear are designed in England, that from thence His Majesty's service here cannot be succoured with money or anything that will cost money, I know no way how it can be supplied but by calling a Parliament in this kingdom, which I have taken

the liberty to advise and press for ever since I came last into this kingdom, and in order to which Bills have lain long on that side. I confess the transactions there have been so many and so important that I do not wonder those Bills have not hitherto been considered, tho' there have been some intervals that to me at this distance seemed long enough for the work. I confess also that since the sending over of those Bills some things have fallen out, which if they could have been foreseen it is possible the Bills had not in all parts been sent as they were, particularly that for confirming of estates, against which many objections were raised at first transmission of it and some answers made to those objections, which lie in the hands of my Lord Chancellor, Mr. Secretary Coventry, Mr. Attorney or some of them. But since His Majesty had no design by that Bill but the security and satisfaction of his subjects, I should think it may either be mended there according to the sense of His Majesty and his Privy Council, and fitted to the present conjuncture and so returned; or it may be wholly laid aside, and it may be left to the Council here to prepare another Bill after the Parliament shall be met, agreeable to their desire for whose only sake it was ever thought of. I ask your lordship's pardon for the length of this letter, and your leave to put you in mind that several drafts of letters humbly proposed by me have lain long before your lordship, and the rest of the Lords of the Treasury, which tend in my judgment to the King's service and to the just discharge of your lordship's most faithful humble servant.

Postscript.—If there be any objections to the letters I humbly desire to know them, that I may acquiesce or endeavour to give your lordship satisfaction.

Earl of Orrery to Ormond.

1679, July 1, Castlemartyr.—I have received the great honour of your Grace's letter of the 28th of June, and am very glad to find in it that those poor thoughts of mine which I laid at your Excellency's feet were not unacceptable to you. I am not a little pleased at what your Grace vouchsafed to write to me of the defeat given by the blessing of God to the rebellious Scotch by the forces under the Duke of Monmouth. I hope the next packet will bring us a confimation, and all the particulars. God grant it may suppress the disorders of that kingdom. Your Grace is doubtless in the right that a fight which lasted three days could be nothing else but a retreating fight, unless the rebels, finding themselves overnumbered, did post themselves advantageously, and I think the lands about Glasgow are so well enclosed that the place by nature was advantageous for such a manner of defence. I humbly offer it to your Grace's consideration, if this news be confirmed of the defeat being total, whether the commanded horse and foot out of every troop

and company in Ulster may not be better employed to be along the coast there than if they were rendezvoud at the Naas. For if the fugitives come over for shelter into Ulster they will this fair season never land but in by-places, for they will easily conclude the usual ports for landing will be guarded ; and I doubt if those commanded men be drawn from that country, nay if not employed with others also for that service, divers may not only escape being taken, but also may endeavour to kindle a flame in the north of Ireland ; tho' possibly the terror of the late victory may retain many in their duty. . . . .

[The remainder of this letter relates to the cost of military tents.]

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 5.—I have writ to my mother concerning the late retrenchments. All I shall trouble you with upon that subject is to let you know that I have three very fine horses of the best breeds of Spain. If you please to make use of them, I shall send them unto you, presuming that you will furnish me with them or others to that proportion in case I should be again engaged in war, which I hope will not be my fate. If this proposition be not acceptable I desire soon to know your pleasure, that I may as soon as I can rid myself of the expense of them. Upon the notification of the marriage of the King of Spain and Mademoiselle, I engaged the King to let me be the bearer of his compliments if I could be spared from hence upon the score of his or the Queen's service or your concerns, unto which he easily consented. Having left myself a latitude of retreat, I give you the reasons that induced me : first, I believe the function is honourable enough, and, besides satisfying my curiosity, I may expect upon your account, who have ever been valued particularly by that Crown, and next upon my having served in their cause, to be at least as well received as any that could be sent from hence. The expense of the journey I doubt not but the King will furnish me wherewithal to bear, and if about October things absolutely necessary does not require my being here, I should not be sorry to have a just cause of absence. In this and all things I shall be determined by your pleasure, if you consent, and that this thing proceeds, which is yet secret, and I desire it may so continue. I shall then desire your letter to Don Juan and shall inform you of the style of writing to him. I am told of a grant to Percy Kirk, in which I am desired to mediate your favour therein. I spoke to the King about calling a Parliament in Ireland, and to-morrow at a meeting of a Committee of the Council, His Majesty said he would take that into consideration.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, July 5, Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of 21, 22 of June, together with all the papers sent with them.

As to all things relating to the Scotch rebellion, His Majesty conceiveth himself sufficiently armed in Scotland without giving further trouble to his other dominions, unless it should break out anew, which I hope it will not suddenly do, though I doubt the discontents are not laid asleep, though some of the men are. As for the arms seized on at Belfast and distributed amongst the fanatics, it hath an ill aspect; but I should think the way good your Grace in one of your former letters intimated you had taken, viz., to order that whatsoever arms were brought in should be put into magazines and the names of those that bought them certified; in which case there ought to be a preference to the militia, and especially in those parts where there is so much cause to suspect some secret understanding with their brethren the Scots. I have moved in Council that my Lord Ranelaghs' accounts may be sent back to your Grace, which I suppose will be accordingly done. I do not find any preparations in my Lord Ranelagh or his partners for that journey. They are at great differences with themselves, but his lordship is not without his friends in Court, though they do not much appear. His Majesty is now at Windsor, and the Council meeteth him but once a week. How criminal the words of Mr. Osborne are in law I know not, but certainly they are the indication of a very bad man, and as far as by law you may I suppose your Grace will resent it on him. The Duke of Monmouth is expected within a few days, and the Duchess of Cleveland. A suspension of all tables, pensions and what not?; if we can but keep the army and fleet as cheap as the household a little revenue will serve.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1679, July 6.—Your Vice-Chancellor, the Warden of New College, being now upon the death of the Warden of Winchester likely to be removed thither, and consequently obliged to quit his interest in this place, there will be occasion for your Excellency to think upon the nomination of a new Vice-Chancellor sooner than is used to be done. The Warden of Winchester died on Tuesday last, and I think there is twenty days respite by statute required before a successor is chosen, and afterward a month is allowed before the Wardenship of the College here becomes void. I take this first opportunity of signifying to your Excellency what has happened, it being of great importance that he who has the honour to represent your Excellency may be qualified to support that dignity, and that the University may have the benefit of a diligent and able Vice-Chancellor. Your Excellency will have the less difficulty in your designation, there being very few heads of houses who are capable of the charge, many having been Vice-Chancellors already, others are disabled by sickness or age, or the faculty which they profess. I was bold formerly to intimate that the most probable person

was, in my apprehension, Dr. Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's College, or Dr. Thomas Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College; tho' neither of these have fortunes which will enable them to bear the office with its usual splendour.

As to your Excellency's more immediate concern, I can assure you that my Lord James, by God's blessing, has perfect health, and I hope has received since he came hither visible improvements both of body of mind. He has the company of many very ingenious young noblemen who make it their business to pay him all respect and render his being here neither uneasy nor unuseful to him. It will be matter of great joy to me if I can contribute anything to my lord's future advantage and your Excellency's and her Grace's present content and security. Nothing shall be omitted within the power of your Graces, etc.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, July 8.—You are not to wonder at the uncertainty of persons' resolutions, especially if they have any dependence on those relating to the public. I thought the bargain sure with my Lord Marquis of Winchester, but this evening he has absolutely declined it, alleging the present suspension, but acknowledging with large expressions your favour, which he desired me to express from him. I have reason to believe that his friend my Lord President and he are not satisfied nor pleased with the growing interest of my Lords of Essex and Halifax. The latter is more assiduous than ever my Lord Lauderdale was. His aim, I am credibly told, is at the government of Ireland. I intend to shew the King your letter which I received of the first of this month, being advised thereunto. To that part relating to my son he will easily leave off when I point to him what it concerns. I am not satisfied with what I hear from him; in a short time, when I have seen him, I will give you an account and my opinion what to do with him. I am now busy about retrenching my family.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1679, July 12, London.—I received your last letter with the enclosed certificate of Dr. Meara, which came seasonably to help me in obtaining His Majesty and Council's order for Col. Talbot's liberty and their licence for his going into France for cure, both which your Grace will receive by this post.

On Thursday last at Hampton Court in Council His Majesty declared his pleasure to dissolve this Parliament. Some of us were sent for to Windsor last Lord's day, where, though we had large debate and discourse with His Majesty, nothing could divert this resolution. God send good success herein and guide the people to make a wise and moderate choice, or else I doubt we are out of the frying pan into the fire by

a new Parliament, which is to meet on Tuesday, the 7th of October next. We want your Grace's wisdom and experience at such a time.

The Duke of Monmouth returned two days since and left all quiet in Scotland by giving liberty for house conventicles. I wish this year may not prove fatal to this the best church in the world. I shall not trouble your Grace about the lapse money till I send the resolution of His Majesty and Council therein, but shall be ready to execute any your Grace's commands.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, July 12, Whitehall.—I received yours of the 6th of this month, which found me here, altogether intent upon reducing my family according to my income and pursuant to the advice you gave me. I do also intend to see my son very soon. My Lord Chamberlain thinks he has been long enough at Oxford and advises my bringing him to Windsor until further resolutions. Since you leave him to our care we will take the most justifiable course with him, and I hope to your content. Mr. Godolphn tells me of a person that has a mind to deal for your staff, but cannot name him till he has again spoken unto him. I will serve you the best I can, but shall not conclude without your approbation. I have not anything to trouble my mother withal.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1679, July 12, Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary being at his lodge I presume (by his command) to acquaint your Grace of the receipt of yours of the 6th instant, together with the report concerning the rubbish pretended to be thrown into the port of Kinsale, both which have been showed to His Majesty, and the latter will be communicated to the Council at the next meeting.

I have by this post sent your Grace the copy of Lord Ranelagh's accounts, of which Mr. Secretary gave your Grace advice by his last letter. I doubt not but your Grace will from all hands have the news of the dissolution of this Parliament, and another to be called to sit on the 7th of October next. This was declared in Council on Thursday last to be His Majesty's pleasure, but there is yet no proclamation issued out either for dissolving the one or calling the other, but I believe the proclamation will be signed next Council day.

On Thursday the Duke of Monmouth returned hither from Scotland, where he left much joy amongst the conventiclers, who have indulgence and liberty for house meetings, but not for those in the field. I wish the next Parliament be as good as this we part with, but as yet I have not seen that we have gained much by these bargains.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, July 12.—You will find [ ] last post that I am of opinion of the necessity of your good husbandry, and will contribute towards it as far as I can; if you cannot sell your Spanish horses to reasonable advantage you may send them hither, where they shall be kept for you and exercised as they ought to be. For myself I am past riding any upon any occasion but such as are easy and quiet. If you can be sure you shall spend no more than will be allowed you upon the expedition you project, I have nothing to object against it, but I do not see any possibility but that you must spend more, or appear there in an equipage unequal to the employment and to the reputation of our fortune and quality; for it is not to be expected but that (if such a ceremony cannot be accepted), yet it will be performed with all the frugality imaginable agreeable to the thrift now in practice; and so the allowance will be narrow, and you must run in debt or appear very unfit for so splendid a congress as that is like to be, so that you do well to keep yourself unengaged till you know that the character you shall bear will be equal to your quality and station and your allowance to them, but still remember that when you shall be once named for it, you will find it difficult handsomely to knock off for want of sufficient appointments or a character [ ]. The one will certainly expose you to censure as not setting a right and necessary value on yourself, and the other to one of the inconveniences I mentioned of being a dishonour to yourself and your character or undone by supporting it at your own charge. This is all I can say to that matter, no better instructed than I am. For as to the duty you owe to the King and Queen, to the Royal Family and your own, I suppose you will prefer them to any interest (if you could have any separate from them) and much more to any curiosity of your own, and how you can foresee that none of those can have use of you I know not; so unsettled and so much more than ordinarily subject to mutations of the highest nature the times are. If you consult my Lord Chamberlain in this affair, as doubtless you do, unless you are unwilling to hear reason which may contradict your inclination, I desire you to shew him this letter.

R. Spencer to Earl of Arran.

1679, July 13.—I conclude, my Lord, you hear before this that the last worthy Parliament is dissolved, and I hear men of honest principles will endeavour to be of the next, which makes me give you this trouble (which I ask you pardon for) to desire you to get a letter of my Lord Duke, your father, to the University of Oxford to recommend me to be one of their burgesses. If you can do me this favour, pray be pleased to give the letter to my sister Drogheda, and

she will convey it safely to me. I would have given myself the honour to have writ to my Lord Duke, but that I believed it would be more effectual to have your lordship recommend me and put my lord in mind of it, for if he pleases to do me this honour, the sooner I have it the better. I ask your pardon, my lord, for this trouble.

Postscript.—My lord and you know I am one of their body, being a Doctor and Canon of Christchurch.

ORMOND to EARL OF BURLINGTON.

1679, July 15th, Dublin—All I can tell your lordship of this kingdom is that since the defeat of the rebels in Scotland there seems to be a great calm. I confess before that I was not without some apprehensions of the common sort of the Scots in the north, being well assured that their false teachers held correspondence with their brethren in Scotland. The English (some few giddy and poor fanatics excepted) have no inclination to disturb the Government, tho' they do not in all things acquiesce or observe the constitutions of it, and I have not any fear of the Irish, beyond torying, but in case of a civil war amongst those that go under the name of Protestants or in case of an invasion. Your lordship has concern enough here to dispose you to pardon my giving you this general account of the place*.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, July 15, Exchequer.—I have sent you a letter from the King upon notice given that the Attorney-General did expect the order from your Grace for the prosecution of his title in the towns of Carlingford and Dundalk with what belongs to them, His Majesty being informed that he has been deceived in his grant, and that the title remains in him, in order to which he has been pleased to command me to send the Attorney-General instructions for the prosecution of it, which I have done, and humbly desire your Grace to give your commands accordingly to the Attorney-General for the prosecution of it.

Mrs. Nelly has commanded me to let you know that her agent, Mr. Melish, has not yet completed her pension for Michaelmas half-year, and also sends her word that he has no hopes when to receive the Lady half-year last past, for that there is a stop upon it. She begs your Grace's favour in this, and that you would please to command any of your servants to let me know what the condition of it is, and what she may expect, presuming she shall find your kindness enough to assist her in this particular, and has commanded me to assure your Grace that nothing would please her better than to have a share in serving your Grace.

The business now begins to be about elections, which I fear will not answer much to the counsel of dissolving the Parliament; nor can I anyway perceive why expectations

* The concluding sentences of this letter are illegible.

should be extraordinary for any change of proceedings, for the persons will be most the same, and whether the apprehensions of frequent dissolutions may breed compliance sooner than displeasure, I dare not determine ; but I fear the last, and the effect of that may be a demand of a prefixed time of sitting, which is the greatest shake to the prerogative, and was the fatal acquisition of that Parliament that built a civil war upon the Triennial Bill. But I will hope the best, and since there is no salvation but by the love of the King and his happiness, 'tis reasonable to believe that argument joined to that fatal memory will quiet all loyal minds from letting their resentments overrule their reason and experience. Here is nothing else worthy of your Grace's knowledge at present, when there is I will not omit my duty in giving you the best account that occurs to me.

Rev. Peter Drelincourt to Ormond.

1679, July 17, Oxford.—Il y a trois jours que je receus l'ordre qu'il a plu à votre grandeur de me faire signifier par M^r^ le Docteur Morton. J'espère s'il plaist a Dieu d'y obeir ponctuellement, rendant conte chaque semaine à vôtre grandeur de l'état de Monseign^r^ vôtre digne petit fils, et je le feray comme je fais a present selon ma conscience & avec toute la verité et la sincerité imaginable.

Sa santé Monseigneur est graces à Dieu touiours bonne, il est touiours gay & vigoureux & son embonpoint touiours le même. Il est creu visiblement depuis six mois et a beaucoup plus l'air d'homme qu'il n'avoit.

Pour ses etudes son tuteur en a icy la principalle direction (suivant la coutume de l'université). M^r^ nôtre bon Evêque, qui continue d'être touiours tres bon et tres obligeant à my lord vient souvent le matin nous surprendre, voir ce que fait my lord & lire qu'elques moments avec luy. Le dit tuteur luy a doné durant qu'elques mois des *Epigrammes* de Martial à apprendre, et comme c'étoit mon devoir je les luy expliquois, les luy faisois traduire & apprendre par coeur ensuite Monseigneur il luy a donné des vers de Virgile. La matinée est employée au Latin apres les prieres particulieres et la lecture dans la Bible. L'apres dinée le tuteur luy vient montrer l'arithmetique, et je luy fais ensuitte des leçons d'histoire meslée de geographie.

Mais, comme ma conscience, & mon zéle pour le bien de mon cher Seigneur ne me permettent pas de rien déguiser dans une chose de si grande importance je supplie tres humblement vôtre grandeur de ne pas trouver mauvais si je luy dis franchement que l'avancement de my lord ne répond pas à mon avis aus grandes esperances et à la bonne opinion que l'on peut avoir de ce lieu si fameux. Je le dis monseigneur avec un esprit désinteressé. J'estime et j'honore extremement cette belle université ou pour mon avancement particulier j'ay passé plus d'une fois un tems assez considerable ;

mais il semble que bien des gents ayant dessein icy de rendre la condition des jeunes gents de qualité aisée et agreable. Messieurs les Tuteurs ont leur maniere d'enseigner qu'ils ne veulent point changer, ils font ce qu'ils veulent, et quand ils veulent rien d'avantage. Le tuteur de my lord qui pour le dire franchement suit ce chemin aussy bien, ou mieux que les autres (soit par inclination, ou que ses cinq ou six autres pupilles, ses affaires particulieres, ou ses divertissements l'occupent fort) vient qu'elque fois enseigner my lord une demy heure, ou un quart d'heure le matin, autant apres midy, souvent il n'est pas venu quatre fois la semaine & il y a plus de trois semaines que nous n'avons eu la joye de le voir dans le cabinet de my lord. C'est icy un tres grand crime que de trouver a redire à ces manierres. Mr Gandy le vois aussy bien que moi, et c'en est un bien plus grand de l'écrire a vôtre grandeur, et qui s'il étoit sçeu par aucun de cette université ne me seroit jamais pardonné. Ce n'est pas Monseigneur que je craigne personne de pouvoir retorquer contre moy, et de dire avec apparence de verité que je m'attache à autre chose qu' au bien, à l'avancement et à la conservation de mon cher seigneur et que je n' en fasse pas ma grande et mon unique affaire : et que je n'y employe pas tout mon tems. C'est monseigneur ce que je supplie tres humblement vôtre grandeur de croire que je fais avec tout le zèle et l'affection imaginable.*

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1679, July 19.—This moment is arrived your Grace's letter of the 12th, together with the two others from yourself and Council concerning Lord Ranelagh and partners. Mr. Secretary is at his lodge, where he spends four or five days a week during His Majesty's being at Windsor, but these letters shall be immediately sent to him, and I am confident will by him be represented to His Majesty and Council the next Council day, which will be Thursday next. The great news we have here (besides that of Lord Halifax, Lord Gerard and Lord Roberts being made Earls, which I doubt not but your Grace has been already acquainted with) is the trial of Sir George Wakeman and three others concerned (or at least accused of being so) in the Plot ; they were yesterday at the Old Bayly all acquitted, which has very much surprised many people here, supposing it may have some influence upon those great ones that are yet untried. We are likewise very busy in all parts in order to new elections of Members of Parliament, and by what can yet be guessed at, most of the same faces will appear there again, which, if they do, I believe they will not be in much better humour for having spent a great deal of money for the same place they had most of them paid dear for before.

* The orthography and the original has been followed in this transcript.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, July 19, Whitehall.—This night my son came hither, having sent for him to satisfy my curiosity. He is grown fat, but not to the degree I did expect. I am just now returned from Windsor, and having had no discourse with him or his governor I cannot now give you any further relation of him. I came hither upon the account of Sir John [George] Wakeman's trial, to see if I might anyways serve the Queen; the success you will have from the public news. It has very much rejoiced the Queen, since it is believed that she will have no other trouble than that of having been named for a fact, which even her enemies, I believe, in their hearts do not think her capable of. The King did express much kindness to her, and with tears of joy did express the satisfaction he had for the acquittal of this man, which he presumes will hinder the malicious attempts of ill men against her. However, he has promised to be steadfast in his justice and kindness to her. I sent an express immediately to her with an account of that transaction. She is pleased to be contented with my good will, which was all that lay in me towards her service.

My Lord Chamberlain's hand permits him not to write. He has enjoined me, upon my telling him that I was privately looking after a habitation for you in case of your removal, to offer you Euston, which you know is well furnished. You will also have his hounds and hawks, and be far from giving him any trouble in accepting this proposition. I can assure you he says this heartily, and not by way of compliment. You will be pleased to acknowledge to him this civility. If this suits not with your inclinations, Sir Stephen Fox tells me he believes my Lord of Clarendon may be contented to let Cornbury, which they say is a very fine place; all this is supposing a change, which, though reported, yet I cannot find any ground for it. My Lord Chamberlain desires you to think of the hawks you promised him, and to have them sent with all speed, the season drawing near for those sports. I beseech you to pay Savignon according to the King's pleasure, which, at my request when I waited on you at Dublin, you were pleased to promise him your favour herein.

Examinations of Robert Sanders, H. Gethings and John Horden Relative to an Attempt to Assassinate the King.

Robt. Sanders, Master of the ship *Virgin*, from Barnestable, being sworn and examined, and Henry Gethings, pilot of the same ship, being also sworn and examined, say and the said Henry Gethings for himself saith, That he heard it publicly spoken at a christening in Barnestable that Mr. Edward Carpenter and Mr. Harvey, men of note in that country, wrote several letters to their friends from London, dated about the 9th or 10th instant, making report that

soon after the dissolution of the Parliament a person presenting a petition to His Majesty with a hat in one hand and a stick under the other arm, so soon as the petition delivered, let fall the stick with a skane or tack therein with some kind of spring thereto, which the person most dexterously recovered and made a pass at His Majesty's breast, but did not pierce him by reason his coat of mail or other defence under his coat made resistance, upon which the party was apprehended, and confessed he was to have three thousand pounds if he had killed His Majesty. The said Gethings further saith that he being a burgess or freeman of the said town of Barnestable had several debates about election of the same persons, Sir Hugh Ackland and Colonel Basset, Members in Parliament (the present being dissolved). A new Parliament are to meet about the 5th or 10th of October next, and further saith not

[Signed.] Henry Gethings.

And the said Robert Sanders, being master and part owner of the said vessel, saith that he set sail from Barnestable on the 18th instant, and that he heard several people say that the King was attempted to be stabbed, but prevented only by what he wore, and further saith not

[Signed.] Robert Sanders.

John Horden, master of the *Unicorn* from Barnestable, set sail from thence on the 19th instant, being examined, saith, That the aforementioned report was not confirmed to his friend the last packet relating to His Majesty, but the other part as to the dissolution of the Parliament and meeting of a new about the 7th October was confirmed by several letters.

Examinations taken before me, Edward FitzGerald als Villiers, Esquire, on the 21st July, 1679.

John Horden.

Endorsed. "Received from E. of Orrery, 25 July, '79."

Earl of Longford to Earl of Arran.

1679, July 22, London.—It is a good while since I saw Mrs. Ferrers, and therefore I can give your lordship no account of her resolution concerning your children, which I heartily wish were safe with you. If your lordship had sent me a copy of the representation from the Board concerning my Lord Ran., undertakings, also a copy of the report from the Commissioners of his accounts, I could have made very good use of them by my application to my Lord Halifax and Lord Falmouth and others before that matter could be brought before the Council, whereas now it will two days hence be read in Council, and I cannot prepare them beforehand, because I cannot divine what those papers contain, no more than I can the purport of that letter written to Mr. Secretary, with whom I have now but seldom conversation by reason of his being out of town And now my Lord Ranelagh's affair is at a crisis, methinks

'tis pity you should thus do business by halves, for though it is a matter of great importance to my Lord Lieutenant to crush now so dangerous and dexterous an enemy, for which he will never have the like opportunity, I do not find that vigour in the prosecution that is necessary to the accomplishing of it, which is some discouragement to those servants of his Grace's here who out of no other consideration than their zeal to his service have so heartily embarked in it. For, notwithstanding those material hints I have given both his Grace and yourself upon this subject, neither of you so much as take notice of them, which does not only leave me in the dark, but out of countenance too, when I am asked questions by those necessary instruments I make use of to gain our point. I understand Col. Bramston's company is removed from Longford, of which I am very sorry for several reasons. And, therefore, if your lordship could prevail with my Lord Lieutenant for their marching back again thither I shall own it as a particular favour.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, July 22.—I received yesterday three letters of the 17th of this month. Two of them spoke of one Mr. Stephens, who I have not yet seen, but shall be civil unto him as occasion shall offer, and the more willingly since he is recommended to my Lord Primate. The discourse continues of either the Lord of Essex or Lord Halifax to be sent into Ireland, upon which accounts my Lord Chamberlain did intend even before he saw your letters this day to discourse with His Majesty to find out his resolutions, believing that if nothing of that kind be intended that it is for His Majesty's service that those reports be quashed. He will also represent how much it may import the calling a Parliament in Ireland, and the injustice you suffer by my Lord of Essex's not having your accounts examined, but, as is said, on the contrary defers that and insinuates things tending to his being dissatisfied with expenses lately made. Of this last particular when I have an opportunity I shall speak of it unto His Majesty. By the next post I shall give you my Lord Chamberlain's and my opinion what is fit to be done with James. I received this morning a letter from Monsieur St. Helène, which shall be transmitted unto you; as to himself nothing can be said until we see what is to be done with James. For his son, who they say is a very good officer, I wish with all my heart he were a lieutenant or cornet of horse; if things continue in the present state I wish you would let him serve you as a gentleman until such provision can be made; he is a blunt but a very stout and a careful officer.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1679, July 23, Dublin.—If Parliaments continue to be so short-lived and I to be Chancellor of Oxford, the University

is like to have frequent recommendations from me. That which I have now given Mr. Lane, the bearer, is with much assurance that he will discharge the trust with zeal for the Church and the University. I wish the House of Commons may consist of none worse affected than he, and then we may hope for that temper we stand so much in need of. If I did not think thus of him I should not desire your lordship's furtherance to his pretensions as now I do.

PETITION OF INHABITANTS OF YOUGHAL TO ORMOND RELATIVE TO LICENSES TO TRADE IN WOOL.

To HIS GRACE JAMES, DUKE OF ORMOND, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, and the Lords of His Majesty's most Honble. Privy Council.

The humble petition of several the inhabitants, merchants, and traders in the Port of Youghal, in the County of Cork.

Humbly sheweth

That in obedience to a late order from your Grace bearing date the tenth day of May last, forbidding the entering and shipping of wool, woollen yarn, &c., without due licence first had and obtained in the true proprietor's names for greater or lesser quantities, your petitioners have withheld their accustomed practice of buying small quantities of wool as heretofore from poor tenants, by reason your petitioners in former times had licences granted to them as known merchants and their assigns, for which they became security for one thousand five hundred stone in each licence, paying the Lord Lieutenant's dues four pence for each stone and one pound five shillings to the Secretary, as will appear by a copy of licences [of] old date, now presented to the view of your Grace and most Honble. Privy Council. That your petitioners are owners and part owners of a considerable number of ships and vessels that frequently from this port attend the carrying of small and great cattle as well as other goods for England, where it often happens that petty merchants do take freight for four or five bags of wool where cattle and sheep cannot be stowed, which for time out of mind they have had the benefit of, endorsing small quantities of wool on such licence as is usually taken out in some of our names, or in the name of the Clerk of the Custom House, for which we or some of us, as part owners of the vessel, become security for the true landing thereof in England, our port being too public a port to commit frauds of the like nature as is suggested in your Grace's letter of carrying wool into foreign parts. The premises considered your petitioners humbly pray

That according to ancient custom and practice in case of obtaining licence that your Grace and Honble. Privy Council may propose a way for the encouragement of trade by granting licence, as heretofore hath been used time out of mind in this port, or otherwise with such

restrictions as your Grace and most Honble. Privy Council shall think fit to direct, to the end that petty dealers in small quantities of wool may be permitted as our assignees to endorse it on our licences as heretofore. So as not to be exposed to the trouble and charge of taking out distinct licence for such small quantities which many times happen to be less than one hundred stone, and sometimes not above ten or twenty stone, they freighting our vessels with cattle, sheep and such small quantities of wool, for which we or some of us are and will always be obliged to have certificate returned as the law directs, without which not only your Petitioners (as at this day) but several petty chapmen that come from and are frequently passing to England, must and will desist both from buying and exporting wool, not only to the diminution of trade, but also to our considerable loss in the freight of our ships, some of us not dealing in that commodity, and that order may be given with all imaginable strictness to the officers of the Custom House to take good and sufficient security for any wool, woollen yarn, &c., to be entered and shipped off from hence, to no other end but that licence may as heretofore be ready in the office for the shipping off of greater or less quantities of wool at uncertain times when strangers and such as manage the affair of exporting cattle bring it either to sell or ship off by freighting our ships and other vessels, and as in duty bound your Petitioners shall ever pray.

Edward Lawndy, Mathew Spencer, John Merrick, Rich. Danter, John Atkin, Ebenezer Murdock. John Danter, John Melhuish (for Richd. Yeats), Robt. Ball, James Dowlen, Edward Crockford, Tho. Lawrence, George Hayles, John Jones (for Christop. Tutthill), John Hitchcocke, John Vaughan, Tho. Baker, junr. 1679.

Endorsed 7th July, 1679.—Referred to the Farmers of His Majesty's Revenue in Ireland to consider of the within petition and certify what they conceive fit to be done thereupon.

Ormond.

Mich. Armach. C., Jo. Dublin, Blessinton, Granard, Lanesborough, Hen. Midensis, R. Coote, Rob. Fitzgerald, Ro. Booth, John Keatinge, Jo. Bysse, Ol. St. George.

Further Endorsed July 23, 1679.—May it please your Grace and Lordships

In obedience to the above order of reference, we have considered of the within petition of the merchants and traders in the port of Youghal, and do humbly certify that we do not conceive it anyway prejudicial to His Majesty's Revenue or interest that licences be granted as formerly for the trans-

portation of wool in such manner as by the petition is desired. And that it will be a very great encouragement to petty dealers in that commodity and poor tenants if your Grace shall think fit to allow thereof to have the liberty to endorse upon any licence then in being (as heretofore was usual), such small quantities of wool as they shall have occasion to transport, provided good security be taken for the returning certificate according to law. All which is humbly submitted to your Grace and this honourable Board this 23rd July, 1679.

E. Richbell.
Stan. Mill. J. Gourney.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, July 25, Whitehall.—Upon reading to His Majesty in Council a petition of several Protestant proprietors of houses in the town of Galway to your Grace, representing the great decay of trade in that town by reason of the removal of the Irish inhabitants out of the said town, and praying that such of them may be restored as shall give good security for their loyalty and peaceable deportment: His Majesty was pleased to declare, that his former directions for removing Irish Papists from inhabiting in Corporations having been grounded upon an Address of the House of Peers here, his Majesty thinks not fit at present to make any alteration therein. Which is all I have to return upon that matter.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1679, July 26, London.—Your letter of the 17th I received the 23rd instant, and the next day at Hampton Court in Council obeyed your Grace's commands therein for setting the Lord Mountgarret at liberty, which Mr. Secretary Coventry will send your Grace order for this post, and in other particulars that were the same day ordered at Council. This post your Grace will also receive His Majesty and Council's final orders for levying the lapse money, wherein I beseech your Grace's favourable despatch in kindness to my Lord Chamberlain and me, your old servant. Your Grace will also receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry the draught of a letter intended by His Majesty to settle my barren lands in Beare and Bantry, which was my reprisals for rich lands in Meath, to be made into two manors with some privileges, wherein I followed the pattern of His Majesty's grants to my Lord Lanesborough. I entreat your lordship's report thereupon may be transmitted by the first to Mr. Secretary, that I may pass my grant in Ireland.

Primate Boyle to Ormond.

1679, July 26, Blessinton.—I herewith send your Grace what I received yesterday from my Lord Ranelagh, by which your Grace will find that we are not to expect any of his

lordship's partners to attend their accompt here, if they can avoid it. What his lordship means by signing an accompt there I do not understand. Why Major Moore's applications should disgust his lordship to the degree of a complaint, I cannot see any other reason but that his partners here (from whom he must receive his intelligence) find themselves under some unexpected difficulty to answer them, for in my opinion they do not much differ from what your Grace is directed by a letter from His Majesty and Council for the discovery of compositions. I cannot recollect any reflecting or scandalous words in his paper other than that he is not performed with according to the undertaking, and if that gives the offence I doubt he will meet here with plenty of such entertainment.

What your Grace discoursed as very irrational in Sir George Wakeman's declining to plead, you now find is come to pass. All persons are not of the same temper, and despondency is not the effect of courage but of cowardice. I am in great pain until I shall hear how your Grace compassed your long journey to Tullogh, for there is no man living more concerned for your Grace's person and for your eternal happiness than &c.

Sir William Temple to Ormond.

1679, July 29, Sheen.—Since the honour I received of a letter from your Grace, I have met with nothing worth your trouble from hence, besides what I know goes constantly from better hands. That which I presumed your Grace would be content to know at this time is what I received yesterday in a letter from the Prince of Orange, whereby I find that after all the endeavours of the French to encourage and heighten a party in the State there in favour of alliances with France and in opposition to the Prince, which has been hitherto kept up for several months past by the town of Amsterdam alone, that town is now fallen in wholly with the rest of the towns and provinces into a perfect conjunction of interests and sentiment with the Prince, so that I look upon that State as more united at this time than it has been since that of his great grandfather, which is a point of very great importance in the present state of affairs in Christendom. The next thing to be desired were the same good fortune here, which His Majesty seems resolved to endeavour, but of which no man can yet make any judgment but that it must be determined by the event of next session of Parliament, and thereby I think the fate not only of these nations but the rest of Europe too. In the meantime I cannot but rejoice with your Grace in particular upon the happy success of His Majesty's affairs in Scotland, which could not have continued long embroiled without very ill effects upon Ireland, either by drawing off those troops which ought to preserve the peace of that kingdom or raising humours that might disturb it. I wish your Grace a long continuance

of all good fortunes and good health, and to myself many occasions of expressing the truth and passion wherewith, &c.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1679, July 29, London.—Had I received on Saturday last your Grace's of the 22nd and 23rd instant (which came not to my hands till this day, being sent in my Lord Ossory's packet to Windsor) my letter to your Grace on Saturday had been much shortened in those hints I gave relating to my Lord Ranelagh's accounts, which your Grace has, I find, put into so good a method that nothing is to be added to it. I did in my last tell your Grace that he now gives out that he suddenly intends for Ireland, having borrowed money in order to it, and if he goes (as your Grace guesses) he may carry strong and powerful recommendations to your Grace and my Lord Chancellor, and yet not with design to stand him in any other stead than a civil reception; for the approaching Parliament (to which my Lord Ranelagh will be as obnoxious as any person whatsoever) will keep everybody in awe, and therefore it will concern your Grace to have those accounts (if possible) determined before they meet. I have received your Grace's bill of exchange for the 30th, which I have this afternoon sent to be accepted, and then I shall deliver it to the party for whom your Grace designs it, who will, I dare undertake, with all duty and zeal imaginable endeavour to deserve your Grace's favour as far as his capacity can enable him. I shall call to Mr. Thynne for a sight of your Grace's letter, and when I next wait upon the King at Windsor, shall lay home to him the impossibility of putting that kingdom into a posture of defence or subsisting with the increase of the charge, without some additional helps from a Parliament. It is the Coffee-house news here that Sir Tho. Armstrong is banished the Court, which I have sometime since expected would be so, and I have given my Lord Arran the reason of it. My brother's account with the East India Committee is now preparing, and as soon as that is over I shall hasten into Ireland to pay my duty to your Grace. The Scotch Lords are not well pleased that their attacks upon my Lord Duke Lauderdale have met with no better success.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, July 29.—My Lord Chamberlain came to London and stayed two days upon the account of seeing James, and his opinion is against his returning any more to Oxford, but would have him in the academy as soon as the weather grows more temperate, which will be a more proper education than the other for one of his quality. I know the hazards and viciousness of an academy is to be objected, but in all things we must trust to fortune or rather Providence when the best

course is taken ; some propose his being an *externi ;* if of these two you will make a choice I submit mine to your opinions. I do think nothing will rid him so much of his fat and phlegmatic humours as the French air. He wants not sense, and if he be not lazy, but makes use of his understanding, I hope he may prove well. My Lord Chamberlain waits an opportunity of discoursing with His Majesty on the subject I mentioned in my last. I have not anything worth troubling my mother with a letter at this present.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, August 2, Whitehall.—The letter from your Grace and Council to me of the 23rd of July I communicated to the Board, who thereupon made this order, which I here enclosed send your Grace copied, that there may be no mistake on my part. They say some of the partners are gone over, and it is reported that my Lord Ranelagh himself will suddenly go. I doubt his welcome will not be very agreeable. You will see by this order that the Council have approved of all that you have done as to this matter and comply with you in what you desire should be done here. His Majesty is gone to the Downs to view the coast there. The Earl of Essex told me but two days since that three of your letters referred to the Commissioners of the Treasury were answered, and that the fourth should immediately be dispatched. We have here no news, at least to be believed. Elections for Parliament men employ men's brains and tongues very much ; most men think the Parliament will be much the same as to the persons, but more the same as to the humour.

I humbly thank your Grace for the recruits of horses, which I received from your groom in very good condition. Sir Nicholas is arrived and looketh as he did, it being hard to describe him otherwise.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, August 2.—To yours of the 12th and 22nd of July, which I received at the same time, to the first, which speaks of my journey to Spain, I shall give you an account of my proceedings therein. I did not motion this without consulting my Lord Chamberlain, who knows more of that place and those things than any person here. His opinion is that to go as an envoy rather than an ambassador does suit more with my quality, and considering that I make no stay, that nothing of an equipage will be expected ; as to the congress, where magnificences will be the fashion, my business will not call me thither, but to Madrid, where I shall not make so long a stay as anything like housekeeping will be expected, and which is not the custom of that Court. If I do not find that the King's allowance will bear my charges, or that I may be spared from hence without omission of my

duty to the Queen or of my service to you, I can easily withdraw any engagement I am under, having left that reservation when I made the proposal to His Majesty. I do not deny but curiosity is an ingredient in this matter, but as I shall easily depart from this, if it be not to your liking, so I assure you I shall not have a temptation to it if I think my presence necessary here upon any account either of duty or honour. The Spanish horses I thought might be acceptable to you, but since you intend not to use them I have let the master of an academy to be erected here to have them, who keeps and teaches them at a cheap rate. As to my son, since your pleasure is for his return to Oxford, I have ordered it on Monday next; my Lord Chamberlain thinks it no advantageous place, but rather an academy, and until the weather be fit for his going into one does invite and desire to have him with himself at Euston. He cannot be with a friend that is possible to be more concerned for him than I find my Lord Chamberlain to be. The King is gone a sea voyage, and nothing new among us.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, August 5, London.—The enclosed paper is an extract of a letter which Mr. Hayes had by the last packet from his father Ottrington, and I saw on Saturday a letter from Sir Robert Reading to Sir James Butler to the same purpose, which I then gave your Grace a hint of, and the enclosed I thought proper for your Grace's view that you may be prepared to take your measures accordingly. But I must beseech your Grace to keep it to yourself, for should it take air we shall have no more informations of this kind. My Lord Ranelagh has this week waited in the bedchamber for another, on purpose to have the opportunity of what favourable despatches he pleases to prepare from His Majesty to your Grace and my Lord Chancellor, for if he can but charm you two, he doubts not but to wheedle the rest of the Commissioners of his accounts, and I have it from very good hands that he brags amongst his friends that he doubts not but by a treat or two to your Grace at Ferrey's [?] and playing with your Grace at Umbra, to accomplish an absolute reconciliation and surmount the difficulties with which he finds himself now embarrassed. All I have to say upon the point is that if your Grace lets him now slip out of your hands and come over hither triumphant after all the representations have come over from the Board against him, he will be for ever established in the King's opinion and favour, and then your Grace must expect such a storm against you as none of your servants here can ever hope to weather, nor indeed will they have heart to attempt it when you shall leave yourself at his mercy after all the cautions you have had and the experience of his malice and treachery towards you which he has practised those several years. That mischief

is preparing against you I have reason to conclude from a rumour spread within this week about the town of a late letter your Grace has written, wherein your Grace in representing the state of that kingdom said that the fanatics there who began to prick up their ears upon the Scotch rebellion do now pull in their horns since the defeat of the rebels. This is taken as a clear argument of your Grace's disaffection to the Protestants, because your Grace by this seems to represent them in this conjuncture as more dangerous to the Government than the Papists of whom the generality of the people here have still very severe impressions from the discovery of the Plot. And it is said that it is very hard measure in your Grace not to unite all the Protestants there who are so disproportionable in number to the Papists. Whether your Grace has writ such a letter I know not; but if you have, the publishing of it in this conjuncture is very injurious to you; and if you have not, the design of your enemies in giving it out now is very palpable, for it is done only with intent to give the approaching Parliament a very ill impression of you, and consequently to prepare them for whatever attack is intended against you. I have not seen Mr. Secretary Coventry these ten days, but I hear he will be in town tomorrow, and then I shall discourse him upon this affair and advise how I may be most serviceable to your Grace in it. Sir Henry Ingoldsby was with me on Sunday, when I found him very full of acrimony against your Grace, of whose slighting him after all his services to you in opposition to the Earl of Orrery, and disobliging him in preferring Drury Wrey to the command of the militia troop in Limerick before his brother George he complains. What motives your Grace had to do this I am not to question, but I could wish he had not been disobliged, for he is a bold talker and has great acquaintance amongst that party who are now getting into the saddle. He, in plain English, says your Grace puts greater confidence in the Papists than the Protestants, that when the Plot was discovered first in Ireland your Grace took so little notice of it that, though the Papists thronged then to Dublin and into the Castle in greater numbers than they had done formerly, yet your Grace did not think fit to double the guards though pressed to it by himself and others; that the guards were without bullet or powder, and that there was no guard considerable upon the magazine where the powder was, and that the Government was then so negligent that the lives of all the Protestants were exposed to the mercy of the Irish; that the settling of the militia was very dilatory; and that when the Protestants contracted with merchants for bringing in arms and ammunition and had obtained licences for it, those licences were again recalled to the manifest danger of the Protestants; and concluded that the Protestants could never be secure while the Government was in your Grace's hands. And when he talks with this

freedom to me I leave your Grace to judge what his behaviour is towards you amongst others. I resolve on Saturday to be at Windsor, where I will take an occasion of acquainting His Majesty with this, that when the reformation of the Council there is taken into consideration it may be remembered. But this justice I must do him, or rather Sir Richard Stephens, who forced him to acknowledge before my Lord Shaftesbury that your Grace proposed the Irish should be immediately disarmed as the English were formerly, but that matter was overruled by another person, with whose opinion the Council there concurred. Perhaps it is not much for your Grace's advantage that your opinion did not take place. And I am as little satisfied as another that you did not exercise the power His Majesty has placed in your hands; but if you will expose yourself, what can your servants answer for you? All I can say is that if your Grace will trust yourself and nobody else I dare answer it with my head if you suffer prejudice, but if you will let the world believe you are governed by others, it is such a reflection upon your prudence as no man can atone for. My Lord, I have always been a plain dealing man, and if I have any place in your friendship you will value me for it. My humble opinion is that your Grace should let the world see you are not influenced by any whatever, and then the devil himself cannot hurt you. Captain Frazer, being by his more important occasions necessitated to attend here in England, begs your Grace's permission that he may dispose of his company there, which I suppose your Grace will not deny him, the same liberty having been afforded to others in his condition. And since your Grace may choose his successor, I humbly conceive His Majesty's service will not suffer by any indulgence your Grace shall think fit to allow him in this particular.

Primate Boyle to Ormond.

1679, August 5, Blessinton.—I received the honour of your Grace's of the 2nd instant, with a copy of Mr. Secretary Coventry's letter concerning the Irish inhabitants of the town of Galway. It seems somewhat strange that such a positive order should be sent to the Chief Governor here without first consulting him in the point, who must be supposed to understand the affairs of that nature which are under his present view and government as well, if not better than any other persons at a distance can pretend unto. But since it hath not been thought fit to advise with your Grace about it, I must think (with submission) that you are rather delivered from a difficulty than involved in one. It ought (as I suppose) to be your Grace's satisfaction rather than trouble that it is not done after your advice had been first taken, for should your Grace's opinion have been given disagreeable to the Address of the House of Lords, perhaps

it might have been ill interpreted if the bend of that House at the next meeting should incline the same way they did before. Besides it is not certain what use might have been made thereof by some who are not over kind to your Grace's proceedings, but now those difficulties seem to be over, you have nothing to do but to obey and let the consequence be what it will your Grace is without blame. As to the order of the Council in this kingdom, that cannot certainly stick much in your way, but will soon be reversed by the same Council, when your Grace shall acquaint them with His Majesty's directions in that matter. It may perhaps be some question with your Grace whether it may be convenient to acquaint His Majesty with this order of Council, for by that your Grace's and the Council's sense will appear to be differing from the sense of the House of Lords. I cannot suppose there can be any force in that objection to your Grace's disadvantage, for what your Grace and the Council did therein was upon the opinion that the exclusion of the Irish out of that place and at that time would conduce to the prejudice and enfeebling of that garrison, and was done upon the application of the Protestant proprietors and inhabitants, who were principally concerned for the safety of that place because it included their own, but since His Majesty hath his sense to the contrary your Grace and Council have immediately submitted thereunto and ordered it accordingly. So that my humble advice is that your Grace should transmit those very reasons to Mr. Secretary which were the ground of your Grace's and the Council's judgment in the point, but not with any shew of insisting upon the weight of them until His Majesty's pleasure be farther known, for this would look like a kind of arguing His Majesty's orders upon the Address of the Lords.

I have presumed to give your Grace this long impertinent nothing upon this occasion, not knowing whether your Grace will be pleased to command my attendance at Kilkenny at the time appointed, when your Grace shall be informed that the same time (the 19th of this month) is the prefixed day for my being at my visitation at Drogheda, where all the clergy of the diocese of Armagh are long since summoned to meet me, and I am under an obligation of giving them some sort of a public treat, and I shall not return hither until the Saturday following. I humbly beg your Grace's pleasure herein by the first conveniency, that I may dispose myself accordingly, for your Grace's commands must ever govern me.

I had not troubled your Grace with the enclosed from my Lord of Orrery, but that his lordship hath desired me to do it. The complaint you will find not much worthy your Grace's time or notice, for the gentleman complained of hath ever been of good repute as to his affections for His Majesty's service, and hath shewed himself such in the worst of times.

The truth of it is he hath the qualification of Sir Nicholas Purdon's chaplain, he is quarrelsome in his drink. Something my Lord of Orrery will expect from me in answer thereunto when I have received your Grace's directions upon this mighty concern. This is not that Stawell who was the receiver for the fort, but it is his eldest brother, a man not much considerable in the world, either for his fortune or his parts.

[Encloses the following letter.]

EARL OF ORRERY to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, August 1, Castlemartyr.—About a fortnight since Mr. Beversham came hither and first told my Lord Archbishop of Tuam that his new brother-in-law had some days before at Bandon said to him that the King was no king without a Parliament, and that he said so more than once, and spoke those guilty words with oaths, and after he told the same things to me. I said they were very criminal words, and therefore desired him to set down in writing what he would justify. He said he would and went out of the room, and, as I thought, to do then what he had said. But about an hour after he came to me again but had not written the words, and told me he begged leave that he might write them to me from Cork, where he was then going. I told him the sooner the better. I then asked him whether any were present when Mr. Stawell spoke the words, and when and in what place they were spoken. He told me they were spoken some few days before, and that they were spoken in Mr. Stawell's own chamber about ten at night in an inn at Bandon, and that one Mr. Philpot was present. I desired him then to write to me in his promised letter from Cork where this Mr. Philpot lived, that I might send for and examine him. From Cork I received a letter from Mr. Beversham, of which the enclosed is a true copy for so much as concerns this affair. I instantly sent an express messenger for Mr. Philpot, who came hither yesterday, and having enjoined him to give me a true relation of what he knew in this business, he gave me a verbal one. I then did appoint him to give it me in writing, which accordingly he did, a true copy whereof I here also present to your Grace. And this morning as my Lord Archbishop of Tuam was with me in my chamber, I received a letter by an express messenger from Mr. Jonas Stawell, a true copy whereof I here also present to your Grace. And having thus done, I desire your Grace's judgment what is fit to be done by me on the whole matter, that accordingly I may proceed. I am a stranger to Mr. Stawell, but I have often heard he was not only in the worst of times a loyal subject, but also an eminent sufferer for being so. And if your Grace will have my own private thoughts on this whole affair, I believe Mr. Stawell is still what he was, and is believed to be so by most who know him, but is not free from the vice of drinking, and I believe in his drink spoke

those vile words, for Mr. Philpot owns he was so drunk when he spoke them that next morning when he was sober and Mr. Philpot blamed him for what he had said, he was so far from justifying that he remembered not he had said them, but was heartily sorry if he had spoken them. However, one vice is so far from excusing another that it aggravates the guilt in my opinion. But I look upon it as the words of his wine and not as the words of his heart. This being the true state of the thing as far as I can learn of it, I beg your Grace to lay it before his Excellency and that I may receive his or your Grace's pleasur for the better guidance of, etc.

Postscript.—I had the welcome favour this post of a letter from my Lord Blessington, which I assure your Grace I was not a little pleased with. I beseech God long to continue him his health and under a full sense of God's mercy in this last deliverance.

EARL OF ORRERY to ORMOND.

1679, August 5, Castlemartyr.—I received last night with all imaginable gratitude the great honour of your Excellency's letter of the 3rd instant, and was very glad to find in it that the duty of mine on the occasion of your Grace's arrival at Kilkenny was so favourably received.

I am very sorry that during this vacancy (considering the ill state and condition of this Kingdom) your Excellency's reiterated representations both to my Lord Essex and Mr. Secretary Coventry for the redress of it have not received the return which in my humble opinion the need seems to require. I will hope yet that a business of that high importance will be its own solicitor, and procure for your Grace speedily all requisite orders, for if those be not hastened I more than doubt there will hardly be time to be spared about Ireland when the Parliament of England meets, which, as my London letters say, 'tis declared it shall on the 17th of October next.

However, your Grace will have the honest comfort that you have not omitted to represent and to press for what you did judge requisite for His Majesty's service and the safety of this his kingdom, the posture of which is such that I think a Parliament only can substantially mend it; for I fear such retrenchments as can be made and such frugality as can be designed are plasters too narrow for our sores. Such methods may be of good effect in private families, but where a whole nation needs quick remedies, I fear only national contributions will prove solidly effectual. But all that, I apprehend, will be but patching work, which I never was very fond of, for I have still observed it to be slow uncertain and commonly unacceptable. But God's will and the King's must always be obeyed, and their time must be waited for.

My Lady Clancarty is very desirous if it may stand with your Excellency's pleasure to have the Scotch company

continued at Macroom, and I humbly think it will be of safety to the country.

We have lately had two unlucky accidents. A Scotch drummer refusing to bring his drum on the guard when commanded by his serjeant, and, giving the serjeant ill language, the serjeant with his stick struck the drummer, who instantly drew his sword and ran it up to the hilts through the serjeant's thigh, who fell; the officers coming in the drummer was run through the body and died that night. Notice thereof being instantly sent me, I ordered the law to be fully prosecuted. I doubt the serjeant also will die of his wound. One of Captain Lockhart's servants, just as that company was ready to march out of Cork, shot by accident an English gentleman in the streets and killed him dead on the place. The soldier in Captain Melvin's company who killed his comrade in a duel, and who I ordered to be sent to Cork Gaol, is fled with the iron bolts on one of his feet. Some runaways of the Scotch Regiment being taken, and the officers sending to me for orders what to do, I appointed them to be sent to Cork, there to be proceeded against at a Court Martial according to your Excellency's Articles of War, but where life or limb is to be touched, first humbly to inform your Grace, and then to stop proceedings till your commands are signified.

I have just now an express from Kinsale, with notice that some of our West Indian ships are safely arrived there. I have a great complaint of false wall work made in the fort of Rincorran, which I have sent Thorsby to examine.

John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to Ormond.

1679, August 6.—I am to take this first opportunity of signifying to your Excellency that my Lord James is now safely returned hither, a place, tho' perhaps not so desirable to him as the Court which he has left, yet, I hope, of more real advantage to him, and which may contribute to the rendering his future conversation in the courts of princes more successful both to himself and to the public. I am also to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's commands in behalf of Mr. Lane, which I shall endeavour to obey, as I doubt not but the Vice-Chancellor will, who is now entered upon his office, being hastened by the Warden of Winchester's earnest desire to remove to his new administration.

Ormond to Primate Boyle.

1679, August 7.—I return Mr. Recorder Worth's letter and beseech you to take the pains to thank him in my behalf not only for remembering so well what I recommended to his care, but for his kind invitation. I shall whilst I am in this Government have use of his diligence and prudence in his station, but I do not think I shall this year give him trouble of my company, but I depend on both as occasion shall offer.

The last letters I had from London confirm my Lord of Ranelagh's intention to pass over. Those that are not his friends do much apprehend his great dexterity will bring him off in triumph, and they say he brags that he knows all our blind sides and how to deal with us ; but I neither believe all that is said of him or by him. It concerns him to make use of all his own abilities and other men's defects of any kind, and it also concerns all that are to act any part in his affairs as judges or examinators to be as vigilant and circumspect of him and his partners and agents as fair and just towards them, and this is the temper and conduct I propose to myself and wish in [*two lines illegible through fire here*] in itself of great importance to the King and his subjects of this kingdom, and in the consequence may extend further than at first sight may be thought.

Your Grace, I presume, has seen the trial of Sir George Wakeman and the others that were acquitted, so much to the wonder of many and discontent of more. The consequence of that acquittal may reach far, and without question is well understood by parties most immediately concerned on both hands. God of His mercy direct all for the peace and good settlement of the Crown, Church and People of these kingdoms. It is written out of England that Sir Tho. Armstrong is dismissed the Court, and I suppose in consequence from his military employment in the Guards, the ground not said, but not hard to conjecture.

Postscript.—[*a line is illegible here*] the account signed by my Lord of Ranelagh's co-partners in England I know not what it imports or what change it may make in the manner of proceeding in that affair, but whenever I shall be told it may be necessary for me to be near the Comrs, I will hasten to them. It is said Roger Moore discourses more favourably of the undertakers than formerly. If he has raised the price of his atonement by getting into office under the Commissioners and under colour of preparing matters for them, it will be discovered, and he will lose ground in my opinion ; but I hope it is but groundless suspicion, and perhaps of such as would themselves do so if they were in his case. However, I thought it not unfit to give your Grace the intimation I have had.

Rev. Timothy Halton to Ormond.

1679, August 7, Queen's College, Oxford.—I should have esteemed it a very great happiness if your Excellency would have spared me from being Vice-Chancellor in respect of the great number of persons who are every way better qualified for that employment than myself. But since 'tis your Excellency's pleasure I shall discharge it as faithfully as I can. At the same time almost I have received your Excellency's letter in favour of Mr. Lane, whose interest I shall promote to the utmost of my power, as being always ready to manifest myself, etc.

Earl of Arlington to Ormond.

1679, August 8, Whitehall.—I wrote to your Grace some few days past from Windsor, at which time I applauded much my Lord Ossory's journey into Spain, and nothing since could occur to me to make me like it less but that some letters from your Grace received since the writing mine seem to say it is not so agreeable to you, but I hope you will be pleased to give something to my being here upon the place and not altogether a stranger to that Court whither he is to go and to carry from His Majesty a jewell to his neice to the value of 10,000*l.* which must needs adorn his errand and is in itself one of the genteelest that can ever befall him to be employed in, and will not be either of so long a duration or expense as your Grace may perhaps fancy it will be : in a word, my opinion is that he need not spend any more than he gets by the journey, and the case being so that in honour and *éclat* he will be a gainer by it. Now if these or any other better reflections can induce you to like it I hope you will be easily prevailed with to write a letter to Don. Juan de Austria, to whom you were so well known in the Low Countries, and from whom you received much courtesy, at least at the rate that courtesy went then.

The next matter I have to trouble your Grace with is to give you an account of the discourse I had with His Majesty upon your subject at my leaving Windsor ; it will not be necessary to tell you how I introduced it and with how much impatience His Majesty heard me offer at giving him any reasons why he should continue you in that government. He protested it had never entered into his thoughts to remove you ; he would not deny but others (who are full counsel now as to his affairs) might wish it, but for himself he knew no subject fitter for it than you, nor in whose hands he could better trust it, and for conclusion bade me assure you with all confidence that as long as he kept his place you should keep yours, but added it would not be enough I should tell you this, he would do it himself and by the first post. This is what I hope will be very acceptable to your Grace. I am sure it was to me and all your friends to whom I imparted it, especially when I ventured to assure them they might believe it and depend upon it.

Now, if all this will not get me my hawk I am an unlucky man. I have a small business of 1,250 pounds from my Lord Ranelagh, and my share in the lapse money, which I will give you some leisure for. I am going to Euston until the Parliament meets, to make this time pass as quickly as I can, for at October we must look to hear things that will make our ears tingle.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, August 9.—The King, a little after his discourse with my Lord Chamberlain, told me the substance of it and said

many kind things in confirmation of them. I saw my Lord Chamberlain's letter concerning my Spanish journey, unto which I promise myself your consent, else I shall easily desist. I have formerly sent you an account of the method used in Holland for clothing the army, as also what their pay is, Since our soldiers have more and live in a cheaper country, I know no reason why they should not be as well accoutered as the horseguards of the Prince of Orange, who have little more than half that those in Ireland have, yet are much better clothed and mounted. You will pardon me if I mind you of having the army better exercised; the Scotch Regiment can instruct and let them see how wanting they are in this particular. I doubt not but you will think it proper to send over my brother towards the time of the Parliament's sitting and to consider of the several addresses made by the Lords concerning Ireland, unto which a satisfactory account will be required and very necessary for you to give. James is gone to Oxford. I have given him the best advice I could, but when I consider how little good the best admonitions did me when of his years, I cannot reasonably hope they will work upon him. Sir Charles Meredith spoke to me of an employment laid upon him by you and the Board in countersigning the orders of the Farmers, and that a recompense was promised to him and Dr. Topham, his associate, in Sir J. Cuffe's place. I do entreat you in this particular to endeavour to see him fair justice, and to befriend him in all other things, for I assure you I know not any of our friends that have carried themselves better towards you than he has done, and for myself I must own myself very much obliged to him. The sooner you write will be the better, and I will join mine with my Lord of Essex's endeavours to serve him.

Sir Nicholas Armorer to Ormond.

1679, August 9, London.—Since my being here I have not been able to give your Grace any account worth your trouble. The day I came hither the King was embarked in his yacht for Portsmouth. Your Grace's old friend, Ned Villiers, took me along with him down the river, where we overtook the King at Greenwich at dinner, His Majesty was in very good humour and asked with great kindness after your Grace's health, only used me as your Grace and Mr. Secretary does, was a little too bold with my countenance at first, but in the close was more obliging, and declared in the presence of all that I was returned an Irish beauty, that he had known me thirty-five years and never saw me look so well. I made bold to beg it under his hand. That the said was needless since the face would vouch for itself. Before he sailed, he told me we should have guns, and commanded me to go to the Commissioners of the Ordnance, whom I have attended at the Tower, who can do nothing until the return of Sir Tho.

Chicheley, who is now in Cheshire; but Sir John, his son, tells me he will be here the next week, and then I shall attend and get them together, but in short they tell me we can have no guns without money, and how hard that will be to get here I think I need not tell your Grace. The King commanded me to attend him at Windsor after his return and bring him the draught of what was done, which I intend to do to-morrow morning with Mr. Powell, who expresses great honour and service for your Grace; he is lately married to the lady Dorset and not like to have a great charge of children.

Sir John Chicheley took Mr. Crispine's papers to have them read at the Navy Board when it is a full Board. I was there with some of them. I think they will understand Crispine as he is. Here will be little business done till after Newmarket, all people being gone to their country friends or to the waters. I shall omit no opportunity to hasten my return, being weary of every corner already, except Enfield Chase and the old gentleman there. I hope he gives your Grace thanks for his garrans himself, he is mighty fond of *Dun* and hopes to recover him.

I have writ to my Lord of Arran of a discourse my Lord Chamberlain had lately with the King, which the King commanded my lord to write to your Grace, and said he would write it to you himself. God continue him in that good mind is the wishes of all good men.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, August 9, Whitehall.—The last week H. Thynne gave your Grace an accompt of the reports made by the Commissioners of the Treasury to the several letters. I have not advanced any further in that matter till I know how far you are satisfied with those alterations by them made, which when declared I shall get the letters drawn accordingly and transmit them to your Grace. Mr. Attorney wrote me a letter concerning the draught of a letter to be sent me by your Grace for putting in a son of his into the reversion of the Hamper Office, but there is no such letter come yet to me, so I am not able to serve him in it, but when the letter cometh from your Grace I shall endeavour it the best I can.

I cannot but acquaint your Grace that here hath been a malicious report raised that your Grace should write a letter to His Majesty with these or such like expressions:— That upon the news of the rebellion in Scotland the Protestants in Ireland pricked up their ears, but upon their defeat they seemed much crestfallen. Being told of it, I answered you had never wrote any such thing to me, and I believed not to His Majesty, but that I would inquire of the King, which accordingly on Thursday last I did, and he frankly declared never to have received any such letter from you; but from thence fell into another discourse, which I cannot

but transmit to your Grace. "My Lord of Ormond is worse used then," said he, "for I hear the Coffee-houses have disposed of his lieutenancy; but the gentlemen are very much mistaken, for I know no man whose service I can less spare than my Lord of Ormond's, and I had never more need of men of his principles than now," and seemed to say he would let you know it under his own hand, but that being a work he goeth somewhat slow to, I thought fitting to give your Grace this accompt as I had it from his own mouth. We have now a recess from Councils till the Wednesday after Michaelmas.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, August 12, Carrick.—I hope your children are by this time with you either with or without Mrs. Ferrers. I shall determine nothing concerning Tom Fairfax till I come to Kilkenny, nor of any vacancy upon Chester's death. I send you my Lord of Longford's letter to you, and assure you as plain as the English he writ is I cannot collect the sense. He expresses great kindness and I am sure means kindly, but every little story he hears gives him a hot alarm for me; and the worst is he has forgot that he informed me of the same things before and had answers to them, which I have been fain to tell him and desire him to look over all the letters I writ to him since the discovery of the Plot.

Mr. N. in a letter to me says that my Lord Ranelagh doubts not but to make you his friend for a little money; so there is plain dealing on all hands. But what angers me is that my lord as well as he seems to fear I shall be taken off and supposes we may toss my Lord Ranelagh in a blanket if we will. He tells me Sir H. Ingoldsby is fierce against me, and sets down all he says, which is just the libel supposed to be the Bishop of Meath's, to the material parts of which he remembers not he has answers by him.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, August 12, Dublin.—I am to acknowledge the honour of three of your Grace's of the 7th instant, and likewise one of the 8th. I have according to your Grace's commands writ to the Recorder of Cork that your going into that country this summer is somewhat uncertain, and that the probability lies rather in the negative, and I acknowledged from your Grace the civility of his invitation.

Captain Stone was with me at Blessinton and shewed me Sir James Shaen's paper, by which it is very evident that the partners do not agree amongst themselves, but that they drive on different designs, which may bring this advantage to His Majesty's service, that their wrangles may conduce to a discovery and detection of that mystery which they have hitherto kept private to themselves. Upon the receipt of your Grace's I sent immediately to Dublin to appoint

a meeting of the Comrs. upon the accompts, but I find nobody here but Sir John Davis and Mr. Yarner. My Lord Chief Justice is ill of the gout, and could not come to us; he sent his excuse.

The Auditor's Office is miserably neglected. Their peculiar employment in this affair is like that of the common apposers in the Exchequer. They should inquire into all the difficulties of the accompts and propose them to the Commissioners, but neither Chappel nor Pilkinton were present; only a stranger attended who understood but little of the business, and indeed as it happened there was not much need of him, for Mr. Stepney, being called upon to know what he had to object to those accompts which were transmitted by your Grace and Lordships into England, he said that he knew not what those were, but that he had received the copy of an account which ended the 25th of December, '75, signed by all his partners in England, and that the original was in Captain Stone's hands, and that he was directed by them to proceed upon that account. I told him that it was very improper for us to admit of a new account at this time of the day; that we (the Comrs.) had presented to the Lord Lieutenant and Council long since an account under our hands; that your Grace and Council had remitted this into England; that the Lords of the Council had returned this again to your Grace with directions how that accompt should be proceeded on to a final determination of the whole undertaking; and for us to receive a new accompt, and that to determine the 25th of December were to lay aside all that hath been doing all this time, and to proceed contrary to the several directions out of England, which was for a final accompt; and that by such an accompt as he mentioned, the King could not in any degree be satisfied of the true state of the undertaking. Mr. Stepney answered that they would proceed immediately after that accompt was stated to a perfect and conclusive state of the undertaking. I told him that was more than we could reasonably expect, they having delayed us all this time; but if they would make use of anything in this new accompt either to enlarge or rectify what is amiss in their former accompt that we would hear them to it; but to begin a new method now we found no reason to induce us, but must wholly submit that unto your Grace's and the Council's pleasure, unto whom he was (as he said) directed by his partners to present this new accompt. Mr. Stepney told us that the former account which was given us, and upon which we proceeded, was not founded upon a sufficient authority, for though the authority which he had was seemingly subscribed by all his partners, yet it was not Mr. Dashwood's hand, but that some person subscribed his name officiously thereunto; unto which he was answered that he and his partners were to look to that; that was not our business.

By discourse with Mr. Stepney I find that they have not brought into this new accompt upon which they would proceed either the 24,000*l.* which was borrowed from the King, or the 80,000*l.* to the King, and some other great payments besides, but they would refer these to a subsequent and final accompt, by which I apprehend that to recover their reputations they would conclude one account at December which must certainly leave the King in their debt, and for the great and final account which doubtless will change the balance exceedingly (those great sums being to be then accounted for) that they will take what time for that they shall think most convenient for their business. I was willing to give your Grace an account of all that hath passed in this matter as well as I could recollect, which is the cause that I have trespassed thus extremely upon your Grace's patience, for which I humbly beg your Grace's pardon.

I have since my coming hither inquired into Mr. Moore's proceedings upon the substance of his complaint, and for as much as appears to me he is as zealous as ever he was. And when those Commissioners for that inquiry were before us this day, and they doubted that the Commission by which they were to proceed was not sufficient to justify them in those particulars they might find convenient for the discovery and for the advantage of the service, Mr. Moore said that he apprehended that their present authority was sufficient, and that it was a nicety to scruple it. However, for their satisfaction they were desired by the Commissioners of Accompts that they would draw up into a paper the particulars wherein they thought their authority was short, that they may be presented to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which is accordingly preparing, and will be presented to your Grace by Colonel Dillon, whom I find acting amongst them as one of their number; but until the return of your Grace's sense upon that paper they are resolved to proceed with diligence upon the authority they already have.

I do not suppose that Sir Charles Meredith will be here as soon as your Grace expects, for I find by Dr. Topham that his stay there at present is principally to obtain some favour from His Majesty in the behalf of himself and of Dr. Topham for the extraordinary pains they have taken in his service; for his encouragement therein your Grace was pleased to tell Sir Charles that you would recommend them both to His Majesty's favour by a letter in their behalfs unto Mr. Secretary Coventry; but Sir Charles having applied himself to Mr. Secretary Coventry upon that account, he cannot find by him that your Grace's letter is received; so that he supposeth that either your Grace's letter miscarried or that amongst the multitude of other business you forgot to write; and I perceive by Dr. Topham that he is resolved to continue at London until he understands your Grace's farther pleasure therein. If your Grace will be pleased to enclose your letter

for Mr. Secretary Coventry unto me, I will take care to have it sent unto Sir Charles Meredith. I must needs suppose that there is some miscarriage of this letter, for I very well remember that when I waited upon your Grace about Sir Charles Meredith, your Grace told me that you had written in their behalfs to Mr. Secretary Coventry.

I have sent your Grace the enclosed, which I received from Sir Wm. Davis, because it concerns the matter for which you now summon the Council to Kilkenny. I am not capable of giving him much advice in that matter, for I presume your letters out of England will govern that affair, notwithstanding any proceedings of the judges in the country. Since I came hither to Dublin I am surprised with a fit of the gout somewhat sharper than usual: what it intends to do with me I cannot yet foresee, but at present it appears somewhat unkind and very unseasonable. It is high time I should conclude your Grace's trouble and my own rudeness. I pray God bless your Grace and all yours.

Postscript.—Mr. Stepney tells me that he expects my Lord Ranelagh here by the next packet.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, August 12, Windsor. — I have not anything since my last to trouble your withal, only again to let you know that I find Sir Charles Meredith a very worthy friend, and one that though perhaps he may wish better to a person that has highly obliged him than to us, which yet I cannot perceive by any word or action of his; yet, granting that, I think he will be so far from endeavouring you a prejudice as I am confident he would be glad of any opportunity of serving you which may not oppose his other friendship; and if this be his mind, I see no reason why he should not from us receive all the testimonies of good-will that can be given him. I entreat you therefore to be careful of his concern, which I recommended to you wherein yours and the Council's word is engaged in a letter I think you writ by him to the Secretary. I find he expected you would, with the good things you said of him, have mentioned that affair.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, August 13, Carrick.—Having written to my Lord Chamberlain of your Spanish journey, I have no more to say to you of it than that tho' it is hard for you to determine in such times as these that there can be no use of your being in some of these kingdoms, yet is very possible it may so fall out that your being out of the way upon the account you propose may be convenient. The matter of expense will regard yourself principally, both in present and for the future and so I leave it to your own conduct.

I am glad James is gone to Oxford again, having seen a letter from the Bishop to Dr. Moreton complaining of his remove and of the too much credit given to some little stories, and of the too little confidence reposed in him. All I desire is that he may not be stirred thence till I may have some knowledge of it and of what shall be designed to be done with him.

ORMOND to EARL OF ORRERY.

1679, August 14, Carrick.—I have not been far, yet I have been in so much motion, and that being of late unusual with me so indisposed me as to writing, that I must beg your lordship's pardon that I have not yet answered your letters dated before that of the 11th, which I received this morning as I was getting a-horseback. So that having left your letters at Kilkenny I am to say something in general upon my memory.

Whatever disorder or misfortune hath happened in the Scottish Regiment either amongst themselves or with any of the King's subjects, triable and determinable by law, ought and I presume will be so proceeded in, and if the runaways can be so prosecuted and the crime made capital, as some lawyers have told me they may by virtue of some statute, one fit example of that kind would do more good than anything that can be inflicted on them by a Court Martial, and of this I shall write to my Lord Chief Justice Keating, who is now at Waterford. But if he shall be of opinion that the law will not reach the crime, or if it be thought that a jury will be loath to find the matter of fact, the consequence being the loss of life, it will be best to proceed as far as we may prudently to punish deserters by a Court Martial.

As to what concerns Mr. Villars and Roe I return your lordship the information enclosed in yours, desiring that you would send for Roe and examine him how he durst presume to send a challenge to a gentleman of Mr. Villars his quality and place in the King's service; and if either he shall confess his having sent such a challenge, or if it can be proved against him, I conceive your lordship should take sufficient security of him to appear before the Council at Dublin the first Council day the next term there to answer for his misdemeanour. I conceive he will not be hard to be found, since he had the confidence to send me a petition this morning complaining of his having been disarmed, which that he may appear before your lordship I have referred to you. If I thought the law would sufficiently vindicate the honour and authority of the Board upon this occasion, I would refer it thither, but I think the Council will best judge of and determine the matter.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, August 15, Kilkenny.—I never complain of the length of letters, either that I can or need not answer; all that is

necessary to be said to your Grace's of the 12th is that as by it I have clear information of the present desires and pretensions of some of the accountants for the Earl of Ranelagh and his partners' undertaking, so it does not occur to me what your Grace and the rest of the Commissioners can yet do more than you have done. I know not how to judge of the agreement or dissension of the undertakers by any thing they say or do. I find them often railing at one another and refusing to act in concert, and yet it is visible enough they agree in delaying a conclusion of the matter; but there is no reason their falling out, tho' it should be in earnest, or their combination if it be artificial, should frustrate the industry and pains of the Commissioners or retard the legal prosecution commanded and expected, and that and nothing else is it which is like to discover the true state of that affair and all the mysteries belonging to it. When Colonel Dillon shall bring the paper there will be a want of some of the Commissioners to help me and the Council to judge of the fitness of any further authority that shall be required.

I did tell your Grace that I had written to Mr. Secretary Coventry much in the commendation of Sir Charles Meredith and it is true, but I did not propose any augmenting of his or Dr. Topham's salary, nor do I remember that I promised to do it, being unwilling that any addition of charge upon this Revenue should be proposed first by me; but what I writ I thought would incline the King to think it reasonable at least to refer a further allowance to them to my report, which I was and still am ready to make as favourable as I can when the consideration of it shall be referred to me; but it must be their labour to procure such a reference. The letter I writ to Mr. Secretary was about the same time Sir Charles went, and I found by returns to that letter that the Secretary did a little wonder that he had not received a visit or any kind of application from Sir Charles in many weeks after he was at London, considering how advantageous a character I had given of him. This is the true state of that affair as far as I can remember, which I desire your Grace to impart to Dr. Topham, that he, if he thinks fit, may send it to Sir Charles, from whom having no letter since he went, I know not what to say to him. I am sorry your Grace is so unseasonably attacked by the gout. I receive little consolation in that case when men tell me it will lengthen my life and therefore will not offer it for your case.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, August 17, Windsor.—As to what concerns my son, which is the subject of your last of the 11th of this month, you will before this have heard of his return to Oxford, there to stay during your pleasure. I assure you his education and welfare are the things in the world in which I am most solicitous; all your friends do believe him well provided

for by having St. Helene to go abroad with him and to inspect his learning, his exercises, and Mons. D'Arlincourt [Drelincourt] to keep him to his study, and above all in his religion. Whether being in an academy or extern, I confess their being objections and arguments on both sides I know not what to advise ; if you please to determine the point I shall rest satisfied, otherwise I am for taking the opinions of those persons unto whom he is intrusted when they are upon the place. Your allowance is sufficient, and I think more than others of his quality have there of his years, and I charged Mons. D'Arlincourt that he is not in the least to exceed when they are in France. I hope you do not think me capable of engaging myself in anything of importance without your leave ; if my being absent and an impossibility of staying for it does not prevent it. In this concerning my Spanish journey I left myself room for a retreat until I knew your mind. To be exact in my duty towards you has been and ever shall be the care and study of my life. Being at London two days since, I received commands to hasten hither to accompany Lady Anne to Brussels. I found at my coming that this was not agreeable to the Queen, so she ordered things with the King as I am excused from that expedition. My Lord of Shaftesbury's emissaries are very busy in raising jealousies of your not being careful for the Protestant interest. They complain of the excessive rates of powder, and do little value truth in what they affirm. I wish you would early consider what the addresses of the House of Lords were relating to Ireland, that satisfactory reasons may be given why they were not complied withal. I have sent you formerly the method used in Holland for clothing their army, and what the pay is of horse and foot, and what is deducted upon the account of equipping of them, that as far as you judge reasonable you may follow such rules. If you see the regiment late of my Lord of Dumbarton you will find by them that in point of exercising our foot are very defective. The King said the other day that he would have them beat the Scotch march, and for their rank it should be the same as was allowed them here.

Primate Boyle to Ormond.

[1679, August.]—I have received a lamentable letter from Sir Francis Brewster from Dingle. He complains mightily that the people in that place are so apprehensive of the Turks that they have quit their houses and the country in a great degree, and if your Grace will not recover them their hearts again by sending a company into Dingle to countenance them against the attempts of that formidable enemy, he doubts that part of the country will be utterly forsaken. Your Grace, as I remember, did promise them a company, and the Corporation upon your Grace's promise have raised 20*l.* to fit up the castle for the receipt of the soldiers (as he tells

me). I humbly presume to become your Grace's remembrancer in that particular, for certainly there is not a place in all Kerry that stands more in need of a company than Dingle. I begin my journey towards Drogheda upon Monday next, and hope to be returned upon the Saturday following.

[*Endorsed*: Received August 17, 1679.]

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, August 19.—I have received one from your Grace of the instant. I have not had any discourse with my Lord of Essex concerning the letter you mentioned. The truth is all of us Councillors are so scattered that we meet not but by accident, there being no day appointed for any of us to meet either at London or Windsor; only I hear that Sir John Temple is come over and hath been some days at Cassiobury where his brother Sir William met him. I had some discourse on the 7th instant with His Majesty about a Parliament in Ireland, and can only tell you this: I find him no way of opinion there should be held two Parliaments together, so I suppose you must expect the event of this next session here before anything will be determined concerning a Parliament with you. But the coming of Sir John Temple will, I hope, remove all obstacles concerning the bills you sent us, that when the season shall be judged fit we may not lose time in adjusting those doubts.

As to the other letter from your Grace and the Council to me with the enclosed petition of Peter Talbot and the certificates, I could not shew it the Council for the reason above mentioned, that no Council is to meet till the Thursday after Michaelmas; but I shewed it His Majesty, who commanded me to return this answer, that you and the Council can best judge of the matter of fact asserted in the petition, and if you judge him to be in that desperate condition, His Majesty is contented you should let him go into the country for the air, provided you take sufficient bail and all other ways provide against his escape. The King and Council here have given leave to my Lord Bellasis for a short time to go into the country, but besides his bail they have appointed two of the warders of the Tower to be with him at his house, but as to this I have no order to give your Grace any directions. I only acquaint you with it as my own observation, and I suppose your order if you give it will be that he return whenever your Grace shall think fitting to summon him. And this is what I had from His Majesty in answer to the letter sent me by your Grace and Council of the — instant. As concerning Mr. Hayes and my Lord Ranelagh's affairs, till the re-meeting of the Council I can give your Grace no further account.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, August 19, Dublin.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 15th instant, and shewed to Dr. Topham as much

thereof as concerned Sir Charles Meredith, and have given him a copy thereof according to your Grace's directions, which I presume is very sufficient in that affair. I hear nothing yet of my Lord Ranelagh's landing, but I have now received the enclosed from my Lord Conway, which speaks something of his purposes to leave London this last week, but I hear no more of it. I know not from whom your Grace received the copy of Mr. Ottrington's letter, nor is it material I should, but it appears by that that the partners are upon different interests, and it is to be hoped that those disagreements will bring the whole matter to some clearness.

I formerly acquainted your Grace that I writ to my Lord Conway about the necessity of a Parliament in this kingdom before the King's affairs could be put into any tolerable posture. His lordship shewed my letter (as I apprehended he would) and the enclosed is a return thereunto. If I may receive any further commands from your Grace upon that account or upon any other, they shall be faithfully observed. Your Grace will be pleased to return my Lord Conway's letter, for I have not yet made any answer thereunto.

Postscript.—I am now taking coach to Drogheda, and purpose to return upon Friday, where I may receive your Grace's commands if you have any for me.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to MAYOR AND GOVERNOR OF GALWAY.

1679, August 20.—After our hearty commendations, whereas by order of this Board of the 23rd of July last several inhabitants of the town of Galway (upon entering into recognizance in such manner as by the said order is directed and upon certificate of the Judge of Assize) were to be admitted to return to the said town and reside and follow their lawful occasions there, we now think fit hereby to require you forthwith to return unto us a particular list of the names of all the persons who upon certificate of the Judge of Assize are before your receipt hereof admitted, and have actually removed and settled themselves with their families in the said town; and we require you also for special reasons of His Majesty's service to take care that none of the said persons by the said order to be restored, but such as are so actually removed and settled with their families be admitted to return and reside in the said town pursuant to the said order, notwithstanding they have entered into such recognizance and obtained certificate from the said judge thereupon. And so we bid you heartily farewell from the Castle of Kilkenny the 20th day of August, 1679.

To our loving friends the Mayor and Governor of the Town of Galway These, your loving friends,

ORMOND,

JO. DUBLIN, GRANARD, LANESBOROUGH, HEN. MIDENSIS, ROB. FITZGERALD, CA. DILLON, RO. BOOTH, JON. DAVIS, JON. COLE, THEO. JONES MAU. EUSTACE.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1679, August 21, London.—If I am the first that importune your Grace in the behalf of pious and learned Dr. Sall, it will be a testimony that none have more regard than I to your Grace's honour and esteem in the world. It is rare enough for great and good men to come over from the Church of Rome to our Church. This reverend man, as I have heard some of our most eminent bishops say, is the greatest divine since the Archbishop of Spalato that hath not only become a proselyte of but appeared a champion for the Church of England, and written that in defence thereof which our adversaries never had the courage to attempt the answer to. But how it comes to pass I know not (if we be in earnest for our religion) that this learned man is so far from receiving the patronage he merits that he is rather by the artifices of some and lukewarmness of others discountenanced, '*nec facile emergit cuius virtutibus obstat res angusta domi*,' whilst he works in the fire against the enemies of the Church and to establish weak ones in the faith, he is weakly supported for his livelihood, who ought to have rather a redundancy, that his studies so usefully employed may receive no interruption.

Your Grace's noble predecessor, the Earl of Essex, did not only give him countenance, but laid the first foundation for his maintenance, which is nibbled at (as your Grace will find by the enclosed memorial) in your time. My first request in his behalf is that he may have your Grace's protection, and after that I refer to your Grace's consideration whether many dignities and preferments have not been filled since your Grace's going over, and whether any more learned and worthy than he have had them. I am not herein an unfriendly remembrancer to your Grace, and I am sure it will be very welcome news to your old friends the Bishop of Winchester and me and many others, that you think of him at last, and I know nothing your Grace can do that will give so general satisfaction or more recommend your Grace's zeal to the Church and care of the conversion of that poor superstitious people and advancement of religion in that nation than to see you prefer such of them as come into us and are subject to none of the scandals that some of their converts have been. If my motion succeed I shall rejoice in it, not only as being an instrument of good to a deserving person, but as having thereby testified my being, etc.

Chief Justice Keating to Ormond.

1679, August 22, Cork.—Since our arrival at this place we received letters from the Earl of Orrery, whereof the enclosed is a copy, which I presume to send your Grace, as also the copy of a letter which we received from a gentleman in Limerick. That which induced me to give your Grace this trouble is that I am assured by divers in this place that Henaghan the person mentioned so often in the Earl of

Orrery's letter, had divers friends at Dublin who endeavour to procure his pardon.

Your Grace will find in one paragraph of the Earl of Orrery's letter that he tells us of Mr. Henaghan's travels in France, Holland and Flanders, and that he had told him divers things of consequence which he affirmeth to him he will make good, from whence I took occasion to write to his lordship praying his further advice and letting him know that if we proceeded against Henaghan and he be found guilty and executed, the King would be at a loss for evidence to make good the matters discovered unto his lordship, except his lordship had some other means of proof than that of Henaghan's own testimony. We are in this place hard put to it for jurors to do the service of the country, the inhabitants of the county being in great fear to lose their harvest by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather, which makes them keep close at home to watch all opportunities, and indeed the rains and storms here have been extraordinary. So that I fear we shall with great difficulty (if at all) get into Kerry.

[Encloses letter from the Earl of Orrery to the Judge of Assize, concerning the evidence of one Henaghan, who is stated to be able to give information of treasonable conspiracy connected with the Plot, and also giving information of the arrival of two Irish priests in Ireland, as follows]:—"I must also acquaint your lordships that he gave me advice of two Irish Popish priests who were to land in Kerry out of France, and who came fully instructed from their confederates at Paris, whose persons and papers if I could take would discover much. I had secretly watches in all the parts of Kerry to apprehend them at their landing. Henaghan gave me notice that they would come over habited like gentlemen. The one of them landed last June, and as soon as the ship came into the harbour my men went on board, but the master at last confessed that a gentleman that came over from France a passenger with him would be landed in a creek and not in the port, he saying that creek was much nearer to the place he was going unto than the Ventry was, and therefore the master landed him there, the weather being fair, and so we missed of taking him. The other priest is not yet landed that I hear of."

Lord Lieutenant and Council to Henry Coventry, Principal Secretary of State.

1679, August 23, Kilkenny Castle.—Soon after the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant directed to me, the Lieutenant, His Majesty's service requiring a meeting of his Privy Council, I, the Lieutenant, acquainted them with that part of your said letter which gave me intimation of a malicious report raised that I should have written to the King these or the like expressions :—That upon the news of the rebellion in Scotland the Protestants in Ireland pricked up their ears,

but that upon their defeat they seemed much crestfallen. You further intimated that being spoken to of the said report, you answered that I had written no such thing to you, nor as you believed to the King, but that you would ask His Majesty whether I had or no, which you having accordingly done he was pleased thereupon not only to declare that I had written no words to that effect to him, but also to express his gracious opinion of me and acceptance of my endeavours in his service, for which just vindication and most gracious expressions of his favour and confidence in my fidelity I am most humbly thankful.

And we all presume upon this occasion with all humility to assure His Majesty that there was so little ground for that false and scandalous report that tho' the rebellion in Scotland was matter of great grief and trouble of mind to all His Majesty's good Protestant subjects of this kingdom, in that it might (tho' unjustly) bring some reproach upon the profession by the advantage that might be taken thereof by the Papists ; yet (to our unspeakable comfort) we found that not only His Majesty's army but his militia and all the nobility, gentry, magistrates and commons professing the Protestant religion (except some very few inconsiderable persons of the Non-Conformists) were and we are confident will be ready with us to expose their lives and fortunes to all hazards for the maintenance and preservation of His Majesty's Royal person and Government against all rebellions and insurrections whatsoever, being thereto indispensably obliged not only in duty and loyalty and by the dictates of religion and conscience, but in gratitude and thankfulness for the many testimonies we have received of his great clemency towards his subjects and most gracious protection of them in the profession of the true Protestant religion, especially in these times when the adversaries thereof appear to have laid desperate designs for the utter subversion of it, and whatever may be suggested or suspected to the contrary in these days of too much liberty of speaking and writing or whatever may be hoped for by those that are enemies to His Majesty's Government and the true religion established in these kingdoms (who can only hope for success in their pernicious designs by divisions amongst us, which God avert) we are confident by the blessing of God that this kingdom will be preserved in peace and loyalty ; and that it may be so maintained is the hearty prayer and shall be the faithful endeavours of us who account it our great happiness to be His Majesty's most dutiful subjects and most obedient servants. And so we remain from the castle of Kilkenny, the 23rd day of August, 1679.

[*Signed*], Ormond,

Jo. Dublin, Arran, Granard, Lanesborough, Hen. Midensis, Ro. Fitzgerald, Ca. Dillon, Ed. Brabazon, Ro. Booth, Jon. Davys, John Cole, Theo. Jones, Tho. Radcliffe.

Ormond to Henry Coventry.

1679, August 24, Kilkenny Castle.—The Privy Council meeting here to consider what was fit to be done concerning the readmission or exclusion of some of the Popish inhabitants of Galway and some other things, I thought it might be convenient to acquaint them with the report you gave me notice of about the letter I am charged to have written to the King, which gives such offence and scandal on that side, and might do on this, if so false an imputation should meet with no contradiction. And tho' the Council would not affirm that I had wrote no such letter, yet what they have thought fit to say makes it very improbable I should have so little wit as to charge all the Protestants of this kingdom who only were armed and drawn together to suppress the Scotch rebellion (if need should be) with favour to it. I am sorry this letter you will receive herewith will not be so soon communicated to the Council of England as I think might be convenient; but if His Majesty shall think it may serve to any good use to have it made public you will easily find the way of doing it. I think it so necessary here that the Protestants should not believe they are falsely and maliciously represented by me that I have allowed as many of the Council as shall desire it to take copies of the letter, which is no ill way of publishing the contents of it.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, August 26, Kilkenny.—I have yours of the 17th from Windsor, and am glad you have missed the honour of conducting the ladies to Brussels; the Spanish journey is longer, but I think less dangerous, as you intend to make it. I would be glad to know when you begin it. You advise well that the addresses of the Parliament concerning Ireland should be considered. We are here upon them, and shall give the best account we can of them, the most difficult to come well out of for you and myself it is that relating to the guardianship of the children of Papists, wherein we are both bound in 10,000*l.* to see young Aylmer educated a Protestant, which has been neglected and the boy is in France, but I will do the best I can to have him suddenly brought over and then take order with him. For your son I am glad he is at Oxford, and desire he may continue there till the spring, by which time we shall see to what public affairs are like to turn. Sir Richard Stephens says my Lord of Shaftesbury at his own table spoke very favourably of me. I have seen some of the Scotch companies, and confess they have a more soldierly air than our men, and exercise better as I believe, but we must not disgust all the rest of the army as we should if we should give them to them as preceptors, and yet a way shall be found to bring them into the same forms. As to the substance, it is with very little variation the same with ours. You find how much easier it is to exercise a

regiment lying together than companies that lie thinly scattered all the kingdom over. It is not possible, but you must be mistaken when you say that the Prince of Orange his guards have but 15*d.* a day without any other help, unless they are composed of such men as keep themselves, for here the country troopers have about 15*d.* a day after their deductions, and yet if you reckon all that belongs to the keeping of a man, his horse and that it is very little he can save in this cheap country to provide for accidents, let him be as good a [*obliterated*] as is possible. I know not what rank was given the Scotch regiment in England, and so cannot tell what they should have here, the question is for the present at rest.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, August 26, Windsor.—I received this day your letters of the 13th and 18th of this month, which were partly answers to some of mine; as to the doing anything with my son, you may be sure I shall not so much as think of it without your approbation and knowledge. I will send Sir Charles Meredith your letter which concerns him, wherein he will see better your kindness and advice than by anything I can say. I here send you an account of His Majesty given me by Doctor Wetherly just now; it being near six in the evening, you may give credit to what he says. I hope the falsehoods spread abroad will not be believed in the place where you are; this relation being authentic, I thought it my duty to send that you may make use of it as well as for the satisfaction it will give you. I am glad you approve of my Spanish journey. I have neither time to write or indeed anything more to say at present,

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679, August 26, Whitehall.—I am sorry I must disturb your Grace's repose in the country by the unwelcome news this will bring you of His Majesty's illness, who has been indisposed since Thursday last, occasioned (it's thought) by staying too late in the evening a-hawking after having played at tennis in the morning. It's now come to an intermitting fever whose fits return each other night (but thanks be to God) are now much abated, since His Majesty was let blood, which was yesterday, and has had the benefit of rest and sweats; so that now it's thought it may turn to a tertian ague, which tho' it may be of a longer continuance, yet is not accompanied with that danger which this year attend this kind of fever. I doubt not but your Grace will have a more exact account from my Lord Ossory who is now at Windsor, but yet I thought it my duty not to omit the giving your Grace the best account I can get at this distance.

Mr. Secretary is now at Windsor and has been there since Sunday last, to whom I have sent your Grace's letter by

the last post. I presume he will continue there till he sees His Majesty out of all danger, which God grant may be very speedily. His lodgings here are getting ready, for it's thought he will come hither as soon as he is able and may do it with safety.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, August 29, London.—I am now to answer your Grace's of the 12th, 17th and 18th instant, for which I had not time, as I told your Grace by Tuesday's packet. I have perused your Grace's letters to me, and I find answers to all the particulars of Sir Hen. Ingoldsby's objections, but that of powder and bullet being denied to the Guards in Dublin upon the first discovery of the Plot, and when I told him it was impossible there should be such a denial, and that if any such were wanting it was the negligence of the officer, he told me he had himself represented the defect to my Lord Arran, and had prevailed with some of the officers (whom he would not name) to make demand of powder and bullet, and yet neither his nor the officer's solicitation and importunity could then prevail.

As to my Lord Ranelagh's affair, I am fully convinced your Grace has put it into the best method it can be. And if your Grace will please to pardon my past impertinences and importunities upon that subject, I shall promise your Grace to trouble you no further in it. The right Sir Richard Stephens has done your Grace is this, when in the presence of my Lord Shaftesbury there were reflections endeavoured to be cast upon your Grace for the method was taken there to disarm the Papists by giving them so long a time to bring in their arms, and comparing it with the sudden disarming of the Protestants formerly upon Blood's &c, from which some inferred that this time was rather an indulgence to them to give them an opportunity of hiding their arms, Sir Richard then averred in your Grace's justification that your Grace propounded to the Council that the Papists should be without any intimation given of it generally disarmed throughout the kingdom, but that your Grace was overruled by the Council, which Sir Henry Ingoldsby then also confirmed. I humbly acknowledge your Grace's generosity in allowing my freedom, which I shall always exercise with that duty and respect is suitable to the obligation I have to your Grace. The charge against your Grace by some men here for labouring to disunite the Protestants in Ireland is grounded upon the reflections your Grace has made upon those whom you thought too inclinable to join with the late Scotch rebels, and is easy for your Grace to imagine out of what quiver this arrow is shot at you. Mr. Nettervilles's mentioning to your Grace that I would give you an account of the knight's discourse was upon some discourse he himself had with Sir Henry Ingoldsby, which he communicated to me. For I assure your Grace I make no other use

of him than in those circumstances your Grace proposes, and in them only and in my Lord Ranelagh's concerns do I treat with him.

As for the proposition I sent your Grace concerning the Revenue, it is an affair of that consequence that your Grace cannot hastily make a judgment of it, and therefore I do not press for your resolution in it. I was only a little impatient because you did not take notice of it, fearing my letter wherein it was mentioned had miscarried. And though your Grace has not sent me my Lord Chief Justice Keating's sense of it, I acquiesce entirely in your Grace's resolution. I do not hear that my Lord Ranelagh has left Windsor, nor do I believe he will [ ] who is now in a hopeful way of recovery, though very weak, yet having twice escaped his [*page torn*] well last night, is out of danger and in a condition to write those despatches of recommendation which he expects to carry with him. Mr. Oates has put in articles in the Council against my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs and Sir Philip Lloyd, and 'tis said he will in Parliament do the like against my Lord Privy Seal. It is also said Mr. Jennison has reflected much upon my Lord Privy Seal and my Lord Marquis of Worcester. I here enclosed send your Grace a letter from Sir Robert Howard in which is His Majesty's letter in favour of Mrs. Nelly's pension, to which I have undertaken your Grace will be propitious and obliging. Mr. N. tells me the Bailiff of Westminster is dying, and if your Grace be not pre-engaged to another, and the disposition of that place be not a considerable perquisite of your Stewardship of Westminster, your Grace's granting him that employment will be an establishment of his fortune and put him into a condition of being able to pay his gratitude to your Grace by all the services within his power, while he breathes. I have made an end of my affair with the East India Committee here, so that I hope by the time I mentioned in my former to have the honour of waiting upon your Grace in Dublin.

Sir Robert Howard to Ormond.

1679, August 27, Exchequer.—Yesterday being at Windsor I received this enclosed for your Grace, and was desired by Mrs. Nelly to dispatch it to you, which I have done, by the favour of my Lord Longford. I did formerly presume to give your Grace notice that Mr. Mylius was very slow in his returns and pleaded at last the stop in Ireland, but of this I had no return from you, but I knew not anything of this till I received it yesterday. I doubt not but your Grace has daily accounts of the King's condition, but since I was with him I will not neglect my duty to you in giving you my observations. On Monday last I went to Windsor and found the King newly out of a fit of a fever, which had kept him fourteen hours. The original of his disease was looked upon

as the new fever and the mingle of a surfeit. Dr. Pichenson was alone with him when he fell ill, and the King confessing what he had eaten, which he supposed offended him, upon which the doctor ventured to give him a gentle purge of manna, which yet worked sixteen times and is thought to be the foundation of his recovery. After the rest of the doctors came and let him blood, and found it to be a tertian ; after his fit he grew pretty well and had no ill symptoms, his sweating relieved him constantly at night. After his fit he grew very well composed and slept that night exceeding well, seven hours at a time. In the morning, being Tuesday, I was with him two hours and found him so well that it overjoyed us all. The doctors gave him the *decoctum amarum*, which in this new disease they find very effectual. We are in some doubts of his fit again.

I left off here because I doubted the Thursday night's post would not be for Ireland. On Thursday I returned to Windsor, where I found the King had a fit on Tuesday night, but lessened. The next time the King was very well without any the least symptoms of it ; Wednesday he continued well and all Wednesday night ; on Thursday I waited on him and found him continue so, and I left him yesterday being Friday in a perfect restored condition in all respects and circumstances ; this morning at 12 I hear he continues so, and I find that both city and country were sensible how much depended on his well being. I hope it will make such an impression that all will tend to good and to a happy accomodation between the King and Parliament, which is not only the wishes but I hope will be the zealous endeavours of all good men. I believe the King has contributed much to his recovery by that extraordinary calm temper that he has shewed in all his sickness, and in those fits, which are of great pains and uneasiness, he never changed from that calmness that he had in health. I will not beg your pardon for giving your Grace this long narrative, since I am satisfied that though your Grace will receive as much as this better presented to you, yet the subject is so welcome to you that an honest repetition will not be unpleasant, and I can by an accident assure your Grace that at this time there is nothing will pass with your wise and knd master to your prejudice, which is an entire satisfaction to, etc.

Exchequer, Saturday, 30 Aug., 1679.—Mrs. Nelly has commanded me to present her faithful service to your Grace, and is assured, she says, of your kindness.

Rev. Peter Drelincourt to Rev. ————.

1679, August 30, Oxford.—After the assurance of my Lord James's good health, which I give you now as I did this day sevennight, I think myself obliged to tell you (tho' with grief) that my lord of late is grown both very remiss in his studies and little observing of what I tell him for his good. He hath

in his head (either through his own arguing or through some idle and pernicious persons suggesting) that being born of such illustrious a family, and to such great estate as he is, and being not intended for a doctor, he needeth neither much learning neither a governor, being both old and wise enough to govern himself, and to do what he pleaseth, and in this humour he hath been about these three weeks, tho' two days since it is somewhat checked and altered through the frequent pain and industry of our good and worthy Dean, who continues to be extremely kind to and careful of his lordship.

Early rising is necessary for his lordship, both in respect of his studies and of his own temper inclining him to fatness, but of late also all the courting, the civil entreaties, the good words, patience and promises cannot get him out of his bed before eight the clock, and sometimes later. I do bear such tender respect for the noble and most illustrious family he belongeth to and such love and particular affection to his lordship's own person that I cannot (neither would I without a special leave) use any severity with him and that I must say he knoweth well. But certainly in this case I must crave leave to say that I know nothing so necessary and so convenient, nor which is like to be so effectual than their Graces taking notice of this in a letter to my Lord James and this which I have deferred till now to acquaint you with (in hope it would not last) I leave to you to impart as you shall think best. In the meanwhile, Reverend Sir, you may be assured with a perfect truth and sincerity that I write this merely in hope and desire that it may turn to my lord's own good, which in conscience and honour I am bound to procure by all possible means. ' For I cannot humour him in things which (however pleasing now to his lordship) will certainly turn to his great disadvantage (as some do), nor write that all is well and right when it is not, yet there is one favour which I must humbly beg, that this be not mentioned to his lordship as being come from me, but in general as heard from this place, for I should otherwise lose his lordship's goodwill for ever. I hope after that thro' God's blessing to see his lordship return to his former good humour and good train, yea, to see him redeem the time and double his diligence.

Lord Blayney to Earl of Arran.

1679, August 30, Dublin.—I am just returned from Ringsend, where I saw our friend Antony take shipping, we had some brimmers at parting and often drunk your Lordship's health, who I hope will be as soon weary of the country as I was, or else this town will be unpleasant to everybody, for already 'tis as rare to get company as claret in London since the Act, and the grass of the bowling green is long enough to make hay for one's horses. All the diversions I can find is playing quoits with Joe Ashbury and long bullets

with your butler Harry. Yet there is one blessing attends all these misfortunes, the women have but Hobson's choice, they must make use of me or nobody. I could say a great deal more of the place but that I long to tell you how much I am, etc.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, August 30, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 18th instant I have received and was then at Windsor, but His Majesty was under so great an indisposition that there was no possible entertaining him with any business, and myself during my stay there fell into a very violent indisposition occasioned by a very great cold, so that I had much ado to get me removed to this town, where I am for the most part a prisoner to my bed threatened with the gout, but whether it will end in a formal fit of it I yet know not. I left His Majesty in a very fair way of recovery, if he miss his fit this night as he did on Thursday, at least but with a very little grumbling, our fears will be mightily allayed, which I will assure you were once very high. I have not yet seen my Lord Longford, nor by consequence your letter to him, when I do I shall give him the best advice I can in order to your service. A Privy Councillor told me at Windsor he had received a letter of four sheets of paper taking notice of that rumour of your Grace's having laid an imputation upon the English in Ireland as ill affected to the Government, and the letter was to vindicate the army in Ireland. I asked the Privy Councillor whether he had ever heard any such letter read at Council, he acknowledged no, nor any expression in any letter of yours derogatory to the reputation and loyalty of the English, much more the army in Ireland; but only you sent the copies of some intelligence sent you of some disaffections appearing amongst some of the Scotch in the north of Ireland, and of the number of them that continually flocked over thither. He acknowledged he never heard other. For myself I am ready to attest any way your Grace shall think it fitting that I never did receive, see or know of any such letter wrote, sent or read either in public or private from you, and that the King did absolutely deny the ever having received any such letter from you. I am under such an indisposition as maketh writing a very disagreeable exercise to me. I hope you have received His Majesty's letter under his own hand confirming the contents of mine, if not you must expect some time till he be in a condition of writing. This letter wrote to the Privy Councillor was from a great officer in the army, he told me.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1679, September 2, London.—Last night I received your Grace's of the 26th of August, and am sorry your Grace labours to convince me that you have done your utmost in the affair

of my Lord Ranelagh, as if your Grace imagined anything had stuck with me. I confess I have writ to your Grace with some warmth upon that subject, and I did so because I thought it my duty to represent to your Grace the sense of your friends here who think the prosecution of my Lord Ranelagh now your Grace has so fair scope for it, (which till now could never be obtained) a matter of the last importance to your quiet and settlement in the Government. And their concern for your Grace in that particular has made them apt to be alarmed upon every artificial report he has cast out here to support himself in his sinking condition. As for my own share, I am convinced that your Grace has taken the best method in it and have done all that is proper and fit hitherto. And that which is further to be done is to follow your blow by punctually and briskly pursuing the orders of the Council from hence. For he delays the coming to his accounts upon a belief that this Parliament will not sit long, and if his accounts be not ended before the Parliament shall be dissolved or prorogued, he will then hope to shake off all in the interval by his powerful interest at Court. Therefore your Grace has nothing more to do than to speed the dispatch of his accounts, and if he will delay his journey and not appear there to proceed to the declaring his accounts *ex parte* according to the latitude given you by the last Order of the Council. And this is Mr Secretary's opinion as well as mine. My Lord Ranelagh was at Windsor late yesterday and gave it out that he intended to begin his journey, but most there were of opinion that he would not at least be gone till His Majesty were in a condition to write some despatches which he expects to carry with him. The King (God be thanked) is quite recovered of his fever, of which he has not now the least symptom remaining, but he is brought very low, being so weak that he can but crawl up and down his chamber; yet he looks very cheerfully, though thin. I am now going in some haste to Windsor to wait upon the Duke who arrived there late last night, and is gone to Windsor very early this morning. Mr. Secretary being ill of the gout has sent your Grace's and the Council's last letter of the 23rd of August to my Lord Ossory to shew it to the King and obtain his leave for printing it, which I believe will not be denied. As for the proposition concerning the Revenue, I made the same doubt to the proposer as to the practicability of it as your Grace has done, and therefore he offers if your Grace thinks it fit to repair to your Grace immediately for the removing any doubts that may stick with your Grace concerning it. And if he can clear the point it is all one whether it be set on foot before or after my Lord Ranelagh's accounts are determined as he affirms, for his chief drift and aim in it is to rout him. The enclosed print I have sent your Grace, that you may see with what industry your enemies endeavoured to reflect upon you in the account of Colonel Talbot's liberty, though they know he has it by Order of Council from hence.

Earl of Sunderland to Ormond.

1679, September 2, Windsor.—My Lord Ranelagh being now by the King's command going into Ireland to adjust the accounts of his late undertaking there, His Majesty directs me to recommend to your Grace the despatch of that business as soon as may be, and he would have you give him an exact information of the state of that kingdom and of the affairs of it by the said Earl when he returns hither.

Earl of Anglesey to Ormond.

1679, September 5, Blechington.—Knowing by long experience that your Grace delights to be attended by persons of good extraction and breeding, and finding Sir Charles Wolseley, your Grace's godson, and his lady ambitious to have one of their numerous family receive the honour of being in your service, I thought it my duty by this bearer, Cornet Wolseley, Sir Charles, his brother, to tender one of his sons to wait upon your Grace, which, if you accept, I shall take such care that he be sent over in an equipage fit to attend your Grace as soon as I receive your pleasure herein. If your Grace's family be full, I hope, having been bred a soldier, he may deserve a colours from your Grace which he will wait in Ireland for.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, September 6, Windsor.—I shall not fail to give you an account of my Spanish journey. I am not so engaged nor at all resolved to make it if I find not appointments both certain and sufficient. My Lord of Essex did assure me of his assistance in this matter. I am very glad that the late addresses of the Lords are now under your consideration, to give them satisfaction will conduce much to the King's service as well as your own advantage. The affair of young Aylmer will certainly be made use of both to yours and my prejudice, therefore all diligence ought to be used to bring him hither and afterwards to our religion. Whatever my Lord of Shaftesbury may say to Sir Richard Stephens I am of opinion that according to the course he steers he will endeavour to remove from posts of power all persons of your principles. However I think it prudent to receive civilly any expressions or overtures from him. I have formerly sent you the detail of the pay both of the guards and army of the Prince of Orange, if you please I shall again transmit it. I have had it from Sir Alexander Colear, who, I am sure, would not give me an imperfect account. Since troopers must be clothed I know no reason why they should not be contented to have them of the same sort and colour, so that in providing them they be not abused by their officers. The care you take and the method for having the foot well trained will be of infinite use. I do easily comprehend the difference and disadvantage of companies being scattered

and not regimented. I wish some inconsiderable pay in time of peace, if a Parliament in Ireland sits and gives supplies, may be settled upon field officers, and that regiments might at some time of the year be drawn together, otherwise you will find a great defect whenever they form a battalion. You will pardon me if upon this occasion I remind you of a company for myself, it being without example that any in my station should be without one. Last post I gave you an account of the Duke's arrival. I am informed that generally his coming is well taken, whether he returns or remains here is not as yet known. I believe you will, however think it necessary to compliment him upon this occasion. Mr. Fitzpatrick, that formerly was page to my Lord of Oxford and since a captain of foot, desired me to mind you of some hopes given him that you would make him lieutenant to the guard that Tom Fairfax commands.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, September 7, Blessinton.—I am humbly to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of the 31st of the last and of the 2nd instant. It was very seasonable that I left Kilkenny when I did, for the same night I was attacked with a smart fit of the gout, which upon the first assault disabled me from the use of one of my feet, however, I thought myself concerned to put the business of the accounts as forward as I could, and as soon as Sir John Davys could be at Dublin to make up a committee, I writ to my Lord Chief Justice to hasten on the accounts, the copy of which letter I here enclosed send your Grace, with his lordship's return to me which I received this morning, which will give your Grace a perfect account of the present state of that affair. I have not had any time to keep a copy of my Lord Chief Justice's letter. I have at this instant received notice that my Lord Ranelagh landed this morning. I have yet heard nothing from his lordship, but I presume it will not be long before I shall. Your Grace shall have an account of anything that I shall learn that may be worth your knowledge. The last packet brings us the very joyful news of His Majesty's perfect recovery. I pray God in Heaven bless him with long life and a successful reign. It brought us likewise the surprising news of the arrival of his Royal Highness at London and from thence to Windsor. I am not to make any conjectures upon this unexpected adventure. I pray God direct His Majesty's counsels and bless your Grace and all yours.

ORMOND to BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

1679, September 7, Clonmel.—Something of the matter mentioned in your lordship's of the 6th instant I received from the Sheriff of that county whilst I was at Thomastown, and directed him to bring Mr. David Fitsgerald to me, my intention being not only to give him full assurance of his pardon,

but of all other fit encouragement to discover whatever he knew of any design against his Majesty or the peace of His kingdoms; but in return to this direction I was yesterday informed by the Sheriff that Mr. Fitsgerald was under confinement, so that I ordered Ellis to write to the Sheriff to let Mr. Fitsgerald know that I desired he would give his information to my Lord Chief Justice Keating, who is not only the chief judge in that circuit, but a Privy Councillor and therefore very proper to receive an information of that nature, and this is all the direction I can yet give unless Mr Fitsgerald think it better to stay till he shall be delivered from his imprisonment, and then if he have any more to say than is set down in his letter to your lordship he shall be at large heard by, etc.

SAME to SAME.

1679, September 8, Clonmel.—I thank you for your care in sending me Mr. Fitsgerald's letter to you, he is now here with the Sheriff of that county, but returns to undergo his trial. When that is over I have directed how he shall be further disposed of, so that your lordship is like to receive no further trouble concerning him.

If your lordship has had time to finish the picture you took the pains to draw I shall shortly have an opportunity to send it to my daughter Candish, for whom it is intended. Pardon the liberty I take.*

INTERROGATIONS TO DAVID FITZGERALD.

1679, September 8, Clonmel.—Have you had any discourse with any of the persons engaged since the first breaking of the matter to you, when, with whom, and what was the discourse?

Have you had any discourse with any of the said persons since the discovery of the plot against the King's life or before? or have any of these persons told you of any rising of the Papists that would be in England or of any invasion intended of that kingdom?

How were you to provide yourselves of arms and ammunition to be in readiness at the time that the invasion should be? was there any money to be raised for that use or were there arms and ammunition expected from any foreign parts? Declare your knowledge.

Was there any town or fort to be surprised before or at the time of the expected invasion, what town or fort, and by whom to be surprised?

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, September 9, Blessinton.—I must humbly beg your Grace's pardon for the false alarm that I gave your Grace of

* Simon Digby, Bishop of Limerick 1678-9 to 1691-2 to 1720, is mentioned in Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* as "a good limner."

the Lord of Ranelagh's arrival. It was sent to me by a sober person, and from the mouths of Sir John Cole and Sir John Champante, who were then going to Ringsend to attend his lordship with their coaches; but whether this were out of design or by mistake I cannot say, for Dr. Topham now writes to me that my Lord Ranelagh neither is come nor designs to come, but that all his lordship's preparations for his journey hither have been only artifices to amuse us in the expectation of his coming, but not intended.

I send your Grace here enclosed a letter of Mr. Worth's from Cork about Lavallin. The man's flight doth not look very well, though it may be thus far excusable that most men will naturally keep themselves out of danger's way as far as they can. I have writ to Mr. Worth that he did very well in his inquiries after Lavallin and what became every good subject to do that was in his or the like employment. When I attended your Grace at Kilkenny I moved your Grace in the behalf of Mr. Synge for a living which would be resigned by one Mr. Davis; but by a letter which I yesterday received from the Bishop of Cork I find that his lordship hath a design to set up a quire in the Cathedral of Cork, for which that living would be very convenient and in some degree necessary. I am clearly of his lordship's opinion, for I formerly intended it for myself while I was Bishop of Cork, and since his lordship hath present purposes of erecting a quire there, it is my humble opinion that to so good and so public a work Mr. Synge's preferment should at present be postponed (who may be provided for hereafter, for as yet he is but a young man) and this living being without any cure but what is discharged by that Church of St. ffin Barrys in Cork, it would be very convenient for that Quire; but care must be taken that in his warrant (if your Grace thinks fit to dispose it that way) the trust and use may be expressed for which it is put into the bishop's hands, otherwise it may perhaps be void, for as I suppose a commendam cannot be granted to any bishop without the King's letter for that purpose. I heartily pray for your Grace.

Postscript.—The name of the living is the Rectory of St. John's by Cork.

Lord James Butler to Ormond.

1679, September 9, Oxford.—I do heartily acknowledge my fault in not writing to your Grace so often as my duty engages me to do. But if your Grace will pardon this omission I promise to be more dutiful hereafter. In the meantime, having assured your Grace of my good health and of my endeavours to improve in my studies, I make bold to present an humble request to your Grace, which is that you would be pleased to give me leave to keep another horse. If your Grace grants me this favour it will be to me a further encouragement to perform my exercises with more diligence and cheerfulness

and by all possible means to strive to shew myself more and more, my Lord, your Grace's most humble and most obedient grandson, James Butler.

Postscript.—Pray my humble duty to my Grandmother.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, September 9, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 26th of August from Kilkenny I have received and acquainted His Majesty with it. I have given copies of it to my Lord Longford to distribute, but neither I nor any other of your friends that I know were for the opinion of printing it, the design of the dispersers of that rumour being more to disaffect those under your government in Ireland than that they could make any great advantage here but by the clamours from thence. The arrival of His Royal Highness will be no news to you, but I believe we shall not for the present enjoy him long, but when the precise day of his remove will be I cannot yet tell you. We are in great hurly burly about our elections, and whether we shall agree better when we meet or no I know not. I have received your Grace's and the Council's letter about the imputations upon Colonel FitzPatrick, and shall not fail to acquaint the Council with it. His Majesty is, God be thanked, perfectly recovered and resolveth some time the next week for this town and thence to Newmarket. When I see the Lords Commissioners I shall speak about these reports, but I suppose if they are imperfect your Grace must represent to them the exceptions you have to them. I have not more to importune your Grace with

DR. JO. TOPHAM to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, September 9, Dublin.—I had by Sir John Davys the honour of your lordship's, and my great expectation of my Lord Ranelagh's arrival made me so rude as not to acknowledge it the post following. But after all there has been as much artifice used to persuade persons to believe he intended for Ireland as would make an excellent farce. He and his servants the very hour they left London writ Sir John Champante that that minute they designed for Ireland, the post following the two Lady Ranelaghs by their letters obliged Sir J. Ch. to take care of that noble person and to secure him from all bad company. Liveries are made and after all his lordship cannot leave Windsor, where he was the last packet, and was (as they say) resolved to stay for some days. In the meantime Roger Moore is very active, and his debt increases, which makes me believe he intends really to proceed. I cannot give your lordship the debt which is stated by the Commissioners, but it increases daily, and I will not fail the next post to give your lordship the true balance. Last night happened a fire in St. Thomas Street, consumed a stable and part of a malthouse and did no further mischief. There is great mourning at Bellamont for

the death of my Lady Parsons' father. Does your lordship know that Mr. Wicherley, the poet, was in this country. He landed about three weeks since and went aboard (I saw him) on Thursday last. He has been all the while in the country, but I cannot yet learn where nor what his business was.

Rev. Samuel Ladyman, Vicar of Clonmel, to Ormond.

1679, September 12, Clonmel.—May it please your Grace to vouchsafe your pardon while I humbly present the enclosed instrument to be disposed of by your Grace and my Lord Bishop as yourselves think best. For although my own ignorance in concerns of that kind and the non arrival of my counsel hindered me the last night from subscribing my Lord Judge's draught, yet to prevent in everything your Grace's disappointment (now on your journey to Waterford) I have thus adventured out of his lordship's draught and out of that which myself a few days since had penned, sealed and delivered unto our present Mayor) to compile (and offer yet once again) what methinks any curate might conclude sufficient security, especially from him whose word alone can still be taken for more pounds than the double yearly value of this vicarage.

Nor may the term only of two years give any just distaste, since should I ever be so recovered as again to preach constantly myself (and who knoweth what God's blessing (and a release from heavier burthens than my sickness) may effect) it would then be very hard that I still should be obliged to give my assistant the whole revenue of this parish, the rather because my purse and my [*illegible*] and not without abundance of obloquy and ill will) purchased for it more than the two full thirds of all its income.

And since I have thus taken upon me to speak unto your Grace, let your Grace's wonted propensity (still so to mind the affairs of church and state as to forget your own) be my humble apology if I here am your remembrancer that their fixing the prison on part of Braye's building (besides the largeness of the street [and] its open air and vicinity to the now guard house) will be of greater moment (in the sequel) for this town's improvement than (at this time) your Grace may have leisure to read or I to mention.

For as (in my letter of January the 15, one thousand six hundred seventry three) I did humbly suggest unto your Grace (then at Whitehall) that the continuance of your Regality Courts where they then were kept would (by building the west suburbs soon have driven your Grace's town out at one of its own gates) will now in too great a measure be affected at the other end by erecting good houses without Kilsheelan Gate, where the situation is pleasant, the water near, and one good slate house already built and converted into an inn, which indeed must be somewhere

without the walls, but had been much better placed for your Grace's advantage on a piece of land of your own ancient estate lying just at the North Gate, where your Grace's Manor Courts were formerly held, entertainment now kept, and by one whose industry doth promise in some little time to build a better house.

Also never is Lough Street like to be improved (though the longest and best accomodated with gardens and back-sides of any street in this town) yet never like to be improved while the town's great thoroughfare is turned another way (even the little narrow street of Kilsheelan where only are three houses worth the notice). Yet next the better safety of all His Majesty's walléd towns (or a necessity that may not be unfitly pleaded for building a bastion or flanker in the room of Kilsheelan Gate, as a needful security for that weaker side of this garrison) there cannot be a more just pretence to make the North Gate the only passage this away into Clonmel than that the prisoners (when there placed must starve should it not be so.

But it is time, great Sir, that most humbly I do beseech your Grace's pardon for the rudeness and the interruption of this confused address which your wonted most noble candour I am assured cannot deny unto him who heartily doth pray in your Grace's behalf as he did for his best *Mœcenas ut serus in cœlum redeas diuque lœtus intersis populo*, that being his only requital for all those undeserved and signal favours your lordship hath vouchsafed.

To the Most Honourable James, Lord Duke of Ormond, His Grace Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the most humble Address of Doctor Samuel Ladyman, Vicar of Clonmel.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, September 13.—This morning the Duke of Monmouth returned hither in order to settle his appointments. Before coming to the King he sent to desire permission. His Majesty answered that he had not forbid him the Court, but that he looked upon it as necessary that his command of the forces should be taken away, and that for some time he should absent himself from his dominions; the Duke is to go away, but not until the other obeys the same commands. You may imagine that whoever pretends to suffer upon the score of religion will not want friends. I am told that in the town great rancour and partiality does appear in this conjuncture. Wednesday next the Court removes to London and from thence to Newmarket. The time has not been proper to move anything concerning my Spanish journey: whether it will be proper for me to undertake or to desist, or when to be in it, depends upon accidents not to be foreseen, but whatever my resolutions shall be I will endeavour to give you soon notice of them, and hope for your approbation.

Dr. Jo. Topham to Earl of Arran.

1679, September 13, Dublin.—Contrary to all expectation, my Lord Ranelagh landed yesterday with Mr. Loftus ; intends to wait on my Lord Lieutenant next week. I have fully discoursed Roger Moore and find him triumphing, though before the victory. He has made me a perfect master of his notions, which I think are very clear and true. He has registered his debts, which is some thousands more than formerly, and assures me that the December pay (75), the deductions and endorsements amount to 37,000*l.* and more, which is already entered with the Commissioners. I am in daily expectation of Sir Ch. Meredith, and then I hope for leave from his Grace to pay my duty at Kilkenny, when I shall be able to demonstrate as clear as the sun that after all defalcations my Lord R.'s debts must be above 60,000*l.*, I mean allowing his last demands. Alderman Jervis presented your lordship's order to me to examine a difference betwixt him and Lieutenant Farley, which had been readily obeyed, but that the lieutenant had broke his leg, and so would not trouble presently ; several accidents of that kind have lately happened here, the scaffolding at the new tennis court having lamed four, and most of them will die by the mischance of the fall.

I would not trouble his Grace with a letter this post, tho' our Farmers have neither assigned nor paid one farthing of June pay to the army or regiment ; it is very late with the pay, the next three months being so near at hand. I could wish they had a reprimand, it would not be amiss ; but how they will satisfy the arrear is past finding out. Your lordship may see Sir John Champante's balance of the last month with my Lord Lieutenant.

Primate Boyle to Ormond.

1679, September 13, Dublin.—I lately gave your Grace the trouble of a false alarm about my Lord Ranelagh's arrival (for which I have presumed to beg your Grace's pardon) but he is now come in earnest, and with him Mr. Loftus. They landed yesterday in the evening. His lordship was pleased to visit me this morning and pretends to desire nothing more than a despatch of his accounts. He complains much of the agreement between Sir James Hayes and Sir James Shaen ; he saith he doth not understand it and disowns having any concern therein. We have appointed a meeting of the Commissioners for the accounts upon Monday morning, that if his lordship and partners hath anything to say to us it may not in excuse of their delay be objected, that the Commissioners did not meet. I find that his lordship intends to attend your Grace this next week at Kilkenny.

I here enclose to your Grace Mr. Maxwell's letter, it was without a date, but the receipt is endorsed. It is writ in such general terms that I have sent to him to be particular in his instances. Your Grace will find that we are quit of

that suspected person Mr. Campbell. The testimony which Mr. Maxwell hints at in his letter is, as I suppose, that which was proffered to your Grace by my Lord Granard in the behalf of the Presbyterian Ministers in the north, which it seems they cannot now agree upon, and which I am sure was less, much less for the security of the Government than Peter Walsh's Remonstrance, which was subscribed by a great part of the Romish nobility and gentry in this kingdom.

Wilson's refusal to exchange the brass halfpence that have gone in his name have made a great hurley-burley in this city, especially amongst the poor retailers. I doubt he will prove a knave, for I am informed since my coming to town that it will be proved that he hath lent his tools and instruments for coinage unto another person to counterfeit the halfpence that were made by Tennant and allowed by the Government. This is part confessed already by the person himself who made use of them for that purpose, but inquiry will be fully made into that matter against your Grace comes to town, and I presume upon the whole matter your Grace will think it necessary to establish some way for small money, that the poor traders may not be surprised by beggary by such abominable cheats before they do expect it.

I came hither upon Thursday last and my return to Blessinton is very uncertain, because it depends upon my daughter Blessinton's delivery, so that your Grace may direct your commands, if you have any for me, unto this place. I heartily pray for your Grace's health and happiness. The strangest news that I meet here at Dublin is a confident report that old Mrs. Fernely is married unto one Captain Desborough, and being demanded about it by some friends, she makes this answer that he is so handsome a gentleman that it is very hard for any woman to refuse him.

Earl of Orrery to Primate Boyle.

1679, September 16, Castlemartyr.—I am unable to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's letter of the 13th with my own hand, God having been pleased on Friday last to visit me with a violent fit of the gout, a great cold, and a stoppage of urine, from the last of which by His mercy I am freed. I here present your Grace the copy of a letter, the original whereof I had by an express from my son Broghill from Limerick. I have written to Mr. David Fitzgerald, the writer of the letter, who married Lieutenant Colonel Eaton's wife's daughter, at least to send me word who those magistrates were to whom he gave notice of the Plot, that they might acquaint my Lord Lieutenant and me with it, that I may immediately have them questioned for their great negligence or worse in not giving me the least notice thereof. I have not yet heard one word from my Lord Lieutenant concerning this affair, tho' Mr. Fitzgerald were about it with his Grace. My son assures me that the said Mr. Fitzgerald positively

tells him that the design is still on foot against the city and the King's castle of Limerick, and therefore methinks the speedier care should be had for the purging of that town. I have written so often about it that I doubt I may be judged troublesome in doing it, but sure this fresh alarm should make us look speedily and effectually about it.

I am very glad my Lord Ranelagh is safely come over. I hope now he is here he will justify and clear his accounts.

I rejoice very much that your Grace's alarm of the gout is proved a false one. I beseech God preserve you from it and all other evils.

I humbly beg the favour of your Grace that you will order my cousin, Richard Boyle, of Shannon Park, to be put into the Commission of the Peace for this county, and my cousin, Will. Supple, of Ahadda, to be put in for the counties of Cork and Waterford.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, September 16, Dublin.—The Commissioners for the accounts met yesterday, and the Lord Ranelagh and his partners appeared, and desired a week's time longer to bring in their answer to those objections which have been made to their accounts in regard the Lord of Ranelagh is but now come over, and it will be necessary to advise with his lordship before they put in their return, and his lordship intending to wait upon your Grace at Kilkenny they could be sooner ready, which was accordingly granted them, and the rather because it is hoped that by that time we may have some prospect of Sir Joshua Allen's Commission.

Since we met upon the Commission I received the enclosed from my Lord Longford. It is much to the same purpose which was formerly said by Captain Stone; however, I hold myself obliged to represent it to your Grace without any observations of my own upon it, being wholly at your Grace's government in this affair and in everything else. It may perhaps be seasonable to inspect farther into this new account when the Lord Ranalagh and partners bring in their answer, and then to make the best use we can of both accounts for His Majesty's service; but in the meantime it looks a little strange that Mr. Stepney hath not yet presented that new account to your Grace according to his direction from his partners. I think it would not be amiss if your Grace would call for it, that it may be considered before that time.

The enclosed paper is a copy of what was sent to the Provost of the College of another philosopher's lecture in the north, besides that whereof I formerly gave your Grace some advertisement. These Presbyterians it seems begin now to follow the methods and ways for discipline of their brethren the Jesuits. If some seasonable stop be not put unto these things I doubt they will grow much upon us in this kingdom to the prejudice as well of the civil as of the ecclesiastical government.

Ormond to Primate Boyle.

1679, September 17, Kilkenny.—I received yours of the 13th at Waterford and came from thence hither but yesterday. With your Grace's I had one of the same date from my Lord of Ranelagh giving me notice of his purpose to be here in the middle of this week, which makes me conclude that being away any return from me will miss him. I am told that his lordship since his landing threatens that those who have complained of want of payment shall be last paid. I wish it be made good and that they will be paid one time or other.

My Lord of Orrery sent me copies of all the examinations taken concerning Lavallin, of which Mr. Recorder Worth's to your Grace gives the full substance. I know not what can be done more in that matter. Mr. Maxwell is, as your Grace observes, too general in his information. If we could be certain who are come hither that were in the Scotch rebellion they might be secured till it should be known whether they are of the number of the pardoned or of the proscribed; and if the Nonconformists in Scotland were in the posture he mentions, methinks we should hear of it out of England.

I send your Grace the extract of a letter I had out of England the week before the last. You will easily guess what great officer of the army is most like to write four sheets of paper upon such a subject. I believe he thought I had really written such a letter as was falsely laid to my charge, and that he had found a fit occasion to display his eloquence, court the army, and in a civil way to do my business here and in England. I propose to stay here about three weeks longer, but if anything relating to the public shall require my going sooner I am ready for the journey.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, September 18, Whitehall.—I am by this to acknowledge the receipt of one from your Grace of the 8th instant, for which I most humbly thank you, and I shall give you what account I can both of that and your former of the 4th, which I acknowledged in my last. As to the last of the 8th, though His Majesty believeth as your Grace, and indeed the Minister seemed to fear that it is but chimæra or a trepan: yet he approveth the course you have taken to find out the truth quietly without making a great noise to no effect, as the sending for Rutherfort upon that single witness which a man of that character would easily invalidate by a base denial, the fact being treasonable; but if there could be more witnesses than the condition would be altered and the dependance he would have on His Majesty's mercy for life and estate would with much more probability extract from him what the design is at bottom, for if anything of what the godly minister alleges be true, *rebus sic stantibus*, I should suppose

the present design was only to test the pulse of the Ministers, and if they would relish such a proposition from France, they would *a fortiori* from others that they should have reason to think better affected, and if they discovered a thorough averseness to any such proposition, the reproach of the temptation to lie upon France, and those that possibly were really in the design not to be mentioned. But without undertaking at all to answer how little or how much France will do in point of interest, I do not at all conceive it their business during the present conjuncture to engage in such an interest.

But as to what you mention in both your letters, the great increase of those Nonconformists in those parts, His Majesty agreeth with your Grace not to exercise an over-hasty severity upon so great a multitude, but in case they shall come to such overt acts of rebellion as your Grace mentioneth, as setting upon the covenant or publicly avowing a separate jurisdiction, what your Grace adviseth upon that matter is approved of. In the meantime as your Grace seemeth to apprehend the recruits coming from Scotland into Ireland, so my Lord Duke Lauderdale seemeth to apprehend something from Ireland in Scotland; it appeareth from both your conjectures and apprehensions that there is a correspondence betwixt the sectaries in the north of Scotland and Ireland which ought carefully to be regarded; and, therefore, His Majesty hath commanded me to write to your Grace that you would keep a constant correspondence with the Duke of Lauderdale, who His Majesty will take care shall have orders to do the same with your Grace, that their motions may the better be observed in both nations. In the meantime His Majesty hath sent the same instructions to your Grace that were sent to my Lord of Essex some two years since, that my Lord of Granard may be sent with a body of men into the north. The number and places to quarter in will be expressed in the instructions which I hope to get signed to send with this letter.

I cannot answer particularly to all the points in your letter of the 4th instant; but as to that of the army, my Lord Treasurer saith the money is already gone, though here as well as there there are different opinions of the rate the army payeth for the three months' advance, and from those differences some reflections are raised upon the excessiveness of the demands of those that made the first offer of that way of advance, but His Majesty and my Lord Treasurer seem very well satisfied in the bargain as it now is. Concerning the calling a Parliament, it hath not yet been debated, and I believe hardly will till the King's return from Newmarket, whither he goeth the next Monday, and there he thinks he shall see the Prince of Orange. My Lord Ossory hath had a fever, but is well recovered.

As to the allowance for my Lord Granard's table, and all other extraordinary expense relating to this march of the troops,

His Majesty would have them provided in the same manner as they were upon the same occasion in my Lord of Essex his time. This is all I have at present to acquaint your Grace.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1679, Sept. 18th, Kilkenny.—I have received yours of the 16th and am told this will find you at Blessinton. I had a letter to the same effect from my Lord Longford with that he sent your Grace, whereby all I can collect is that there is a difference betwixt the English and the Irish undertakers concerning the 24,000*l.* borrowed of the King. In all other things they seem to agree. Those in England would not be charged with it, saying it was neither borrowed or employed for the ends of the undertaking: the other I suppose affirm the contrary. Which are in the right is not for ought I see material to the King, only his security is the better if they prove all to be liable. As I told your Grace yesterday I am ready for Dublin at twenty-four hours' warning, but am content to stay here till my presence there may be useful.

I am glad the Provost inquires after the Scotch Academies. It concerns this university, and they may very reasonably take notice and complain of such an invasion by some address which may be so drawn and enlarged as to fit the present conjuncture and prove of great use to the church, which I hope will find many friends in both Houses of Parliament. I cannot find any address from either House concerning the putting of Papists out of towns and garrisons, and yet it is in my head there was some such. I have sent to make search in the journals in England, but if there was any such methinks it might be found at Dublin. I wish your Grace would desire Dr. Topham or any other to make search among the booksellers and coffee houses, where such things possibly may be kept. I keep all your Grace's papers to be given you when we meet.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 20, Whitehall.—Your Grace will receive a letter from me this post concerning the letter from your Grace and the Council about the accusation of Colonel Fitzpatrick. Sir Robert Southwell will acquaint your Grace of some expressions made, though not at the Council, upon that business that looked very odd. The letter concerning the false reports of your Grace in relation to the Protestants of Ireland, I have given copies of to my Lord Longford, and shall to others of your friends, but did not think it necessary to produce it in Council, for reasons my Lord Longford may better tell you than I.

My Lord of Essex telleth me this night that he hath by this post received a letter from my Lord of Orrery mentioning the report of a master of a ship coming from France

that a ship were ready to sail for Cork from thence that brought 6,000 horse arms, and that he had given orders for the seizing of them if they came. If the intelligence be true, I wish he had acquainted your Grace first with it that the notice might here come from you.

The King is here and intending for Newmarket in very good health, but the day for his going is not yet fixed, nor I believe will be till both the Dukes go.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, Sept. 20, Whitehall.—The discourse of this place is that next week the Duke returns for Flanders, but the Duke of Monmouth first leaves this kingdom. Soon after it is said the King goes to Newmarket. You know his custom is to advertise very late his officers when he makes such journeys. The Dukes of Monmouth and Lauderdale are taking out their pardons. I leave it to your consideration whether you ought to follow that example. You may be sure that those who wish ill to the Government will endeavour all they can against you; the doing the same thing may perhaps shew something of fear which will embolden your enemies on the other side. I know not in point of quartering, which has been the custom of almost all your predecessors, how liable you may be to the law upon your first accession to the Government after the King's restoration. The articles of the last Lord of Meath and everything of that nature ought to be inspected to guide you the better in this particular; probably they may have so many things on their hands, as that you may not this session whether short or long be troubled.

Primate Boyle to Ormond.

1679, Sept. 20, Blessinton.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 17th instant. I presume the Lord Ranelagh hath been with your Grace before this can come to your hands. I heard nothing of what was writ to your Grace, that he should say that those who complained most should be paid last. He hath I suppose too much skill to expose himself so lavishly considering the circumstances of his affairs.

It is easy to guess at the author of the long letter into England, but it is difficult to imagine any other reason for it but that he was willing to take any opportunity even from misinformation itself to expatiate upon his own zeal and diligence, for the untruth being detected it cannot have the least reflection upon your Grace; but it is the delight of the times to infuse jealousies, they are soon raised and easily credited.

Your Grace will pardon me that I refer you to the enclosed from Dr. Topham for the news at Dublin. If his intelligence be true it is high time for those of other principles to strike off.

I doubt our good friend my Lord Longford hath been most contributing to the later part of his news, if it be so. Your Grace may be pleased if you think fit to return me my Lord of Orrery's and Dr. Topham's letters.

Endorsed: "Received and answered 21 Sept. 1679."

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, Sept. 20, Whitehall.—I received a letter from your Grace and the Council of Ireland dated from Kilkenny Castle the 26th day of August last concerning an information of one Darby Costigan against Colonel John Fitzpatrick, which letter I had no opportunity to produce in Council till yesterday, at which time it was ordered by the Council that I should write to your Grace to commit the said Colonel John Fitzpatrick to prison if he be in Ireland; if not that you would cause him to be indicted of high treason upon the evidence against him; and if the said Colonel Fitzpatrick appear not to the indictment you are to give order to have him outlawed. And your Grace is to give an account of your proceedings hereupon as soon as may be. I do also send here enclosed an authentic copy of the Order of Council in this behalf.

Ormond to Primate Boyle.

1679, Sept. 21, Kilkenny.—I return you my Lord of Orrery's and Dr. Topham's letters, but believe very little of either. I have had discourse with the Fitzgerald mentioned and have his informations signed by him, but not sworn as yet. He promised me to be shortly with me here and tell me more particulars; he does not tell me that he has any other testimony to confirm his. However nothing that comes under the notion of a discovery shall want due encouragement. I do not propose to be at Dublin till the 2nd of the next month, perhaps by that time I shall have seen Mr. Fitzgerald and send or bring him thither. I shall also defer the consideration of purging Limerick, and do not doubt but that in the meantime it will be safe enough.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, September 23.—Since my last I am informed that an impeachment is to be delivered against you at the meeting of the Parliament; and I am promised the particulars and notice of these proceedings from a man of quality. You may be sure that I am not wanting in point of diligence, and on the other side I endeavour not to make appear my timorousness, but according to my small talent do govern myself between these two extremes. My Spanish journey is resolved, and I am promised money to support it; but upon that account shall not omit anything by delaying or relinquishing it, if I think I may thereby be useful unto you.

The Duke of Monmouth goes away tomorrow, being Wednesday. The next day the Duke embarks for Flanders, and on Friday the King and Queen goes to Newmarket. My wife has had a great defluxion upon one of her eyes. All the rest of your family are well. I have not anything to trouble my mother withal.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, September 23, Whitehall.—I have very little to trouble your Grace with but what you will have from several hands. Our two Dukes, His Royal Highness and the Duke of Monmouth, both go beyond the seas immediately, the last tomorrow, the former on Thursday, and on Friday His Majesty intendeth for Newmarket. On the 30th of August I wrote your Grace a letter with one enclosed, to be (after your report upon it) signed by the King, in favour of the present Lord Mayor, who hath eminently served the King, and His Majesty this very day enquired of me why it is not despatched. I pray my lord be pleased to send your answer with all possible speed, if it be not already done. It is of concern in this present crisis, and I pray let there be no delay in it. To avoid the precedent of signing letters without your knowing of it I have withstood many shocks in this business, and I find His Majesty very pressing in it, and he hath some reason to be civil to this Lord Mayor. I pray God the next may deserve well of him.

Earl of Essex to Ormond.

1679, September 23, London.—There is an affair which concerns Sir James Edwards, the present Lord Mayor of London, which now stands referred to your Grace. It is for satisfaction of an adventure he has a right to. This gentleman having carried himself with great respect and loyalty toward His Majesty, the King desires much that he should have his satisfaction with all the despatch and favour that can justly be given him; which occasions me to give your Grace this trouble on his behalf, being a witness of his merit on several emergencies that have lately happened. Therefore if your Grace shall be pleased to return your approbation to his claim, I will take care to pass it at the Treasury here.

Primate Boyle to Ormond.

1679, Sept. 23, Blessinton.—I have the honour of your Grace's of the 18th inst., and I shall make the best inquiry I can to find out the address for putting papists out of towns and garrisons. I well remember such a thing, and I presume I shall be able to retrieve a copy of it at my being at Dublin, which I intend (if it please God) upon Thursday next, having been a week here longer than I intended by the unpreparedness

of my house there. The want of packets leaves us under a great uncertainty of news out of England. The same continues with us yet, of which I gave your Grace an account in my last.

I understand by a letter received this post from Derry that the Bishop* continues very ill, with very little expectation of recovery, or that he will hold out above one month longer. I presume your Grace have not forgot to write to Mr. Secretary Coventry about him, to prevent the applications for his successor; for his long distemper might possibly give opportunity to some there to beg his grant or promise of it before the man dies. Clergymen are not altogether free from such indecencies. I have not heard one word from my Lord Ranelagh since his return from Kilkenny.

Ormond to Sir Cyril Wyche.

1679, Sept. 26, Dublin.—I know not how the loss this kingdom may receive in the [retirement] of my lord of Essex from the place he held in the affairs of the Treasury could be better supplied than by Sir Stephen Fox having a seat there. Upon occasion whereof I have written to him by this post, and desired him that he would, when he shall be settled in the employment, allow you some opportunity to discourse with him concerning the affairs of this kingdom as they may relate to the Treasury of England. And some mention I have made of that sum detained somewhere from the service of Ireland out of the money advanced by the present Farmers, and of which I desired you to make inquiry. He is like himself to have some knowledge of it, having, if I mistake not, about the time of the mislaying of that money, had commerce with, or at least good information of the proceedings of all that had to do with public monies. You will when you find it seasonable speak with him on this subject, and it comes into my mind that Sir Robert Southwell may be a good adviser and assistant, because he is so in all things that concern Ireland, and he has particular reason to wish well to the finishing of the fort of Kinsale. To both of them I desire you to show the papers I sent you, or if they desire it to give them transcripts of them.

Ormond to Lord James Butler.

1679, Sept. 27, Kilkenny.—James, I was more glad to receive yours of the 9th than you will be with mine of the 20th of this month, and should be gladder if I were sure it were of your own dictating and that you did not send it to prevent just complaints of your miscarriage. However, if you will keep yourself to your promise and that I receive assurance of your performance you shall not want any encouragement or satisfaction that is fit for you. I am well

* Dr. Robert Mossom, Bishop of Derry 1666-1679, died Dec 21, 1679.

content you should keep another horse, and will be glad to hear you make often use of him, and of any other exercise that shall be allowed by my lord bishop, and at such times as he shall permit. I am much troubled to hear that you grow fatter than is agreeable with your age, and much more that it should be imputed to your laziness and long lying abed—the thing in the world the most abhorred by me, having never seen any youth so addicted ever come to any good.

I am further to warn you that if anybody shall go about to flatter you with your parts, birth or fortune, that you look upon them as your greatest enemies, and that you still remember that though you may be above some in these things, yet there are many that are your equals, and many more that are above you; and that if there were not, yet all those qualifications are but trappings that will the more expose you to contempt, unless you fit yourself to them by civility, humanity and affability to all sorts of people, according to their degrees and merit. Consider these things, and what else you shall be taught; and let me at all times know your desires, and you shall find me ready to satisfy you in all reasonable things

Your affectionate grandfather,
ORMOND.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 27, Whitehall.—I am commanded by the King in Council to send your Grace a form of a Commission to depute some lords of the Upper House to swear the Parliament men upon the meeting of the Parliament. The thing requireth expedition, and therefore I beseech your Grace to return it with all haste. The Parliament will be prorogued till the 30th of October.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1679, Sept. 27, Kilkenny.—I send you the copy of an Order of Council concerning Col. Fitzpatrick which I received but last night, as you may find by the date. The manner of proceeding may, for aught I know, be legal; yet I have not observed that the like is taken with fugitives in England. Such I call those that being accused have evaded since they were so. But he went out of the kingdom before any accusation was brought against him. Other differences there are betwixt his treatment and others. However, I have sent order to my Lord Chief Justice to proceed as the order directs, adding only these words "and according to the course of law and justice," at which I hope no exception will be taken. I might have kept the Order and given no direction upon it till my being at Dublin, but I thought it better to lose no time, the Lords expecting a speedy return of it.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1679, Sept. 27, Dublin.—Though I presume your Grace has received a much better account than I can send you of the late occurrents in England, yet I thought it not amiss to trouble your Grace with the enclosed, for variety's sake and to compare notes: wherein your Grace will find something for your diversion, but much more for your wonder. I shall make no descant upon the particulars, but I hope I may, without offence, pray to God that He would continue us right in our wits, that we perish not for want of understanding; lest we suffer under the same reproach that David said of Abner—*We die as fools die.*

The Lord Ranelagh's business is appointed the first of the next month, which I shall not fail to attend that I may give your Grace the best account thereof that I can. I cannot but suppose from the earnestness of my Lord Longford's letter that there are some considerable persons in London who have a severe eye upon the proceedings in that matter, though not for the advantage of this Government or Governor, yet to take a rise from thence for reflection and quarrel. I am heartily glad that your Grace had some thoughts of returning hither some time this next week, which you are pleased to intimate in your Grace's of the 21st inst., which I received at Blessinton the 23rd in the afternoon.

My Lord Mountrath and his lady are not yet come over. They have been at Holyhead this week, but they want a little courage to adventure upon the Irish seas this blustering weather, and truly they say that the dogger was very near losing by the tempestuous storms. My daughter Blessinton hath been very ill, but I thank God she begins this day to be somewhat better. My Lord of Orrery continues so ill that he is not able to write letters or his name.

I cannot retrieve either at Council Table or anywhere else the address for expelling the Irish out of our garrisons; but if any such hath been I am promised to have it procured for me within these two days. But I now begin to think that there never were any such sent to your Grace; but that it was taken up upon the authority of the newsletters.

REV. PETER DRELINCOURT to ORMOND.

1679, Octobre 2, à Oxford.—J'ay reçeu la lettre dont il a pleu à vôtre grandeur de m'honorer du 20^{e} du passé, avec la copie de celle pour mon cher seigneur à qui je rendis moymême l'original. Cette excellente lettre monseigneur qui luy étoit fort nécessaire a déja à peu près produit l'effet que vôtre grandeur s'etoit promise. Mylord en est devenu et plus studieux et plus traitable; et j'espere, monseigneur, avec l'ayde de Dieu, qu'en peu de temps la raison, le bon naturel et les belles promesses de mylord, les remontrances et les bons avis de M^{r} notre excellent Doyen; les soins et l'affection de son tuteur et de moy, améneront cette bonne

œuvre à sa perfection avec quelque reformation dans notre petite famille. C'est le sentiment de Mr notre bon éveque par les avis salutaires duquel je me conduis en tout ce qui regarde le precieux dépôt qui m'est commis.

Puisque votre grandeur me commande de luy écrire librement ce que je say des mauvais conseillers de mylord, je lui diray sincerement que pour ses compagnons je ne puis pas en donner aucun jugement positif, faisant mon affaire d'empêcher mylord de frequenter aucune mauvaise compagnie. Pour les serviteurs j'en crois Mr Gandy incapable, mais je suis bien marry de ne pouvoir pas dire la même chose du jeune homme qu'on lui a donné pour serviteur dans le College. Il y a du temps monseigneur qu'il seroit tellement entesté du desir de voyager bientot avec mylord, qu'il l'en entretenoit continuellement à son léver et à son coucher et en d'autres temps aussy bien que de quantité de sottises avec une familiarité insupportable meslée d'un dégout d'etude qu'il inspiroit insensiblement à mylord. Ayant voulu rémedier à ce grand désordre, et ayant prié doucement le dit jeune homme de n'être point si fort assidu ni familiér avec son jeune seigneur qui a assez d'autre gents pour le servir soir et matin dans sa chambre il s'est coleré contre moy il a méprisé mes prières pris plaisir de faire pis, exhorté mylord à me mépriser et à ne me dire jamais *je vous prie*, mais *je* veus, Mr nôtre bon Doyen qui en a été informé a trouvé a propos de l'envoyer. Mr Gandy même qui est l'amy du jeune homme dit qu'il est nécssaire. Le Colonel Vernon, parent du dit jeune homme, vint hier icy, il promet de le retirer dans quelque temps. Cependant il est offencé de ce que je trouve à redire à son neveu, et son déplaisir contre moy le pourra porter à faire des efforts pour me rendre de mauvais offices. Mais je veus faire mon devoir envers mylord quelque chose qui en puisse arriver. Voilà monseigneur l'etat present et véritable de mylord James, et de nos petites affaires. Je demande mille pardons à vôtre grandeur de l'en avoir entretenue si longtemps et de si mauvaise grace. Mylord ne manquera pas à la première poste de demander pardon à Madame la Duchesse.*

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1679, October 2, Oxford.—I perceive you have lately taken notice of some miscarriage in the conduct of my Lord James, and know not whether I may not seem negligent in forbearing to advertise your Excellence of what happens amiss in this place. But I have so much consideration of your time and occasions, as not to think it reasonable to give you trouble upon every little accident; especially when I know that in the conduct of youth the interposition of parents is always to be reserved as the last remedy: and thanks be to God nothing of that nature has appeared here. By the grace

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

of God when anything shall happen worthy your notice I will not fail to communicate it. As to what is passed, the truth is here was an idle lad recommended to be with my young lord as a servitor, who had entertained hopes of travelling with him, and filled his head so much with these expectations that he became impatient of his own attendances upon study, and consequently my lord's. And unto him rather than my lord may be imputed what has been amiss. But he being taken off 'tis to be hoped the inconvenience will immediately cease, and that the remaining part of my lord's attendants will take warning not to think of ingratiating themselves by flatteries, but to approve themselves to your Excellence by faithful duty.

JOHN FFOLLIOTT to EARL OF ARRAN.

1679, October 3, Cork.—Having some reason to believe your lordship may not be fully informed of the great indisposition of health my Lord of Orrery is now in, makes me presume to tell your lordship he is in a very desperate condition, although 'tis given out he is not so ill. But I have information from one very near him that 'tis next to a miracle if his lordship lives a fortnight. 'Tis not the gout, but a sudden violent decay in nature. Nothing they give him continues in his stomach, and he is hugely lethargic. If the knowledge of our Major General's deadly (I fear) distemper may be anyway serviceable to your lordship, I have my end.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679, October 5, Newmarket.—At the time that you will receive this letter I doubt not but you will receive orders for dismissing from the Council Sir Henry Ingoldsby. This morning the King commanded me to inform Mr. Secretary that it was his pleasure that in his name he should signify so much to you. I suppose that both Mr. Secretary and you will not require any other signification. If in point of form more is necessary, I will endeavour to procure it. You know who is that gentleman's patron, and if the thing be not despatched, perhaps powerful endeavours may be used to alter His Majesty's mind.

I have it for certain that the King has sent to have the Duke and Duchess to come to either Dover or Margate, and at present it is ordered that they shall go into Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth is to remain abroad. I beseech you to keep secret this information. I am also told that my lord of Shaftesbury and others may be again put out of the Council. I do neither decline nor pursue my Spanish journey. As yet I am free, and shall for the future take that resolution which the advice of my friends and my own judgment shall dictate to me to be best.

SAME to SAME.

1679, October 6, Newmarket.—The King leaves the affair of the choosing bishops to you. In case the diocese of Kilkenny become void, if you have not fixed upon a person already, I presume to recommend Dr. Young, who was my chaplain in Flanders. He is an Oxford man, eminent in preaching and for a good life. I believe you would receive all manner of satisfaction in him, both as to the public and your own content. When I know your pleasure I shall accordingly govern myself. I am just taking coach for Euston, where I wish the hawks out of Ireland were come.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, October 9, Whitehall.—The letter you wrote me that related to Sir H. Ingoldsby I gave my lord of Ossory to show His Majesty at Newmarket, and yesterday he sent me word that His Majesty consented to what your Grace proposed in that point, and that I should write you word so in His Majesty's name. But I suppose there needeth something more of ceremony than the bare hand of a secretary to that matter, so I humbly desire your Grace to send in what form you would have the order come from hence. If by letter send a copy of one to be signed here. I suppose there is no great haste, it not being likely he will return before the Session of Parliament.

This day we have had an election for the City Members. There was great expectation of great opposition and contest. But just now I am informed the former members are all chosen again without the least dispute. It is supposed Friday or Saturday will bring His Majesty back hither, where he will find less agreeable divertisements than at Newmarket. A report of His Royal Highness his going for Scotland hath made great noise here, though I cannot judge the reason of it. If it should be so intended, methinks it should be a more justifiable counsel to keep the presumptive heir of the Crown within the King's own dominions than in any other princes

Postscript.—His Majesty hath not yet declared his pleasure concerning Dr. Ward's removal to Londonderry in case of a vacancy.

ORMOND to EARL OF ANGLESEY.

1679, October 8, Dublin.—Though yours in behalf of Dr. Sall was dated the 21st of August, yet it came not to my hands till the latter end of September, a few days before I came to Kilkenny ; and then I found not with it the memorial mentioned, by which I might have understood what injury was designed to have been done him, and how to have prevented it. I am no good judge of Dr. Sall's learning ; but I know he has the best reputation for sobriety and piety of any that I have known to come from the Church

of Rome to ours : and if either he had been upon the place, or if I had known he desired either preferment in the Church or better maintenance in this kingdom, I had certainly provided for him, as I shall do yet if he thinks fit to come over, and if anything in my disposal shall fall proper for him to have ; and tho' I do not think I an to be blamed for not knowing what Dr. Sall desired, when neither he nor any friend of his took the pains to tell me, yet I hold myself much obliged to your lordship's admonition.

Copy.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, October 10, Newmarket.—Since my last orders are gone to meet the Duke, appointing him and his Duchess to repair to Whitehall. I received your two letters of the 27 September, which were in answer to some of mine ; only the account of the Dutch army I shall not fail to send it speedily to you, and if I find it defective I will order Cole to let me have a particular and an exact one. I return you my humble thanks for the foot company you intend me. My care of my troop at this distance will, I hope, incline you to believe I deserve that addition ; for I shall shortly make them a present of horses and facing for holsters. The King and Queen are in good health, much pleased with this place. On Monday next we all return to Whitehall. Yesterday the Queen dined at Euston with my Lord Chamberlain, a worthy friend to you and yours.

Same to Same.

1679, Oct. 10, Newmarket.—Since my closing of my letter of this day's date, I am informed that my Lord of Essex affirms that my Lord Ranelagh can never come off, unless you be favourable, if not in some measure partial, unto him. The first I believe is not likely ; the latter I am sure neither has nor will be your way of proceeding. From the same and several other ways I am informed that my Lord Ranelagh expects much favour from my Lord Chancellor, and that as a mark of a beginning friendship a great part of his Grace's arrears have been paid. I received a letter from Sir Robert Southwell giving an account of my Lord of Orrery's having a discovery made him of a plot that had been carrying on these two or three years. The informer is one David Fitzgerald, who affirms he told it to Sir Thomas Southwell and another justice of peace, who having omitted to make it known to him or the Lord Lieutenant, he intended to have them accused for misprision of treason. This story was writ from Limerick the 16th of September, and your letter being on the 27th I find [neither] Mr. Secretary nor any else has any notice of it from you, by which I guess this is an old trick of his lordship's. I told it to the King, who, calling him rogue and rascal, seems much incensed.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1679, October 11, London.—I was upon my journey to this town when I received the honour of your Grace's letter, which gave me very great satisfaction, since by it I find that the condition of that kingdom is not in an apparent danger of falling into a disorder if we continue quiet in this. That there will be great endeavours in the factions and discontented party here to put things into a disturbance I do not doubt; but I hope the prudence and care of those that are loyal and moderate will defeat those designs and preserve the kingdoms in a peaceable condition.

The oaths of two creditable witnesses who have lately been examined before the Lords of the Council and came out of Yorkshire, persuade many who before did little believe there was any such thing as a Plot now to believe it. For they swear that in May last Sir Thomas Gaskin, a Papist of our county and of an estate of 2,000*l.* a year, did offer one of them 1,000*l.* to kill the King, after he had given to both of them the oath of secrecy, which though they took they have since accused the Knight, as also Sir Arthur Stapleton, who married my lord of Lindsay's sister, of the same crime. My Lord Chancellor yesterday told me that the evidence appeared to them so full that they would this time proceed against the accused.

There are yet few of the House of Commons men come up. In our shire most of those that were in the former Parliament elected are now again chosen, and without any charge to the elected, the electors coming in upon their own expense; and this they have in many other shires practised.

My Lord of Ranelagh being now in Ireland to settle his accounts, some order will be, I hope, by your Grace taken to make him satisfy those arrears which by his contract at the end of the farm he was obliged to discharge. But there being a sum of 1,500*l.* a month to be paid by the present Farmers for the discharge of the arrears of the civil and military list contracted by him and his partners during a part of that time that they held the same, and there being upon that account some money due to me, which was left unpaid when the judges, as I am told, were satisfied, I am honestly a suitor to your Grace, since these monies are to be issued out by your order to my lord of Ranelagh, and since I am in the civil list one of the first that have a just title of preference, that your Grace will be pleased to favour me with an order for my satisfaction out of that fund, which will be an addition to those many obligations your Grace has bestowed upon me.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, October 12, Dublin.—I was the last post informed that my Lord of Essex had called for the Bill of Confirmation of Estates sent from hence above a year ago in order to the

calling of a Parliament. Ever since that and other bills were transmitted I have frequently put the Ministers in mind that they lay these before them. I have as frequently represented the defects of all things here for defence. I have put them in mind of the cloudiness of the times at home, and of the dangers threatened from abroad, and I have proposed the calling of a Parliament here, which only could, and I am confident would have provided supplies. To all these representations I have had no material returns. I saw the thing was not done, but could never receive any reason why it was not. All I can collect, and that from letters directed unto others, and by discourse, was that it was held inconvenient that Parliament should sit in England and another here at the same time. I took it for granted that this was the only reason that could be urged in debate, and therefore I took pains to show that any inconvenience from the sitting of two Parliaments at a time might easily be prevented, tho' they should be both in being, by precasting the intervals, and by suitable adjournments and prorogations. And therefore it was that soon after the separation of the Parliament in England the last winter, I took occasion from a letter I received from my Lord of Essex to send him the original of the enclosed copy, to which I have yet had no suitable return. And finding that now his lordship has called for that Bill, and only that, against which great clamours have been raised by my Lord of Orrery, Lord Massereene, and other interested persons, as too favourable to the Irish, I cannot imagine what use he can make of it, unless it be to give credit to the calumnies cast forth against me; for which this conjuncture seems more seasonable than for taking that and the rest of the bills into consideration in order to a Parliament. I am further informed that his lordship discoursing of the Revenue here, let fall some words as if the Scotch regiment should be disbanded, which perhaps may be his opinion; for I remember when he would have had the Regiment of Guards disregimented at least. But I will be bold to say whoever shall advise any diminution of the King's forces at this or any other time that I can figure to myself, either does not understand or does not wish well to the interest of the Crown.

I know no reason why you may not show the King this letter, and the enclosed copy of my letter to my Lord of Essex; by which it appears he may either mend, or (which I think is much better) wholly lay aside that Bill of Confirmation. I mention not other little interruptions I receive in the King's service by that lord's power in the Treasury, because I may impute them to the peevishness of his nature, and the vanity he takes to understand figures better than other men, and to save sixpences. I have no reserve from my Lord Chamberlain or Mr. Secretary Coventry, the latter having long since had a copy of my letter to my Lord of Essex.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, October 14, Whitehall.—Last night the King and Queen arriving here, met the Duke and Duchess returned out of Holland. I did observe much kindness among them all at their interview. As variety of rumours spread abroad, both false and true, according to the designs men drive at, so I am credibly informed that some give out that you are worked upon to be favourable to my Lord Ranelagh in the business of his accounts, upon an agreement that for that reason you are to continue in the Government. It is also reported that forty thousand pounds he says he has been given by order of a person much in credit, and that besides this he will remain fifty thousand a debtor to the King. These reports, how frivolous soever, I thought it not amiss to trouble you with them, that you may see how necessary it is that you let the world see, upon all occasions, that in this affair neither partiality not animosity will in the least have influence upon you, but that you are guided by the same justice which has appeared in all your actions. I might have stayed giving you this trouble, but that for custom's sake I will not omit writing to you.

Lord Kingston to Earl of Arran.

1679, October 14, Boyle.—The sense I have of your lordship's civilities and favours assure me that your lordship will be pleased to pardon this trouble which I give you in desiring your lordship's assistance in an affair that concerns this town. Here is my lord, a patent come to remove Captain Morley's company from hence to Galway, which will be a very great prejudice to this country, in regard that Hanlon and other rogues, do often frequent the same ; and the absence of the company will be a greater invitation to them to perplex the inhabitants, and will also be a very great obstruction to a fort that is here abuilding for His Majesty's service. I humbly beg your lordship would be pleased to obtain a countermand, and that the company may still continue here.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, October 18, Dublin.—I have yours of the 5th and two of the 10th of this month from Newmarket. I have also one of the 7th from Mr. Secretary Coventry, concerning Sir Henry Ingoldsby, wherein he desires to have the form of a dismission, which, though I think it may be better found in the Council Books there, shall be sought out here and sent time enough. For I had rather he should be put from his seat at the Board than dismissed in his absence ; and therefore it will be best to keep the intention secret till he arrives here. All the letters that came with yours were full of the Duke of York and his family going to reside in Scotland, with reasons conjectured for and against it suitable to the

dispositions of those that gave them. I cannot doubt but that it is the result of serious consideration and that his reception is preparing. If he passes by land it will be a long journey, and neither safely nor decently to be performed without a considerable guard, and as the multitude are now disposed they may take it for an army raised against the meeting of the Parliament. But I know not why I talk of what will be past before you can receive this.

I had occasion to send Sir Robert Southwell a narrative of what had passed concerning the plot David Fitzgerald undertook to discover, of which I send you a copy. The matter stands as it then did; for yet the gentleman is not come to me. My purpose was when I had completed the examination of Fitzgerald and any concurring witnesses he could produce, to transmit all to Mr. Secretary (for a single witness in this case I am told will not be of much use); but before I could proceed further and with the secrecy necessary, my Lord of Orrery got notice of it, writ it over, and so it is gotten into print, with such reflections and remarks as I doubt not he designed. Howsoever, if there be any reality in the discovery (as very well there may be) the publishing of it in print will in a great measure frustrate the success of our further inquiry, instruct such as may be guilty what defence to make, and perhaps warn them to fly from justice, as the putting of Levallin in print for one of those that should have killed the King at Windsor hath done him; insomuch that all the search I have caused to be made after him hath hitherto been in vain. And now seeing it is more to be feared that those whom Fitzgerald has named to me may evade than that any other whom he may name will stay to be apprehended, I have sent to take and secure them by an express before the print can come to their hands. What it may be fit to do more upon Fitzgerald's further information shall thereupon and according to the best advice I can take be put into execution. Upon consideration of this part of my letter I have judged it might be fit to convert it and my former to Sir Robert Southwell into one to Mr. Secretary, as I shall do by this post if I find it not necessary to say for a narrative from the Judges that went Limerick circuit of their part and knowledge in the matter.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, October 18, London.—You will receive an account of my son from your worthy friend Sir Robert Southwell. I shall therefore forbear troubling you upon that subject. We hear from all other hands that my Lord of Orrery is either dead or in a very dangerous condition. Upon serious consideration, as well as with the advice of able friends of yours, who wish cordially well in the first place to the King's service and next to your quiet and well being during the time you are in the Government, I intend to move His Majesty that

my Lord of Burlington may have the commands, all but that of Major-General, which shall become void by his brother's death. My reasons are these, that this lord has never been against the King, that his open professions are to be true to the Crown and the lawful successors, that his interest being great he may be useful if ever unhappy times should befal us. If he goes by these principles, I think you ought not to suspect his carriage towards you. Besides this, I cannot accuse him of any want of kindness towards you; for besides his open professions I am informed that he has with scorn refused to join with those that pursue malicious designs against you. When the world will know that we are the persons upon good grounds that advance this affair, I cannot but think that it will have a good effect with the King, if I find him inclined to it, and afterwards with the people when it will be seen that you make choice of a man of interest and not regard the falseness of his brother. I hope, therefore, upon this so extraordinary occasion that you will not dispose either of the troop, company or governments which shall be vacant, and that you will not blame my presumption in acting without your knowledge, if I find it necessary not to stay for it.

My Lord Maynard expressing how great respects he ever had for you, complained that you had left him out of the Commission for swearing the members of the House of Commons. He told me that if any malicious person had said any false thing of him, he hoped you would not condemn him without hearing him. I undertook that i was not a voluntary omission, for that I was confident of your regards towards him. If you have no prejudice to him, I should be glad if either by a letter to him or by some direction to me, you would clear that mistake, and have his name inserted in the Commission, the prorogation affording time enough for such an amendment. Between me and Sir Robert Southwell you have all that comes to our knowledge.

Postscript.—At this instant I have yours of the 12th, together with a letter of yours of the 7th of July last to my Lord of Essex, and will make the best use I can of them.

Earl of Longford to George Mathew.

1679, October 18, London.—On Tuesday last Lord Shaftesbury was removed from His Majesty's Council, and yesterday the Parliament was prorogued to the 25th of January next. By which means our friends will be freed from some trouble which was intended against them by malicious people. I fear we are in some danger of losing Sir John Temple; it being reported here that Mr. Attorney-General presses hard for leave to quit his employment and retire; which when His Majesty consents unto, it is said that Sir John Temple at the mediation of my Lord of Essex will succeed him. My Lord Lieutenant has outrid hitherto all the storms his enemies have endeavoured to raise against

him, and I doubt not but he will do so still, His Majesty being immovable in his resolution of continuing him there in the Government.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1679, October 18, London.—I doubt not but your Grace will have an account from many hands of my Lord Shaftesbury's being removed from the Council, the intimation whereof he received from my Lord Sunderland (who was commanded by the King to signify his pleasure to him,) with so even a temper that he was very pleasant with Mr. Bridgeman, who brought him the letter; and his lordship told him the news of the prorogation of the Parliament, the intention whereof was not then known, but was executed yesterday, there having a competent number of both Houses met to that purpose only, when the Commissioners to that end prorogued it to the 26 of January next: by which means your Grace and my Lord Chancellor will be for some time free from the trouble and malice of your enemies.

My Lord Ossory having acquainted His Majesty with Sir Henry Ingolsby's manner of proceeding in the coffee-houses here against your Grace and the Government, as well as against my Lord Chancellor, His Majesty is resolved to remove him from the Council there. But before it be done Mr. Secretary thinks it will be of advantage to have the testimony of some persons who knew his discourse in the coffee-houses, which I think I shall be able to furnish him with in a day or two.

What materials the journals of the Lords' House would furnish in the affairs of Galway, Mr. Mulys tells me he has already sent your Grace. But I can trace no other footsteps of it in the minutes or journals of the Council Books than the direction to Mr. Secretary Coventry, a copy of whose letter to your Grace upon that subject I have formerly writ to your Grace. My Lord Chief Justice's report upon His Majesty's order concerning Col. Fitzpatrick was yesterday read in Council, of which, as also of the Council's sense upon it, Mr. Secretary intends to give your Grace an account by this night's packet. But I received last night the copy of a letter which 'tis said Darby Costigan, the accuser, wrote to Denny Muschamp, which is so full a discovery of the intrigue and malice of the Colonel's enemies, and tends so much to the clearing of his innocence, that I wonder your Grace mentioned nothing of it to Mr. Secretary. For I cannot believe your Grace can be ignorant of the letter, if such a thing were really writ by Costigan, it being very unlikely that Muschamp, who is a friend of the Colonel's, should conceal the letter, of which so good use may be made to his advantage.

There has been astrong report this week past at Whitehall, and indeed all over the city that my Lord Ranelagh has so

perfectly reconciled himself to your Grace, and made so fair a progress in his accounts, that all matters there relating to his accounts will certainly end to his advantage. And because it has been discoursed of at the end of the Gallery it is so universally believed that several of your Grace's friends have been with me to know the truth of it, to which I was able to give no other answer but that I did not believe it; and thought it one of his lordship's accustomed rhodomontades. But by the method I understand is taken by the Committee in proceeding upon the first account, I foresee his lordship may possibly slip out his own neck and lay load upon his partners. For how can the advantage of law be taken against his lordship in the 24,000*l.* (for which I am informed a *scire facias* was issued out the last term) this next term while his account is depending in which the said 24,000*l.* is included? And if by this means the cause of difference between him and his partners be removed, he will easily reconcile himself to them, who finding themselves overpowered with his conduct and interest, will be glad to patch up an agreement with his lordship: the consequence whereof will be that he shall command their purses to make compositions for what remains of his contract. And when by this means he has disentangled himself from the difficulties he was under he will be at liberty to play over again his old tricks, and come back hither with greater credit and force to do it.

The Duke is invited by the Artillery Company to dine with them on Tuesday next, which invitation he has accepted of. The day for his journey into Scotland is not yet fixed, and it is said the Duchess, who was to have continued here, has promised to accompany him thither, and order has been given to my Lord Duke Hamilton to prepare Holyrood House for their reception. Mr. Secretary told me this morning that the present Lord Mayor of London, Sir James Edwards, is very importunate with him for the despatch of some grant the King has made him of lands in Ireland, the consideration of which is now before your Grace. And Sir James having in this critical time behaved himself very worthily towards the King in the government of the City, His Majesty is also in some pain till Sir James is satisfied. Mr. Secretary therefore begs of your Grace to hasten your report to him upon it. I presumed in my last to your Grace to make an humble request to your Grace about the command of the ship designed for Loughneagh in which your Grace's sense (be it what your Grace pleases) shall entirely satisfy me.

The extraordinary rains which have continued here these three weeks past have raised the waters and rivers beyond the observation of most men now living, and the ways are so bad for travellers that I almost conclude it impossible, as well as very unfit for my wife to undertake a winter journey, from which I shall have no easy task to dissuade her. But

whether I prevail or no with her I shall however hasten myself into Ireland time enough to be there before the beginning of next term.

Mr. Attorney-General here has several times petitioned His Majesty for leave to quit his employment and retire, which His Majesty has not yet been pleased absolutely to grant. But it is generally believed that when he does it is resolved that Sir John Temple shall succeed him; and it is so far believed that I find Sir John Mead (who is the Duke's Attorney in Ireland) puts in to be Sir John Temple's successor there: for prevention of which, because I take it to be an injury to your Grace to have a place of that importance to the Government disposed of without your Grace's knowledge, I have desired Mr. Secretary to move His Majesty that no grant may be made of it till your Grace is consulted in it. Sir Richard Stephens, who cannot for 3,600*l.*, which he has offered to Sir William Temple, obtain the Mastership of the Rolls' place, thinks he has some title to the Solicitor's office (in case Sir John Temple be removed) from a promise your Grace has made him, of which I know nothing but by his information, and take not myself to be a proper judge of men's fitness or qualifications for such an employment, so I am no further concerned in this affair than for your Grace, whom I would not willingly see passed by in it.

SAME to SAME.

1679, October 21, London.—Since my last to your Grace there has nothing of moment occurred here, and I had foreborne giving your Grace this trouble had I not found Mr. Secretary Coventry very uneasy in the affairs of my Lord Mayor: who being on Wednesday sennight to quit his Mayoralty is jealous that when he is out of so useful an employment (wherein he has with great advantage to His Majesty's service behaved himself in opposition to the tumultuous spirits of the City) the merit of his past services will be forgotten. And therefore he does with great impatience solicit both the Secretaries and the King himself, who has often repeated his commands to Mr. Secretary Coventry for the despatch of it. And Mr. Secretary says till your Grace make your report he cannot move further in it, and therefore he beseeches your Grace to hasten it to him. The Duke and Duchess, encouraged by these last three days of fair weather, have resolved on Monday next to set out for Scotland. Captain Legge's troop attend them to York, and thence the Lord Fretwell's troop convoys them into Scotland. His Majesty last night knighted the two new Sheriffs of London, and this day His Royal Highness dines with the officers of the Artillery Company.

There has been a whisper of my Lord Chancellor's removal here, but I find no ground for it, His Majesty having within these two days spoke with great kindness of him. There is

great exception taken here at my Lord Primate's having taken away a sinecure which my Lord of Essex while he was in that government gave to Dr. Sall, and which was his chief support. And he being thought the considerablest convert from the Church of Rome, it is much wondered he should be so discouraged. And really this is made matter of great reflection, of which I have by this packet given his Grace intimation. My Lord Burlington told me yesterday he was resolved this night to give your Grace some cautions in Col. Fitzpatrick's business, concerning which he says several great men here have a jealous eye upon your Grace.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, October 25, London.—I had an opportunity the other day of showing the King your letter of the 21st of this month, which he read with much attention and seemed satisfied with the contents thereof to that degree, as you will see by Mr. Secretary's letter orders are given to consider of his Irish Bill in order to a Parliament. By His Majesty's command I waited on my Lord Chancellor to desire his care that all things might be soon despatched that you may soon have occasion of serving the King and kingdom by such Acts as may conduce thereunto. I pray God you may have honest and good members chosen, wherein all manner of care and diligence ought to be used. Just now I have yours of the 18th, and shall enjoin secrecy in the affair of Sir Henry Ingolsby, in which I think you take a better course to remove him when he is present than during his absence. I shall with advice of your friends make the best use I can of the relation you are pleased to give me concerning the information of David Fitzgerald.

Last post brought news of the death of my Lord of Orrery; not finding it confirmed in your last makes me doubt of the truth of that report. Perhaps others may have information. As yet I have not seen anybody that has heard out of Ireland. The King has given orders for a jewel for me to present to the Queen of Spain, and my Lord of Essex was to know His Majesty's mind in relation to my appointments. What relates to the Duke's journey you will learn as much from the news books as from anything I can tell you, so at present I shall not give you any further trouble. I beseech you to be mindful of Savignon, who has served me with so much zeal; and so much to his loss, having quitted very great practice to serve me by land and sea.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, October 26, Dublin.—I agree fully with all you say concerning my Lord Burlington's affections to the King's service and friendship to me in your letter of the 18th inst., which I have but some minutes to answer by this post. But

you will not wonder, or he take it ill, that not knowing that he affected any command in the army, and lying under his Majesty's injunction, I have disposed of his brother's troop and company, the first to Captain Edward Brabazon, and the other to my Lord of Granard, who else would have been the only general officer in the army without a foot company. The Government of the City of Limerick I have given to Sir William King; but if my Lord Burlington desires to have that I do not doubt but that Sir William may be persuaded to resign it and content himself to be his deputy. The Constableship of the Castle of Limerick I have given my Lord Blessinton, who has a considerable interest in that town, but the small perquisites belonging to it I have secured to Sir William King, who performs the duty. Whether my Lord Blessinton will resign to the chief of his family I cannot say, but methinks it would be a deference that might become him. There is now no Governor of the Counties of Cork, Limerick or Clare, out of which my Lord Burlington may have which he shall please, or all three, unless His Majesty shall think it fit that my Lord of Thomond have that of Clare. If you had spoke with the Secretaries they would have told you how I was commanded to give Captain Brabazon the first troop that should fall, and upon what grounds. I should be sorry that my Lord Maynard should think I could be capable of doing anything disrespective towards him, believing him as I do to be as worthy a gentleman as I know, and my particular friend. But the truth of the matter is it was not, as least as I thought, in my power to change any of those names that were sent me to put in the Commission for swearing the House of Commons. Yet had I read them over, and missed his name, as I did not, I think I should have ventured to put him in. I pray you assure his lordship that I am so far from having the least dissatisfaction with him that I beseech him to believe me to be his very real friend and servant.

Copy.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, October 28, London.—I writ to you some days since, humbly offering my opinions as to the disposal of some places vacant by my Lord of Orrery's death. The Duke spoke on behalf of my Lord of Burlington as to the troop, but the King would not hear of it, and talking to me about that lord seemed unsatisfied with his actings in Parliament. But I that observed him cannot see any just reason to blame him. If being against my Lord of Danby be the thing, many more are in the same case. However, I have not spoken anything to my Lord of Burlington, so that he cannot say I have failed in my design of assisting him towards the King or you. I wish you could oblige him for many reasons. My Lord Chamberlain thinks it would be proper for you to alter the

late Commission for swearing members of the House of Commons, and that you would empower some of them to administer the oaths, which he thinks will be well taken. I am ignorant of the forms, but leave the thing to your consideration. I have not anything more to say, although I am not pressed in point of time.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, October 28, Whitehall.—We begin to consider of your bills for a Parliament. The Bill of Settlement is ordered to be considered by the Committee for Ireland. Yours of the 20th is the first and only letter that brought the news of the Earl of Orrery's death. His relations do not yet avow it. His Majesty is well pleased with the dispositions you have made, and promiseth to hold his hand for the rest till he hear further from your Grace; but I perceive he hath had very good impressions of the Earl of Thomond's just pretences to the government of Clare. Yesterday His Royal Highness and family took their journey towards Scotland. The Earl of Radnor is made President of the Council. No news of importance from home or abroad.

Ormond to Sir Hans Hamilton.

1679, October 28, Dublin.—It would be an extraordinary service to the King and of great advantage to me that Oliver Plunket, the titular Primate, and Tyrrell, the titular Bishop of Clogher, might be apprehended; and therefore it is that I recommend it to your uttermost care and diligence, presuming that no man can be more like to effect it than yourself: and the better to enable you I give you liberty to engage me for any reasonable reward to any that shall discover them or any of them to you, so as they may be taken, or any one of them. The thing is of more than ordinary importance, and therefore let me once more recommend it to your best industry.

Copy.

Ormond to Henry Coventry.

1679, October 30, Dublin.—On the 28th I received yours of the 21st of this month with the enclosed information, and by that night's post sent orders to the fittest persons I could think of to search for and apprehend the two persons named in the information, and shall give the like orders concerning some others of the same degree and profession as soon as I can have probable notice whereabouts they are harboured. I do not know of above seven or eight men of that sort in the kingdom, and I think I can guess which of them are most like to have signed the paper of recommendation, if any such there was. But in case any of them shall be taken I doubt it will be hard to discover by them whether there was really any such paper signed by them or no. Nor can I imagine

from what other hand, or by what other means to go about the discovery of a thing the knowledge and concealing whereof is so criminal. Yet I will turn all my thoughts and supply all my endeavours to find out the truth, being besides the performance of my duty engaged to it by reasons that are peculiar to, Sir, etc.

Copy.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, November 1, London.—I need not bespeak your favour or assistance in anything relating to my Lord Chamberlain, knowing how well and with how much reason you are disposed to anything wherein his interest can be concerned. To my Lord Privy Seal, who shares in the same business now before you, I think I ought to inform you of his late behaviour, which has been with all the vigour and steadiness imaginable in the House of Lords and elsewhere upon the occasion of the King's service and the right of the Crown and the lawful succession. Besides I cannot accuse him of any want of goodwill towards you, especially when the affairs of Ireland were mentioned in the Parliament, where there was no wanting many false and malicious reflections. I beseech you to make as speedy a return of that affair as conveniently you can. I question not but if there be room to show friendship you will afford it upon this occasion. My Lord Privy Seal repines that a letter was sent for erecting some land into two manors, and that nothing has been done upon it. Both these lords hope you will show them your friendship in the business of the lapse money, as well as in that due to them by the Lord Ranelagh.

Sir Hans Hamilton to Ormond.

1679, November 1.—Having received your command to return to you the names of three discreet justices of the peace, in order to your Grace's sending down to this country a commission for trying the three Tories lately taken, I humbly offer to your Grace Sir George Acheson, Edward Richardson, Esq., and Mark Middleton, Esq., who are discreet and understanding persons, and now in the country. The Irishman's name who so eagerly pursued the Tories, and to whom I allowed to carry a carbine, is Torlogh P. Hagan. Your Grace was pleased to promise him a license for so doing, which will encourage him and others of the country to do a like service.

I gave John M'Ginnis your Grace's order, and with it an order not only to those of my own company, but to those at Newry and Tanderagee as being near to the places where he hopes to find him napping. This was M'Ginnis his own desire; but I ordered him to keep all the orders private to himself until he had immediate occasion to make use of them. He is as likely to do it as any I know.

Same to Same.

1679, November 1.—Your Grace's of the 28th of October I received, in obedience to which I will leave no means unattempted to obey your commands. I am confident if David Fitzgerald comes to this country I shall hear of it. But I was about four days ago told by a popish priest, who some days before had gotten induction to a parish from him, that he had left him at a certain place within seven miles of Dublin; that he had cut off his beard and hair, had got a light coloured wig, and went by a feigned name which I have forgot, for then I had not had your Grace's commands. I have sent for the same priest and will get by discovery from him the name of the place he resided in then and for several weeks before, and will by the next give your Grace an account of all. I am confident he keeps much, if not in Dublin, yet near it. I assure your Grace if he comes within his own pretended diocese I shall meet with him. I have laid out also for Tyrrell, who if in this country or county of Cavan will also be found. But his absconding places I know not so well as the others.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, November 2, Whitehall.—This is only to accompany a petition of my lord of Thomond referred by his King to your Grace. I acquainted you in my last that the King had a very good impression of his right, and a letter was once proposed; but I desired it might pass by reference to your Grace. He is not himself in town, but when he cometh you will easily believe it will not be pursued with less activity. Your Grace may take your own means, but the manner of your compliance is worth considering. If you concur you will have share in the obligation; if you oppose you will have a struggle: for the King seemeth much resolved in it.

This is from the Council table, where we have a detail of a new discovery relating to the Plot, made by one Willoughby, not as an original informer, but a delinquent confessing; which will involve many men in the Plot, both as to trial of several persons not yet accused, and the great disadvantage of those that are; very foul practices being sworn by him, and with very particular circumstances. It is said Col. Talbot is as well at Paris as ever in his life, which hath some reflections upon your Irish attestations, though there hath yet nothing been spoken openly of this.

Sir Hans Hamilton to Ormond.

1679, November 3.—Since my last of the 1st instant I meet the priest I mentioned, whom I told I had a desire to send a letter to Doctor Fitzgerald (in favour of the parish priest of the parish I live in, whom the said Doctor was turning out) if I might know where to send it to him. He told me that I was confident that it would find him at the place he

left him at, which is an ancient lady's house in a castle about a mile and a half from the Naul, near or in the road from Naul to Dublin, but could not remember the lady's name. He told me that I must direct my letter to Mr. Meleady, near the Naul (for he goes by that name). It is possible he may be there still, unless he have been alarmed from Dublin. I am resolved to send my parish priest with a letter about his own concern to find him out, for such can best do it; but I have laid out all his haunts in the whole diocese; so that I am confident that he shall not come thither but your Grace shall have a good account of him.

Postscript.—I have also laid for him in the County Donegal, where he often lies quiet at a Papist house of my name.

Sir Thomas Wharton to Ormond.

1679, November 7, York.—I had the honour and satisfaction of your Grace's of the 17th October about a week since, but would not sooner give you my acknowledgments for it, intending to acquaint your Grace with what I have seen and been told (by those that waited upon the Duke from London hither) of his Highness motions to these parts. He lodged the first night at my Lord Salisbury's house in Hatfield, where his lordship was not, nor any that gave the Duke's servants what pleased them. The second night at an inn in Bigglesmouth in Bedfordshire, where my Lord Ailesbury waited upon his Royal Highness with some gentlemen. The third was at Huntingdon, where he lodged at Sir Lionel Walden's, and was nobly treated. The fourth was at Stamford, in my Lord Lindsey's lieutenancy, where his lordship and some other persons of quality attended, and so likewise at Grantham the next night, that town being too in Lincolnshire. The sixth he came to Newark, in Nottinghamshire, where the Duke of Newcastle, being lieutenant, waited upon His Highness. There they rested Sunday, and on Monday came to Welbeck, my Lord Newcastle's, and were treated that night, and the next morning came to Doncaster in Yorkshire. Upon the way, at the entrance into the county, was the High Sheriff and some few of us neighbours, and he not being known to the Duke desired my acquainting His Highness that he was there to wait upon him, which when I had acquainted the Duke with he commanded his coach to stop, and the High Sheriff presented himself to His Highness (who had come above sixty miles to perform that duty, living very near the bishopric of Durham). Before we got to Doncaster divers others of the county met the Duke stragglingly, and my Lords Derby and Strafford in a coach, and the Duke stopping they lighted and kissed his hands. At Doncaster was my Lord Derby, Strafford, my Lady Anna Laugh, [?Ranelagh], and Margaret Wentworth, and other ladies to kiss the Duchess's hands; and many county gentlemen waited on him to Pomfret on Wednesday

and last night to this town, and I suppose will stay till Monday that the Duke moves northwards. My Lord and Lady Derby stayed much longer with my Lord Strafford than they intended, purposely for this courtship. At Tadcaster (eight miles from this place) the Archbishop of York kissed the Duke and Duchess's hands in their coach, and so waited on them hither. The Sheriffs of the city were about three miles off, and after the Duke alighting, the Dean and Prebends first, and a little after my Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs presented themselves in their formalities, and the Deputy Recorder made a speech, in which he complimented the Duke, who himself brought them to kiss the Duchess's hands. My Lord Marquis of Athol came from London with the Duke, and his lady in the Duchess's coach, which troubles some left behind at London, as I am credibly informed. My Lady Roscommon has that honour too, and the Duke likes the company in the coach so well that he has not been on horseback all this journey, but sometimes walks a mile or two when the way is good. The Bishop of Durham was the last week five days' journey from Durham towards London, and upon notice of the Duke's going by land into Scotland returned back into the Bishopric to receive the Duke there, and ('tis said) to treat him three or four days. My lady Marquis of Winchester intends the being here this night, coming from her house about thirty miles northward. Your Grace will pardon this long scribble, which is only for a winter night's diversion. The Duke's retinue is but small, my Lord Roscommon and a few of his family, and my Lord Lumley, a volunteer. One single troop came hither, and my Lord of Sackville's [?] marches along from hence and the other returns.

I fear the page's intelligence of my Lady Derby is not authentic. I had the honour of seeing her and her sister at my poor house, where it is to be supposed your Grace and my lady Duchess were wishing her. My Lord Derby within this month has given me thanks for that I was instrumental in getting him so good a wife. Truly I hope he values her as he ought. I have both his own and aunt Strafford's word for it, who commanded her this evening to present her humble service to your Grace, with her thanks for your kind wish to her sent in your letter, which I told her of. After all this ramble it is time to ease your eyes, when I have begged your Grace's giving my humblest duty to my Lady.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1679, November 8, Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary being again confined to his bed by the gout in his right hand, which makes him incapable of writing to your Grace with his own hand, has commanded me to acquaint you that His Majesty being informed that your Grace is disposing of the pension of 800*l.* per annum which my Lord Orrery enjoyed in lieu of his government of Munster till a certain sum of money was paid

him for that government, His Majesty desires your Grace not to dispose of the said pension, he not being now in a condition to pay the money which will be demanded by the children or executors of the Earl of Orrery upon the stop of that pension. By the next I hope Mr. Secretary will be able himself to write your Grace more fully upon this matter.

The Council is frequently employed in the examination of Mr. Dangerfield, *alias* Willoughby, about this second Plot of the Papists, upon which my Lord Powis is committed to the Tower. But as yet this matter not being thoroughly examined, but imperfect, I shall not presume to give your Grace any account of it, presuming you have it from better hands.

Postscript.—Thursday night the Duke and Duchess of Grafton's marriage was confirmated.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, November 11, London.—Yesterday I showed my Lord of Burlington your letter. He is extremely satisfied, and all he desires is that you would keep void for him the lieutenancy of the county of Cork until he waits upon you, which he designs doing about the beginning of the next spring, and any other intention he absolutely disclaims, and he does express great kindness to you and all related unto you. When Mulys went to my Lord of Essex concerning my appointments for my Spanish journey he told him the King had altered that resolution. As yet I have it not from His Majesty's own mouth, but considering the present wants I little doubt the truth of that assertion. I have not anything more to say. Sir Robert Southwell I am sure informs you much better than I can do of further transactions.

Warrant to Captain Thomas Fitzgerald for Arrest of Patrick Lavallyan.

1679, November 12, Whitehall.—Whereas we have been given to understand that you have some information that Captain Lavallyan, one of the persons accused for designing to assassinate us, is in Ireland, and of the place where he is harboured, we do hereby direct and authorise you to repair forthwith to such place or places where you suspect he may be found, and having seized and apprehended him to deliver him into the hands of our right trusty and right entirely well beloved cousin and counsellor James Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to be by him sent over in safe custody into England, in order to be proceeded against according to law. And in the execution hereof all Justices of the Peace, Constables, and other our officers and loving subjects are hereby required to be assisting to you as they will answer the contrary at their perils. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given, etc.

A like warrant for apprehending of Denis O'Kearney.

Signed Sunderland.

SIR ROBERT HOWARD to ORMOND.

1679, November 12, London.—By reason of Mr. Mylius his unjust and ill conduct of Mrs. Gwin's affairs, I have been necessitated to send one Mr. Alexander Adair, and to constitute a new person, one Mr. St. Vast, to look after the business, and to call Mr. Mylius to an account, and return such moneys as are due at the Exchequer. Mrs. Gwin has commanded me humbly to desire your Grace that if there be any application made to you in her behalf, that you would be pleased to help her by your commands. She presents you with her real acknowledgments for all your favours, and protests she would write in her own hand, but her wild characters she says would distract you. This, my lord, was her own natural notion when I showed her your Grace's kind return upon the King's letter, since which I have not heard anything from Mr. Mylius, which gives me some apprehensions of him, and caused my sending a messenger on purpose.

I will not lose this opportunity of giving your Grace some account of things here. Mr. Dangerfield, *alias* Willoughby, has now finished his information and his pardon is ordered. He has proved most of the particulars, which would not have been of so much importance had they not been denied by my Lady Powis, and one Mrs. Syliard [Cellier] a midwife. His charge was that he was taken out of Newgate to my Lady Powis, and supplied with money, and carried to the Lords of the Tower to speak with the Lords, and that my Lord of Arundel and my Lord Powis treated with him, and offered him 2,000*l.* and then 3,000*l.* to kill the King; which he said he scrupled to do as a matter of so difficult a nature that if he could compass it he should not get off to enjoy his reward; but acknowledged he undertook to kill my Lord Shaftesbury, and was then about it and spoke with my lord; but it seems that he was so jealous that he would not let his servants go out of the room; by which means failing he was afterwards upbraided by Mrs. Syliard as wanting spirit, and she resolved to execute it. These things lay upon his own testimony, but all the circumstances of being fetched out of prison, supplied with money, carried to the Tower to the Lords and several meetings with and at Mrs. Syliard's house, he proved by others. He also had my Lord Peterborough sent for by the Council, who confessed that he had carried Sir Robert Peyton privately to the Duke, and from these particulars and others made out the discovery there was a counterplot designed to involve the Protestants in it, that divers considerable persons and their estates might be laid hold on.

I have run over this shortly because I am confident your Grace has the account at large. Only I shall add what effects it works here. In the first place 'tis confidently reported here that on the 17th of this month, on Queen

Elizabeth's birthday, Sir Robert Peyton will be burned with the Pope, and 'twill seem a just resentment of people that such a man that out of pretence of conscience appeared so high against the Duke not only in Parliament, but in all places and upon all occasions, should be found out in secret addresses; at least where he had behaved himself extremely ill. I wish it may be a motive to induce all persons to hate unbecoming violences.

The business has given new ferment to that which seemed more quiet than formerly, and has now confirmed belief and wakened apprehensions, rendering most men of the moderatest principles eager for a Parliament, which the last Council day was moved to the King, and seconded by many. My Lord of Essex, my Lord Russell, my Lord Cavendish, and Sir Henry Capel spoke in it, but the King appeared not then ready or easy to have it debated, but it was left as the thing resolved again to be taken up. The City is with those that think it necessary for a Parliament to sit in January, and I believe this opinion is so universal that it will come with more weight to the King than can be conveniently resisted. Besides, I fear that if the King depends to subsist by his own revenue without further help, he will be deceived in that opinion, let what severity or good husbandry be used that can be. For the consideration of the debts on the revenue and the sad prospect of 300,000*l.* a year ceasing by Midsummer next come twelve months will make it appear too desperate to depend on such a proposition, and I hope there are none that undertake such a dangerous piece of service.

With these things joins this day the news of the Dutch having made a strict alliance with the French. How true that is I yet know not, but enough is believed to increase the particular desire of the Parliament, which yet hangs in suspense. This short account I have given your Grace to continue all testimonies of my duty and inclination to serve you.

Postscript.—I write more freely because I send it by a safe hand, who returns again to me.

Sir Stephen Fox to Ormond.

1679, November 18, Whitehall.—I think it very improper that your Grace should be informed by any other hand than mine of the change it hath pleased His Majesty to make in my condition. For upon the Earl of Essex his withdrawing himself from the Commission of the Treasury, the King hath thought fit to advance me (tho' unworthy) to be in that Commission. And as it is a mark of His Majesty's great goodness I cannot but value it, but otherwise I assure your Grace I should have been much better pleased to have continued in my old station, with which, being better acquainted, I could have been more useful than I fear I can be in the difficult post I am now going to, which will be inconsistent

with the Paymaster's place of the Forces, but not with that of the Green Cloth, which giving me accommodation especially for lodgings in Whitehall makes me desire either to keep that office, or so to resign it that I may find my conveniency thereby still continued; which His Majesty hath been pleased to leave to my choice, either to remain Clerk of the Green Cloth still, or to resign it to my brother, His Majesty's ancient servant, who being sixteen years older than myself and coming in to be youngest at the Board, will not, I think, occasion repining in anybody, which makes me the bolder in humbly desiring your Grace's favour in concurring with His Majesty in granting me that liberty if I shall find such a resignation expedient shortly after I am in the Commission; for as yet I am sure it will be for the good of the service of the house if I remain an officer, for it may not be impossible to increase the sum of 48,000*l.* per annum for the good of my fellow servants, which if I can I am sure I will. But as yet that is the sum fixed for the expense of the House and Stables, which 107,000*l.* did never amply defray. In short, my humble request to your Grace is that I may by your Grace's leave resign my office when it is seasonable to my brother, if I find it expedient so to do.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, November 18, London.—A monstrous national concern of a greyhound match between the Duke of Albemarle and Sir Ralph Dutton obliging my judgeship to appear here, gives me a specious pretence of addressing to your Grace that if any journey work of any sort is cut out I may have your Grace's custom. As for news, some is too dangerous and some too doubtful to be written. Of the former sort I dare not so much as think. Of the latter, the two main points are whether a Parliament or no Parliament, and whether a League offensive and defensive. They say that my Lord Essex last Wednesday moved in Council that His Majesty would be pleased to satisfy the longings of his people by some assurance of that kind, and that Roberts, Cavendish and Sir H. Capel all seconded it, but the King did answer he had not yet thought of it. As to the other, the two rivals for our strict alliance are France and Holland. We believe the former are the franker chapmen, and consequently will carry it. And the greater the alliance the greater the sum, so that it comprehends all enemies, both domestic and foreign. And some resolve the meanness of touching French money to be the reason that makes my Lord Essex squeasy stomach, that it can no longer digest his employment of first Commissioner of the Treasury, who certainly is quitting his seat in that Chamber, and Mr. Hyde (now making Viscount Killingworth [Kenilworth] is to slip out of his own into it, being next to it, and Sir Stephen Fox makes up the number of five. One passage I must repeat, whose truth was affirmed to me

yesterday, that Lord Halifax at his coming lately to town sent for his excuse why he did not wait on Lord Shaftesbury that he had a severe fit of the strangury, who sent him back word he mistook his disease: it was Ormond lay very heavy cross his stomach, and he could neither get it up nor down.

But to leave these constrained secret discourses, I crave leave to return to what is more natural and easy to me. Yesterday the two great antagonists for the laurel of being best greyhound master (Albemarle and Dutton) have matched five greyhounds for 100*l.* each dog, and one more the odd match, to be run the first day the weather will permit. Tho' judge for both, I have backed my countryman with fifty-five guineas. Of the success your Grace may expect a perfect account hereafter, as also of all things else during my stay here that shall happen to my knowledge and be judged worthy of your Grace's. And. Brians Lindsay House is let. As I greedily covet your Grace's commands, so I humbly beseech for the future that they may be directed to my new correspondent, my Lord Oxford's porter, at his lordship's house in St. James's Square; as also your Grace's belief that as they shall be joyfully received, so they shall be readily obeyed.

John Napper to the Farmers of the Customs.

1679, November 19, Waterford.—The soldiers of the place are very rude. Besides a hundred abuses formerly committed, the last night they barbarously murdered the High Constable of this place, and cut Captain Wheeler, commander of a London ship, in three or four places without provocation. They make the taverns and alehouse keepers to shut up their doors, and hinder trade much. Besides we dare not walk the streets as much as formerly at all hours of the night, for the preservation of the Customs, because of their mischiefs. This must be the Farmers' evil, if not prevented, which makes me presume to acquaint you, although I believe our Collector has done it to the Board before.

Copy. Endorsed: A letter written concerning the murder and other disorders said to be committed by the soldiers in Waterford.

Captain Julius Lockhart to Ormond.

1679, November 22, Waterford.—I do not doubt but that your Grace has been surprised with the news concerning the death of one of the inhabitants of this city that the express brought your Grace. And I do really believe that they have aggravated the examinations now sent up to your Grace with several circumstances, and made them a great deal worse than it is really, if the truth of the whole was but known. Our Major being by your Grace's orders gone to Youghal, I have thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace

of the truest relation I could have, which I have sent up in a letter to Mr. Gascoigne, your Grace's Secretary, to be given to your Grace, and I must presume to tell your Grace that it is our great misfortune that having in all other places lived regularly and well with the inhabitants, we should here meet with more rudeness than anywhere else, and nothing but daily reproaches from the inhabitants.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, November 22, Whitehall.—During my indisposition I was fain to make use of Henry Thynne's hand to your Grace to signify the King's pleasure that the money yearly paid to the Earl of Orrery in lieu of his Government of Munster should not be transferred to the payment of any other pensions till the pretences the Earl's children have to it were heard and determined. I suppose your Grace hath received that letter, and this is but a reiterating the same command from His Majesty.

You will be informed from several hands what a design the last Lord Mayor or his agent Taylor had to have disobliged not only your Grace but all future lieutenants of Ireland by putting Kilmainham and some three hundred acres of the Phœnix Park into his grant, as land in the custodium of one Hill. I confess I did always fear there was something in it that would not endure the light of Ireland that made them press so hard for passing it here. But it is happily stopped at the Treasury, and methinks this were a good occasion to propose a settlement of that Park upon the Government for ever. For I have been told the Duchess of Cleveland began to renew her old suit again, but was refused.

Your Grace's of the 5th of November came when I was sick, which I transmitted to Sir Robert Southwell to acquaint His Majesty in Council with it, who possibly may have given you some account of it. But the truth is our plots are so teeming that they take up all our time. But I will the next week make one essay more upon that letter.

For yours of the 3rd of November, I shall transmit your report of my Lord Thomond's affair to the Treasury, where your friend Mr. Hyde now presides and is of the Council. My Lord Anglesey's letter appeareth now to be nigher my own door for Mr. Cooke drawing these letters, and I have got it signed and countersigned, though the work done. But it seemeth my Lord Privy Seal never thought fitting to send for it, and the letter hath remained so many months in my office for want of calling for. But if men will appoint nobody to look to their business either on this side or your side the sea, it is no wonder if they meet with disappointments. As to what relates to the Proclamation concerning the Plot, I shall acquaint His Majesty the next Council day, and receive his commands and transmit them to you. My Lord Longford

is coming towards you he saith this week. He will give you a large account of our disorders here. The Committee for the Irish bills is so far from sitting so often as your Grace desires that they have never sat yet. The reason I cannot tell.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1679, November 22, London.—News is become the scarcest commodity in this city. We talk that it is not we who refuse to conclude amity with the Dutch, but the Dutch must be secured by a Parliament, and then the consequences must needs be that amity with them is uncertain, as is the sitting of the Parliament. Nor do I see that we are guilty of making any great court to the French, whose King (as a Privy Councillor told me this evening) hath sent our King word that the Duke of Buckingham hath been with them, and offered to treat with him in behalf of the people of England, who on such terms as he should propose would embrace his protection. But the King I suppose can only resent it, not question it, unless the French King could be persuaded to come and give testimony *viva voce*. If I may be permitted to play at small game I shall repeat a particular that I was informed part this week at the Duchess of Portsmouth's, where just before the King came in a most scurrilous, libellous copy of verse was read, severe upon almost all the courtiers save my Lord Mulgrave, whose sole accusation was that he was a cuckold-maker. This brought him under suspicion to be (if not guilty of the making, yet) guilty of being privy to the making of them, who just coming in with the King, Mrs. Buckley saluted him (in raillery) by the name of cuckold-maker, who taking it in earnest replied she knew one cuckold he never made, which she took for so great an affront that it seems her husband was entitled to the revenge. But the King, it seems, came to the knowledge of it, and interfered his authority to antidote bloodshed. I have nothing more to add but that the penman is the reader's most devoted servant.

ORMOND to the MAYOR OF WATERFORD.

1679, November 25, Dublin Castle.—Finding that several letters in that city to divers persons in this, make mention not only of the late killing of one Browne, High Constable of Waterford, but of many other outrages, insolencies and oppressions, committed on the inhabitants by the officers and soldiers garrisoned there, we wonder not only that we have received no account or intimation from you, the Chief Magistrate, of the killing of the said Browne, but that if the other violences committed by them have been so great, and for so long a time continued as is reported, that neither at our being with you at Waterford, nor so near you as Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Carrick, nor yet since our coming hither, no complaint or address hath been made unto us whereby we

might have had knowledge of the grievance of that city, and opportunity to let them see how ready we are and ever shall be to the utmost of our power to protect and do justice to the meanest of them against whoever shall presume to injure them, such being His Majesty's gracious pleasure and express commands laid upon us. Whereof we require you to give the citizens and inhabitants of that city notice, and whatsoever they have to complain of shall be readily and impartially heard and justice as impartially done to them or any of them that shall appear to have been wronged. And further, we require you according to the duty of your place to use your uttermost endeavours to prevent any new or further disorders, which we have already required from the officer commanding the soldiers in chief there. And so we remain, etc.

Addressed: To our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor of the City of Waterford.

Ormond to Sir Stephen Fox

1679, November 26, Dublin.—Nothing could have been better contrived to my satisfaction than your access to a part in the Treasury and your continuance in the Household. I hope the King and you will as well find your account in it. But if you shall find any inconsistency or inconvenience in retaining your place at the Green Cloth, I willingly consent that your brother may supply your room there, which consent of mine you are at liberty to declare either by virtue of this letter or by making use of one of the blanks in your hands.

When you shall be at liberty and settled in the Treasury Chamber, I shall desire you to allow Sir Cyril Wyche some time of discoursing with you concerning the affairs of this kingdom, and particularly about the recovery of a sum of money, part of that advanced by the present Farmers of this Irish Revenue, and which is gone astray betwixt the Lord Treasurer, Danby, the Earl of Ranelagh, the Treasurer of the Navy and the present Farmers. Sir Cyril will inform you more particularly. I shall also desire you that at your leisure you would look upon those State and other papers relating to this kingdom which have been transmitted hence, and sent by the King's command to the Treasury Chamber that you may the better comprehend what may hereafter be sent, and enabled upon occasion to make proper reports upon reference from His Majesty. I wish you all happiness at all times and at all places.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, November 29, Whitehall.—You will have an account of what has happened and the present state of things since the arriving of the Duke of Monmouth, and also what passed at the Board yesterday relating to Ireland from a more authentic hand. I have nothing to trouble you withal but

humbly to mind you of sending over an account of those addresses made by the Lords and I suppose transmitted by the King to you, relating to the security of the Protestant religion in that kingdom. Great exceptions have been taken at you giving the Irish time to bring in their arms, and not making a private and strict search as you did when the conspiracy of Blood was on foot. I leave it to your consideration if it were not prudent again to seize upon all their arms, by which you will both show your care and give satisfaction that there is no such danger as some do maliciously suggest. A relation of the affairs of Fitzgerald is also expected.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, November 29, Whitehall.—I have your Grace's in answer to my Lord of Orrery's pension, and it was either a needless jealousy or something worse, I conceive, that made his relations press so earnestly for an order to your Grace. For what you wrote concerning directions for a proclamation suitable to what His Majesty had issued out here concerning the Plot, I have moved it in Council. I suppose you intended that which prefixeth a time for every man to bring in what he knoweth concerning it. It is consented to the Council, but the order not yet being come to my office I can only give your Grace notice of it. My next will bring you the order itself.

The Committee now meeteth to inspect the Bill, and I suppose it will be much in pursuance of your Grace's letter to me. The sudden and unexpected arrival of the Duke of Monmouth yesterday about two o'clock in the morning, hath given a great alarm. The King hath refused to see him, and by four or five reiterated messages commanded his return; but he hath refused. It is said (and I believe it) all his charges will be given away. On the other side the acclamation of the rabble as to bonfires have been very great and not a little disorderly. It is said though he arrived at that dead hour at his lodgings he had been three days in England. And one argument that his coming was known to some long before, copies of elaborate verses by several authors were published by eight of the clock in the morning and printed and cried in the streets. Matters seem to grow very rife and the confusion great.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, November 29, London.—How long the Duke of Monmouth hath been in town I know not; but this I do that last Thursday he sent by Captain Godfrey a letter to the King, both to acquaint His Majesty that he was returned and to beseech His Majesty's permission to kiss his hand. The King in great fury returned this answer: commanded him immediately to begone again, positively refusing to see

him. But that was what he could not, it seems, submit to; but about two that night came to the Cockpit, and before three all the bells set a-ringing and bonfires began to be made early in the morning in several places and at night everywhere, all passengers being made to join in the rabble's prayers, who attended the fires, for Protestant Duke James. But the King, as soon as he understood his being at the Cockpit, sent my Lord Falconbridge (whose interest in the Duke of Monmouth was inferred from his having made him his Deputy Justice in Eyre in his absence) both to persuade and command his departure, and immediately, out of the King's House. The Duke urged his innocence and desired to come to his trial, that banishment was the proper badge of a malefactor. What prison soever the King should commit him to, he was ready to submit, but could not go beyond the sea without exposing of his life or (what was dearer to him) his honour: all people beyond sea looking on him as one who had fled from justice and been guilty of the greatest of crimes, plotting against King and Father both in one, and used him accordingly. This was the return Lord Falconbridge made, but that he had left the Cockpit, since the King would not permit his abode under his roof, and was gone to the Blue Mews, where he yet continues. Yesterday an express was dispatched to the Duke in Scotland to inform him, if not to recall him. However, the result we all presume will be His Royal Highness hastening hither; and then what is next God knows. Some arraign his Grace with the double guilt of disloyalty and undutifulness, both to King and parent. Others do not only pity him, but co-suffer with him (as it were) in this his hard measure, and would discriminate either Protestantism or Popery by his usage. He is certainly at the present the idol of the people. This nine days' wonder hath so monopolised all discourses that all other news is out of date. So may the writer be when he ceases to be the reader's in all duty and devotion.

JAC. CAROLUS to ORMOND.

1679, December 1 (December 11, N.S.). The Hague.—Here was with me Mr. Greenings, of Rotterdam, and the Chief Master of the Woollen Drapers. They are resolved to set up in Carrick. Greenings is now buying of timber for the building he means to make there. I have promised him that he shall have liberty to dig slates on your land free, and have given hopes that the Farmers will not exact any duties from the workmen for the tools and looms they bring to work with, nor their household stuff, which are old and of little value. It will be a great encouragement to them if I am empowered to assure them of this. They intend to be here by March. I am persuaded I can send a company of Brewers there if it be thought advantageous. Herein I desire your Grace's pleasure. I pray you let me here know if the concordatum

will bear the sending me any present supply, while I am about this work so profitable to the public.

Postscript.—Your pleasure I desire to receive under cover of Sir Gabriel Silvius at The Hague.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, December 2, London.—This day I had some discourse with Sir Robert Howard concerning Mrs. Nelly's pretension to some lands and houses pretended to belong to my Lord of Dungannon. I entreated him to write unto you what he thought might be said, as if you were not ready to give a just despatch unto that affair, and more, I undertook that you would give him all the satisfaction you could; which I entreat you to do, because I know the King is set on the thing, intending it as a settlement for my Lord of Burford.

I have formerly writ all that occurred to me relating to such public affairs as concern you more particularly, and have now no further trouble to give you. All the world now visits the Duke of Monmouth; but considering how affairs are between the King and him, I think it not respectful in me towards His Majesty to make that compliment.

Ormond to Major Halkett.

1679, December 2, Dublin.—Among other complaints made here of the Mayor of Waterford one is that some of the soldiers under your command have threatened that for every one of the prisoners accused to have murdered Browne, the High Constable, that shall suffer for the same, they will have the lives of a hundred of the citizens, and tho' it may perchance be hard to find out the particular soldiers that have uttered such speeches, yet it may be requisite for you to do your endeavour to be informed of the truth thereof, and if it can be found who hath been guilty thereof we expect you should secure him or them.

Another complaint is made that the Sheriffs of the City who are to answer for the forthcoming of the prisoners to be tried for the part they are charged with, are not permitted to secure them, as all who stand accused and committed for such crimes usually are, by bolts or shackles, but that some officers have interfered to prevent it, and some soldiers have threatened to kill the said Sheriffs if they should do it. We are unwilling to believe either of the complaints in reference to the officers, presuming they better understand their duty than to meddle with prisoners in the hands of civil justices, or to interrupt civil officers in the discharge of their offices, otherwise than by application to the Government, in case they suffer their soldiers to be more rigorously dealt with than justice and duty requires. Yet we have thought fit to require you in case of any such miscarriage any officer may have been guilty of for want of knowledge in the

laws and customs of the kingdom, to let them know it is our express pleasure that they molest not the Sheriffs, but permit them to proceed with these prisoners according to their own rules and methods, and if it appear to them that any of the soldiers have been guilty of the threatenings aforesaid that they deliver them up to the civil magistrate to be dealt with as to justice shall appertain. And so we bid you farewell.

Addressed : To our trusty and well-beloved Major Halkett, or the officer-in-chief, commanding His Majesty's forces garrisoned at Waterford.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1679, December 2, London.—I had not so soon added to my last, but that before Saturday's post I hope to make an exchange from the troubles of this place to the pleasures of the country, designing to visit some friends and settle at Christmas at Hardwicke. The King hath now made good his word. He threatened the Duke of Monmouth if he did not forthwith return beyond sea he would strip him. His Mastership of the Horse continues in Commission, as it was supposed kept so for the Duke of Richmond; but since the King hath declared he shall not have it. His Lord Lieutenancy of Staffordshire either my Lord Brooke or Lord Ferrers hath, yet not known to which, but the former is believed by most to be the man. His Lord Lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and Government of Hull my Lord Mulgrave was prevailed with by the King to accept of, which for two reasons he seemed to decline: 1. They were feathers plucked from the King's son; 2. He probable to return into favour again, and then all must be refunded. The King's answer was, "No, he shall never be restored more" (as we hear). His Justice in Eyreship was enforced on my Lord Chesterfield, whose obedience with difficulty conquered his disinclination to accept it. And for his command of the King's troop, last night I was told that the King yesterday placed the Lord Albemarle at the head of the Hyde Park, with great harangue on the Duke's merit, and His Majesty's favour to him. We also hear (to make it a total stripping) the pension and Bedchamber place are gone also. The Duke of Monmouth continues still at his lodgings in Hedge Lane, at the Blue Mews. The crowds of visitants decrease. Many did mistake his coming over to be by virtue of His Majesty's call. Though there do not want numbers who like his Grace never the worse for it, I was told his Grace this day said he was resolved he would not stir, to convince the King of his cheerful passive obedience, be his doom never so severe, and all the world besides of his innocency, since no prosecution results from so much indignation against him.

We hear of the most splendid reception of the Duke of York in Scotland. It seems that nation set their best leg foremost. It is said the Duke will not only sit in Council there, but also give orders from time to time to all the forces there. These considerations slacken our expectations of a Parliament, and yet the determination of the additional duty of excise being at no greater a distance than Midsummer next, and being of the annual value of 300,000*l.*, revives hopes. This mysterious surprise (so in all its circumstances) hath so discharged our curiosities from all other inquiries that I am fain to end here, though I presume I shall scarce have any provocation to begin again till after Christmas at my return hither: it being the less of the two evils to say nothing than nothing to the purpose.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, December 2, Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of the 26th of November with the account of the disorder at Waterford. I could heartily wish the town had been as punctual in giving you an account of the affair there that so we might have satisfied the people here, who will hardly believe anything but what the town and burghers acknowledge.

You will likewise receive the King's letter by order of the Council by this post, for transmitting of some more bills hither, and one particularly for removing Papists out of Parliament and all offices. We are here in great fermentation; but whether we shall boil over or no, or when, I know not.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, December 6, Whitehall.—I performed a friendship to Sir Robert Southwell the other day, much against both my inclinations and interest. He has of a long time desired to part with his place of Clerk of the Council, and chose me to speak to the King for leave to part with it; which he agreed unto in favour of one Mr. Gwyn, whom you may have often seen with Mr. Seymour, and was a member of the two last Parliaments, when they say he behaved himself very dutifully. Upon the King's declared intention of dispossessing the Duke of Monmouth of all his places, and hearing of many particulars, I spoke so early on behalf of my Lord of Chesterfield, as His Majesty was pleased to confer on him that of Justice in Eyre. The thing passed extremely well, and the King satisfied with his choice, and the other very much with the manner as well as the obligation laid upon him. I have not seen the Duke of Monmouth, though most have done it. I will prefer decency to my master to all other considerations, and I think it not consistent with that to compliment any that stands in his present circumstances. The friends of the Duke of Monmouth give it out that this journey was with the advice of the Prince of

Orange, and that he was soon to follow in order to pursue the same ends; but since I have reason to believe that there is not any truth in this report, and I doubt not but I shall have this in an authentical manner.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679, December 6, London.—After my allegiance to His Majesty it was made an indispensable article, that I should be an humble servant to your Grace. And upon these terms, so suitably to the rules of honour and of my own inclinations, I come to succeed Sir Robert Southwell in his employment of Clerk of the Council. His zeal for your Grace's service I shall endeavour to make my pattern, as your Grace is that great one of all good subjects. Therefore, I do with a perfect and steady resolution devote myself to your Grace's commands.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679, December 7, Whitehall.—My Lord Longford parted hence yesterday with his lady, and this day was the first day of the meeting of the Committee for Irish affairs; when the Bill of Confirmation was read, but met with no good reception. I produced your Grace's letter to me which I had exhibited once before to Sir Robert Southwell, and gave my opinion that according to what your Grace had there intimated the bill might be laid aside till the inclination of the Parliament in Ireland might be discovered. There were [some] that were of my opinion, but the more prevailing men said that it did not become us, that were but a Committee, to report to the Council, and that we laid aside a Bill of that consequence without giving any reason for it. So it was resolved the objections made by my Lord Chancellor should be read and Sir John Temple's answers, and the objections took place, and so the report will be made to the Council, not without prejudice to the Bill. My Lord Longford will give you a large account of our affairs here, which do not improve.

Postscript.—Sir Robert Southwell hath resigned his place of Clerk of the Council to Mr. Gwyn. Your Grace will miss a very faithful servant to you.

LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL to HENRY COVENTRY, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

1679, December 9, Council Chamber, Dublin.—When His Majesty's Order in Council for prosecuting Col. John Fitzpatrick upon the information of Darby Costigan came to the hands of me, his Lieutenant, the Colonel was then, as he is still, out of the kingdom; so that he could not be committed as was thereby required. But the said Order, immediately after it was received, was sent into the Chief Justice of the King's Bench with directions for putting the rest of the contents of it in execution. And soon afterwards

the said Chief Justice returned a certificate (a copy whereof is herewith sent you) that the crimes contained in the information being alleged to have been done in the Queen's County, the indictment for them could not be at the King's Bench, but was most properly to be at the next Assizes for that county, and that the charge was so general as an indictment could not be well framed thereupon until Costigan were further examined concerning the particular facts which he affirmed he would make out; and until he should produce other witnesses who he said would testify the same things he gave in; and that without such further evidence it was doubtful whether an indictment might be found upon his single testimony, since the greatest part thereof consisted of hearsays from others. And there the matter has stood until very lately that Costigan, after a long disappearance, notwithstanding that he had protection of this Board, and such other necessary Orders as he desired for his encouragement to go on in it, was at length brought in and carried before the Lord Chief Justice: who certified that he had denied to him all that he had said before, and therefore that he merited a most strict confinement; a copy of which certificate is here also transmitted. Afterwards he appearing again at this Board, instead of making good the particulars he at first informed of he did recant them all, declaring that there was no truth in them, and that it was a mere contrivance betwixt him and others, who had suborned and set him on in that manner to accuse the said Colonel, as may appear by the enclosed examination taken before a Committee of this Board. Upon which recantation so made by him we gave direction to prosecute him for perjury; but through the negligence of the gaoler in whose hands he was as he returned from the Committee he did make his escape and cannot be found, for which neglect the gaoler stands committed.

This is all that has happened in the affair since our first despatch to you, and receiving His Majesty's orders concerning it. And in regard the informer did not sooner return to us, an earlier account could not sooner be transmitted of it, which we desire you humbly to represent to His Majesty, and receive his directions what he will be further pleased to have done in the business.

Signed ORMOND.
MICH. ARMACH, C., BLESSINTON, LANESBOROUGH,
R. COOTE, ARRAN, GRANARD, HEN MIDENSIS,
CA DILLON.

AUTHORITY FOR THE GUARDIANSHIP OF LORD COURCY.

1679, December 9, Dublin Castle.—Having received instruction that Mary, Lady Dowager of Kinsale died before the 29th day of September, in the year 1678, and that thereby the lands, tenements and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned,

which the said lady held and enjoyed for her jointure or dower of the estate whereof her husband Patrick Lord Baron of Kinsale died seized of, ought of right to revert and come to Almericus now Lord Kinsale, grandson and heir of the said Lord Patrick, and ought to be held and enjoyed by him the said Lord Almericus; And His Majesty, taking notice of the great loyalty of the ancestors of the said Lord Almericus to the Crown of England, was therefore graciously pleased, as a mark of His Majesty's grace and special favour to that family, to appoint us guardian both of the person and estate of the said Lord Almericus during his minority, which charge we have accordingly taken upon us to perform; and the said Lord Almericus having also (since his coming to the age of fourteen years) by his humble address and supplication beseeched us to continue our care both of his person and estate, which we are willing to do: To the end therefore that the estate of the said Lord Almericus may be (for the support of his person and dignity) preserved and improved: We thought fit hereby to require and command you forthwith in behalf of the said Lord Almericus and to his use to enter into all and singular the towns and lands of Old Head, *alias* Downpatrick and the island thereunto belonging, containing by estimation, one ploughland, Ballymackeine also Banenaskarty, one ploughland (except twenty acres which were formerly set out and demised to Sylvester Crosse, Esq., by the ancestor of the now Lord Kinsale) and also into the tenements of Rineroan which the said Mary, Lady Dowager of Kinsale demised during her natural life to Armiger March, and to demise and set the said lands at the highest and best rent you can for the Lord Kinsale's use: And we do require and command you from time to time during the said Lord Almericus's minority to levy, take, collect and receive to the use and behoof of the said Lord Kinsale the several and respective rents which were assigned and made over to the said lady as part of her jointure or dower, that is to say the rent of twenty pounds per annum reserved and payable out of acres and pike land by estimation seven greeves and half set by Patrick Lord Kinsale for twenty-one years to Robert Southwell, Esq.; also the sum of twenty-nine pounds and fifteen shillings rent reserved upon part of the ploughland of Rineroan which was set by the said Patrick Lord Kinsale to Dr. Edward Worth for thirty-one years; likewise the rent of ten shillings reserved and payable out of one acre of land in Rineroan demised by the said Lord Patrick for thirty-one years to Margery Fleming; and likewise the sum of four pounds twelve shillings and five pence chief rent held and enjoyed by the said Lady Mary as part of her said jointure or dower. You are to return Sir Edward Scott an account of your proceedings herein from time to time, that so all possible care and industry may be used and applied to manage the estate of the said Lord Kinsale to his advantage.

Endorsed: Lord Courcy, Copy of an authority about his guardianship.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679, December 10, Dublin.—I have of late received two letters from you and sent fewer to you. I think there wanted matter on both sides. You refer me to good hands for intelligence, and I in turn refer you to Mr. Secretary and Sir Robert Southwell when you would have satisfaction in things you hear objected against my conduct. The City of Waterford (the worst affected in the kingdom) and the garrison are fallen out. The Mayor and Aldermen are come almost in a body to expose their grievances. They are many, and will be found malicious in a great measure; but they shall be heard patiently and impartially. I suspect they are contrived and calculated for the unlicensed gazette and the distemper of the times, for Captain Aland is evidently a great engineer and he is instructed out of England.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679, December 12, London.—Having already prepared your Grace to expect the tender of my services, I make bold to enclose herein the two proclamations which concern the present conjuncture of affairs, and it is believed that although the violent men may the more boldly engage themselves in subscriptions, yet that the far greater part will be cautious how to provoke the Government after so fair a warning. As to the other concerning the prorogation, the discourses are various, all agreeing that His Majesty may on the 26th of this month assign (if he see cause) a shorter day for the meeting of this Parliament, or afterwards appoint a new which may meet sooner than the 11th of November. But time and the operation of busy men can only show what alteration the present council is like to have.

When His Majesty had appointed the late proclamation against the resort of Papists to this place, and enforced the same by calling the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Justices of the Peace to recommend the effectual execution of it to their care, His Majesty thought fit to propose to the Council something of a new and extraordinary nature to manifest how remote he was from any tenderness towards the Papists, which was to recommend to a Committee of the Board the listing all the Papists of England which are of any consideration or wealth (perhaps of 200*l.* per annum and above) and then to intimate to them that in case they shall not voluntarily leave the kingdom they must expect that whatever the law has pronounced against them of forfeiting the third of their estates and twenty pounds each Sunday shall inexorably take place. And notwithstanding much was objected herein as a thing difficult of practice, yet His Majesty would not be diverted from the resolution to press it forward. And

whatever happens herein I shall be the better able to acquaint your Grace with since I am particularly appointed to attend that Committee for this affair.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, December 13, London.—I am informed that my Lord of Essex does very maliciously inveigh against the Bill of Confirmation and that of Settlement, as partial to the Irish and consequently prejudicial to the Protestant interest. His design in this is very visible, and with all his politics he cannot dissemble his desires of being again in the Government. Nothwithstanding his pretended steadiness, his opinion was formerly so much against one Parliament sitting, as he now was eager for a meeting of the present one; and I have seen him as obsequious a courtier where the French interest is looked upon to be prevalent as he now endeavours for popularity. The hopes failing him of the White Staff as well as his other pretension has made him somewhat uneasy what course he should steer. His nature and principles are sufficiently understood.

Mr. Seymour that was Speaker desired me to obtain a prolongation of his brother's leave, his father being like soon to die. I doubt not but you will grant this request, since he professes to have great zeal for you, and I hope you will not scruple at my humble desires to grant him this favour. My Lord Chamberlain would write to you, but that his hand is so very full of the gout. He does believe, judging at a distance, that if it be desired, a short bill strengthening possessions and granting the residue of undisposed lands, according to the late Act, would be most to the satisfaction of the English, and the lasting good of the King's service. I can say nothing myself of the Act, never having read it. I will endeavour to inform myself of it by a breviate promised me.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, December 14, Dublin.—Among many who are said to lay their politic heads together on that side in order to asperse the Government here I saw it written that Sir Walter Plunkett is gotten and has joined himself to Sir H. Ingolsby in his cabal. I hope the information is not true, for I should be sorry to find myself so much mistaken in that gentleman, and he so forgetful of his old friend to whom he has been thought to have some more than ordinary obligation. If he visits you he may be freely told what is said of him. If he does not visit you, the matter is the more to be suspected.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1679, December 16, London.—Mr. Secretary being seized by the gout in his right hand, and not being able to hold a pen, commands me to acquaint your Grace of his receipt of yours

of the 7th, which tells him of the seizure of Oliver Plunkett, but that you would forbear examining him till you had received His Majesty's orders. Mr. Secretary commands me to tell your Grace that he knows of no other evidence against him than what has already been sent to your Grace; but that you may (if your Grace thinks it fit) examine him upon any points that you judge most material for a further discovery.

ANONYMOUS to OLIVER HERRING.

1679, December 19, Tanderagee.—I never had occasion since the unhappy death of Captain St. John to write unto you, and having nothing now to trouble you withal, but to acquaint you with the miserable condition this poor country is in by the Tories, so that no man can stir abroad (except he be in league with them) but in danger to be taken or killed. On Thursday last Redmond* and two more of the rogues were pursued by two young men, tenants to Madam St. John, who recovered some plundered goods and a horse from them, and the Tories in revenge came about 10 of the clock the same night and set the two young men's father's house on fire, and burnt all his house and corn, and this within a bow's shot of this town that has the name of a garrison. The soldiers here had notice of the Tories being at the poor man's house, and they kept the intelligence at the guard till the Tories were gone, under pretence that he came to betray them. And indeed it could not be otherwise expected from them, having no commanding officer among them since the company came here, and there has not been above two files of them together here this month past. And it's certain the Tories have friends and confederates enlisted in the company. I would not acquaint you with this if I had not very good ground for it. There are lately two or three of Sir Toby Poyntz's servants that have been guilty of several robberies, and some if not all were enlisted in the companies now turned Tories, and one of the men were with the villains that did this mischief here. This morning he came to me and told me he was prisoner with them. I do not write this to reflect on Sir Toby or his son, yet it is the common vogue of the discreetest people here that this country will never be free of thieves as long as the father is in the commission of the peace and the son's company here. I have heard very understanding men say that the only way to suppress these skulking scoundrels is to remove the company that is here into some remote place and another company brought whose officers have no interest in this country. The small time Captain Lyndon's company was here they did good service, and would have done more if they had not been removed. And then to have all the passes manned between the two counties of Down and Armagh, that is to say Fathom

* Redmond O'Hanlan, "The Irish Scanderbeg," see Carte's "Life of Ormond," ii., 512-13.

Castle, Tusker, Poyntz's Pass, Scarvagh and Knockbridge. All these places were manned in the Usurper's time, and then no part of Ireland so quiet as this and so free from such vermin. And all the boats from the mouth of the Lough to Knockbridge taken away, for they are of singular use to the Tories. And I am confident if you acquaint my Lord Primate with this, he is of so generous and public a spirit that he will use his endeavours to have it done. His own revenue by the decay of trade here is much damnified, many hundreds of his tenants being not able to pay their rents, and what is infinitely of more concern to one of his piety and goodness, the whole country will be ruined if he does not. I can assure you we are in so great a consternation that at night we cannot think ourselves secured until the morning, and for my own part since the death of Captain St. John I durst not go a mile from home without a guard, having had several messages sent me from the rogues that killed him that they'll serve me so too. I thought once indeed to have acquainted his Grace with these and many other circumstances, but I thought it would be too great a presumption in me to write to a person of his grandeur and eminency; so that I leave it to your own discretion whether you'll show his Grace this or not. I know many would have acquainted his Grace with these things, but they are really afraid to do it, and were it not that I know your relation and friendship for this good family, I would not have put this confidence in you as to impart this much unto you; so that I hope if you'll impart anything of what is contained in this letter to any one you'll conceal my name.

Endorsed: A letter out of the North about a company at Tanderagee.

[This letter was signed by the writer; but the signature has been erased].

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679, December 19, London.—In obedience to my duty I humbly submit an account of the proceedings of the Committee for suppressing Popery and preventing dangers that may arise from the same (which I am now employed in) to your Grace's perusal. And so considerable a progress hath been made therein that the Justices of Peace for Middlesex and Westminster have received strict orders (in pursuance of a Proclamation against Papists residing in or near London) to cause lists to be forthwith brought in to the Council Board of all housekeepers within the bills of mortality, and of all midwives, apothecaries and physicians that are Papists or suppressed Papists, in order to their effectual prosecution. And that no Papist may be harboured in Whitehall or any of His Majesty's houses, a commission is preparing for the officers of the Green Cloth to tender the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and to offer the Test to all Papists and

suspected Papists that shall be found within Whitehall or the precincts thereof, to be proceeded against according to law. And the managers and Knight Marshals' men are ordered to carry them before the said officers. And a reward of ten pounds is to be paid to any who shall discover any Papist or suspected Papist harboured in any of His Majesty's houses. And the officer by whose permission they are harboured shall be turned out of his place. The justices of the peace are likewise permitted to search Somerset House at any time in the Queen's absence, as also St. James's for priests or Papists.

His Majesty hath declared in Council his resolution not to grant any dispensations or licences to any Papists to stay in town, and to prevent the resort of all persons to the chapels of Ambassadors and foreign ministers of the Popish religion (except their menial servants). The justices of the peace are directed to impart the lists of such servants to the constables and beadles of their respective parishes, who are upon Sundays and holy days to seize all who shall be found unduly resorting thither that they be prosecuted according to law. A proclamation is likewise preparing to warn all His Majesty's subjects of the dangers they incur by being seduced to the Popish religion, and to encourage all persons to discover those that go about to seduce them or are seduced to that religion, as also such as are or have been bred in Popish seminaries and such others as shall send maintenance to them. A privy seal is passing to enable the judges to reward according to their discretions all persons that prosecute Popish recusants before them, to be paid out of the estates or forfeitures of those who shall be convicted by their prosecution. It is further ordered that all such persons as shall be imprisoned anywhere upon suspicion of being Popish priests shall be forthwith prosecuted to an attainder.

And whereas all the lists, except twelve, of the Papists and reported Papists of England and Wales were lodged in the hands of the Clerk of the House of Commons by the Knights of the Shires of their respective counties who served in the Parliament dissolved in January last, there is a Commission ordered to be issued out by the Lord Chancellor of England to all the counties of England and Wales (in which the names of the said lists are to be respectively inserted) empowering and requiring the justices of each county to tender the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to the persons particularly named therein, and upon their refusal to proceed with them according to law: which commissions are to be accompanied not only with instructions for the directing the justices of peace, but also with letters from the Board encouraging and requiring them diligently to put the same in execution, and to return an account of their proceedings in pursuance thereof, and also to send the names of all others whom they shall know or suspect to be Papists not mentioned

in the said Commission. There also are letters written to the Knights of the Shire of the other twelve counties where the lists are wanting, to remit them to the Council Board, if the like Commissions may be prepared for those counties as is already directed.

W. Barton to ———

1679, December 19, Carrickmacross near Dundalk.—One afternoon this week, being a hawking, a fellow gave me this enclosed, which is from a Tory now with the Hanlons. Pressed by it and by a former I had from him, he will undertake the setting two Tories at the least, if he may on doing that service have his pardon. About three weeks since, being in Dublin, I spoke to my Lord of Arran in it, who much encouraged it. This way will make them so jealous of one another that they'll soon be destroyed. I request the favour you will move my Lord Lieutenant in it, and if on that service he shall have his pardon, I desire his letter promising it and to be a protection to him for three months; that he may have time to sue out his pardon after he has done that service, if it be not done before. Before the army comes into these parts it will not be in his power to get so many of the Tories together as I hope he will on promise of a good sum of money.

Earl of Arlington to Ormond.

1679, December 23, Whitehall.—Ever since I was in possession of the honour of your Grace's of November 8 I have been confined to my chamber by a severe fit of the gout, and until now could never make use of my right hand to acknowledge the said letter, the contents of which being a good (though not satisfactory) answer to my Lord Privy Seal and me, I presently acquainted his lordship with it, desiring him (who had pressed me with much earnestness to write to your Grace) to enable me to reply, but yet he hath not done it. So I now singly apply myself to your favour to beseech you at least singly to endeavour my satisfaction from the Earl of Ranelagh, if it cannot be done in conjunction. Upon which subject my Lord of Longford will do me the favour to entertain your Grace.

Sir John Trevor foreseeing the Parliament here will not sit suddenly, and being to pass over into Ireland where he thinks a Parliament will quickly be, desires me to mind your Grace again of getting him elected a member therein, upon the assurance that he shall be able to serve His Majesty and your Grace, which undoubtedly he is able to do, being of the first form of those who are so qualified.

Having got thus far with my pen, I will not defer the giving your Grace my humble thanks for the favour of yours of November 12, with a sufficient certificate of the benefit

of the gout socks, but unluckily the author forgot to put in what the socks are made of. This Sir Nicholas Armorer was able to tell me, and really the stuff has recovered my hand to the perfection your Grace sees, but yet it hath not done so to my feet, which, though carefully stocked with it, continue their pain and my lameness. If it please God I live till the spring I promise myself great benefit by the milk diet, of which I have daily several proofs in my eye.

I cannot end my letter without lamenting to your Grace the good success Sir Robert Southwell's friends had in procuring His Majesty's leave for him to sell his place, in which your Grace as well as they has a considerable loss. My Lord of Ossory will not let me write any more, but to make his excuses to you for his not writing this post. I tell him I do it willingly, because I assure myself you will thank me for it.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, December 23, Whitehall.—My gout, which hath been more frequently troublesome to me than any winter I can remember, is the occasion I am indebted to your Grace for letters of the 30th of November and 7th and 10th of this instant. As to the first there hath been a second attempt upon the Park by a warrant from my Lord Sunderland's office. But I having your Grace's letter showed it to the King and acquainted him how that by Order of Council directions were gone to your Grace to make the annexing it to the Sword subject matter of a bill for the next Parliament, and so carried his orders to my Lord Chancellor for stopping all further progress in it. And my Lord Chancellor assured me, and bids me acquaint your Grace with it, that he would not pass it upon any warrant whatsoever without first acquainting the Council with it, where I think it can never meet with approbation.

As to your Parliament you must have patience till the trouble of these Petitions are over, and the meeting or not meeting of one here quite out of doubt. As to that about Plunkett, Mr. Thynne by reason of my sickness informed your Grace all that I can say of it. We have nothing since or more of it than what I wrote you formerly of it; so that unless his papers discover some further grounds I doubt little will be got from him. But if your Grace think fitting to try him with any questions, it is left to your discretion and may possibly have the effect of making him believe we know more than we do, and beget some fear of continuing such kind of negotiations. And his very being in Ireland after the proclamation may sufficiently justify imprisonment, and if need be a further prosecution. That of the 10th hath been showed His Majesty and shall the Council as soon as they meet, which cannot be for some days because of the holidays. The Orders set out this week by the Council here are with the utmost severity against Catholics, which I hear hath

already some good effects with some men. But I doubt whether any water will quench the flame of the rabble.

I am sorry your Grace hath that troublesome inconvenience of sore eyes. For my part I see so few pleasing objects here that I have little pleasure in the use of mine. I pray God yours may serve you to see many and better days than we have now.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679, December 24, Dublin.—I have yours of the 6th and 13th of this month. Whatever I lose by it I cannot be sorry that Sir Robert Southwell has compassed his design. Whilst he is there his information will be little less useful than when he was in office. The rule you have set yourself in relation to your master and whoever is in his displeasure upon the score the person you mention is, I fully approve of. Nothing can be more maliciously perverse and disingenuous than the proceeding of the nobleman you mention in the Committee of Irish affairs, for he has for six months had in his hands a letter from me that alone would have vindicated me in the reflection cast upon the Bill of Confirmation, which reflection is in itself groundless, and the bill would be justified before equal judges upon a fair hearing and reasonable construction. However, it has been my opinion from the beginning that it should be mended there or wholly laid aside till the meeting of the Parliament; but my misfortune is that some of those I writ to were not willing to produce anything that tended to my justification; and others had forgot they had such letters. You may assure Sir. Robert Howard that Mrs. Gwin's business concerning Dundalk and Carlingford is done as far as it depends on me, and beg his pardon for me that I do not at this time give him an account of it myself. Captain Seymour shall have leave to stay in England as long as his brother pleases.

Ormond to Francis Gwyn.

1679, December 24, Dublin.—Yours of the 6th of this month informs me in a very obliging manner of your coming into Sir Robert Southwell's room in the King's more immediate service, and the particular advantage I receive by gaining one and not losing another worthy friend. I embrace the offer and profession you are pleased to make of your friendship, which I shall no longer expect you should continue to me than whilst you find me in all events steady to the service of the Crown and just in my returns to you. To your letter of the 12th imparting transactions on that side you will expect no other answer than my thanks, and yet I shall pray the continuance of such informations, because they do not merely divert, but often guide me in my station. I will give order that you shall be constantly informed of all that shall pass

here of moment. For what has passed nobody can better inform you than Sir Robert Southwell, and I hope you will be appointed to attend the Committee for the affairs of this kingdom constantly, which I conceive will more facilitate despatch than that your fellows should take their turns, and be put to spend a good part of their quarter in looking over and understanding what passed in the former. If I shall give this as my opinion to Mr. Secretary, I know not whether I am to ask yours or your brethren's pardon for it. Sir Robert Southwell is caution for the performance of your part and the friendship he has contracted betwixt us, so let him be for me that I shall on all occasions be, etc., etc.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679, December 31, Whitehall.—As to what your Grace writeth me in yours of the 24th there are several of the kingdom of Ireland come over that say that Bill of Settlement is passed for the advantage of the Papists and the lawyers; but I can see no answer to your argument that it was always to be left to the judgment of the Parliament, and it is not very likely either of these motives should prevail with them. This I have not failed to urge both in public and private.

But, my Lord, I must acquaint your Grace here is much notice taken that the articles upon which the Earl of Tyrone was committed, though some time since promised, are not yet sent over. 2ndly, that there is no account of the retaking of him that accused Fitzpatrick, or by whose fault or neglect he escaped, and why that fault not punished. 3rdly, why the account of my Lord Ranelagh, so long since transmitted from the Commissioners to the Council, should lie so still there, and no account given of them. This as all things at present hath its reflections. As to your postscript, I should be very glad that there were a particular Clerk to attend that Committee; but I doubt it will be hard for one never versed in any business of that nature to understand it so readily, but am very glad that your Grace is so well satisfied in the affections of the gentleman whose education, conversation and obligations have been amongst those your Grace hath not hitherto had so much reason to confide in. But whatever your Grace shall judge best shall be complied in faithfully by me.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679, December 30, London.—Both Mr. Secretary and I are in great impatience to have the examinations you told him you had transmitted concerning my Lord of Tyrone. I doubt not that all diligence is used to search into the truth of that matter, as it is necessary that it should be manifest to the world the care that is taken, since my Lord of Shaftesbury and many others indicate the contrary.

This enclosed I received from the person* we thought proper to entrust with the care of my son. If you judge him not fit for it, I wish he may have some reward. Neither my Lord Chamberlain nor myself have entertained him as he pretends, by which you may perceive he thinks himself in salary; but we told him that when James was in France, which he thought would have been sooner than it is like to be, that then he should begin his functions, so that these hopes have prevented him engaging himself elsewhere. For his son, I promised to get him an employment in Ireland. If either a cornet's place or a lieutenant of horse could be obtained for him I should be very glad; for by the character given of him you cannot have a stouter, better officer, and a better drudge. The use of such a man you know better than I do and how few there are of this kind; pride and laziness being so much the temper of these nations.

As in a letter Plunkett seems much afflicted that any should be so unjust as to give you misinformations of him, I believe they do him wrong. You will from himself receive satisfaction in this matter. Sir Richard Rooth humbly entreats you, if it consists with the service of your pleasure, to order his company to continue at that fort near Kinsale which he commands. I was informed (*sic*) that he should have said things contrary to that duty he professes to have for you, but as he denies anything even to have thought of that kind, so truly I think him very friendly to all your relations and concerns. This is all the trouble I shall at present give you.

LORD JAMES BUTLER to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 1, Oxford.—Since I hear that it is your Grace's desire that I should not go to London this Christmas, I am very well content to stay here as long as your Grace pleases; and I will readily and cheerfully, as I do now, so at all times conform and resign myself to your Grace's good will and pleasure. I most humbly thank your Grace for the promise of a fine horse in the spring, and for the good present your Grace will make me. I will by my obedience and my diligence endeavour to my utmost to deserve and to draw upon me that blessing which I earnestly beg of your Grace in this beginning of the year.

SIR WILLIAM BOREMAN to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 3, Whitehall.—May it please your Grace to call to remembrance that about seven or eight years since you were pleased to recommend me to give you a note of the profits and perquisites belonging to the Lord Steward's place in the reigns of King James and King Charles the First, which amounted to 3,100*l.*, besides the disposal of places, as by the enclosed papers it doth appear. In the beginning of this

* Mons. de St. Heléne.

King's reign it amounted not to half so much, and now (by virtue of this new retrenchment) it is dwindled to less than a quarter part, being reduced to 600*l.* per annum, viz., 100*l.* and 500*l.* board wages; and the daily pains and constant attendance of the two [Classes] of the Green Cloth, and the two Classes comptrollers are valued, or rather undervalued at 200*l.* a year.

NOTE REFERRED TO IN FOREGOING LETTER.

In the Reigns of King James and King Charles the First of blessed memory.

The Lord Steward of His Majesties most Honourable Household had a hundred pound wages, and a diet served in kind, consisting of sixteen dishes of meat a meal, with a proportionable allowance of bread, beer and wine, which after the rate of the market price came yearly to the sum of	2648*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*
The wood, coals and lights, spices, butter and eggs, linen and all other necessaries incident to the dressing and serving up of the said diet, together with the Lord Steward's double messes and commands did *communibus annis* amount to the yearly sum of	351*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*
Sum total ..	3100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

And for the pleasuring of his friends and preferment of his servants, he had twice as many places to dispose of than the present Lord Steward hath, and each of those places were almost twice the value.

EARL OF OSSORY TO ORMOND.

1679-80, January 6, London.—I have according to your commands solicited His Majesty in behalf of those you would have preferred by the vacancy of the bishopric of Derry; all which was granted, and I believe letters to that purpose will be despatched to you this night. I have heard much good of the Bishop of Killala; but I know not how liable it may be to censure to prefer a clergyman that was so indiscreet and violent as to make a Tory's head be cut off in his house when brought in a prisoner. My Lord of Essex told me the story, and though he said many things of the person's merit, yet he is capable to leave out that part as occasion may offer. This action, though universally known, I was ignorant of till very late. I think it worthy of your consideration whether you will proceed upon the King's commands or not. Perhaps this particular may not have come to your knowledge. The King spoke freely enough of persons recommended by the Bishop of London; and I believe his recommendation as to any to be preferred in

Ireland will be of little force. I wish Dr. Young that was in Flanders with me were preferred in Ireland. He is an extraordinary pious man, and an excellent preacher. He is an Oxford man, and very well reputed in the University.

SAME to SAME.

1679-80, January 6, London.—I have since the writing of my letter of this day's date spoke to some of your best friends concerning the promotion of the Bishop of Killala, and they are all of opinion that appearing for this unhappy prelate, (who I term so since he could do so exorbitant a thing as without law to execute a man) cannot but hereafter be of great prejudice to you, it being no way justifiable for a private man to kill one outlawed, unless the malefactor did make resistance. I confess I have a horror for a man in holy orders that has imbrued his hands in blood, and among many omissions I thought it a very great one to see another of that function to remain in it since the King's restoration. I wish we may not feel the ill effects of that error. I do not in the least make a comparison of the guilt of these two persons. My Lord of Essex said the pardon of that fact was not done when he was in the Government. I doubt not but you will pardon my being warm upon this.

HENRY THYNNE to ORMOND.

1679-80, January 10, Whitehall.—Finding that Mr. Secretary in his letter of this post has given your Grace an account of the views we have here, I presume to trouble your Grace with that little we have, which is the commitment of Sir Robert Peyton a close prisoner to the Tower for High Treason for conspiring to raise war against the King, which is testified against him by two witnesses, viz., Mr. Gadbury and Mrs. Cellier. The particulars are so variously reported that I cannot vouch for the truth of them; but it's generally said that Sir Robert is accused of having said that if the King had died at Windsor, he would have been ready with forty thousand men to have risen and seized upon the Tower, the Lord Mayor, etc. Our last letters from Holland seem to think the States will civilly decline the entering into an alliance with France, and I believe will hardly be brought to make one with us, but will rather keep as they are to disoblige neither party. It's thought a Common Council will be called speedily in the City to petition for the sitting of the Parliament on the 26th.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1679–80, January 17th, London.—Having had several promises to be set upon the establishment in Holland, according to my articles, and the death of Prince Maurice of Nassau giving so easy an opportunity of doing me justice without a new fund, I have desired my leave, I think in sufficient

style. As for the humble part relating to the Prince of Orange, who I really believe has found himself mistaken when he gave me his word to see me have right done, if upon what I say my pretensions are satisfied then I continue and no harm is done. I have sometimes displeased you by engaging myself too suddenly; I hope I shall not do so now by withdrawing, having His Majesty's consent and the advice of my friends. What comes of this matter and anything else I think important I shall not fail to communicate it unto you.

My Lord of Essex makes it his work to catch hold of anything that may prejudice you, especially in what relates to the late Irish Bill. His party blames the flightiness of your answer, which when objections to several paragraphs were made all the returns were that here they may be impeded or thrown out. I find my Lord of Burlington very kind to you, though some would inflame him because his name was not inserted, nor the Treasurer's, which they say is of course in most commissions. It is also said that Sir Nicholas Plunkett made the first draught of that Bill. I would be glad to have the denial of this from you, tho' at present I doubt not the falsity of that report.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679–80, January 17, Whitehall.—Mr. Thomas and Henry Howard, brothers to the Earl of Suffolk, tell me there was a letter in the time of Lord Berkeley signed by the King and sent to him in their behalf for a patent for the Ballast. It then found some obstructions from the town of Dublin, but they now tell me that that difference is in a fair way of composure. But the letter being addressed to my Lord Berkeley, they desire a fresh one to your Grace. I made them answer I could obtain no letter of that kind till I had first some approbation from your Grace. If your Grace please to receive the information of those that will wait on you in their behalf, and upon your approving of their pretences send such a letter as you judge fitting for His Majesty's signature, I shall give it all despatch I can.

Thomas Dawson to Captain John Chichester, George Walker and Mathew Combe.

1679–80, January 17, Castledawson.—The necessity I now lie under to be quiet forces me, beyond my humour, to decline my former resolutions and practices in pursuing of Tories. I have not been a little active in discovering those rogues who were at Captain Shaw's robbery, and have given money for intelligence, by which means I really believe I should have broke the knot of them in time. There were two taken, and were as far on their journey to Carrickfergus as Shane's Castle, where by the wilful neglect of a bribed

constable they made their escape and are now returned to their old haunts with an intention to cut off my head; and for that end have got most of the Tories of this county to join with them, accusing me to be more officious than my fellow-justices; and this is the reward I am like to rest with: so that I leave you to judge whether or no I am not in hazard that can't go a quarter of a mile from home because of their continual watch of me; neither should I fear them on any account if they had not sent me word that no guard could secure me, for as I rid they could single me out with a gun and make their escape afterwards. Let not this discourage the good work you are about, for there is less hazard with you than here, so that you may with less danger prosecute their insolency.

Earl of Ossory to Duchess of Ormond.

1679–80, January 20, London.—I am very sorry to hear that you are troubled with the shortness of breath. I hope in God the spring coming on that you will soon be rid of that distemper, and my father of his fit of the gout. If affairs be in a proper posture for me to leave this place, I will endeavour to have the happiness of waiting on you before it be long. I sent yesterday my secretary into Holland with leave to resign my command there, so as I shall have more leisure to myself. This resolution I hope will not be unacceptable unto you, since it will free me both from dangers and expense, if the King of France pursues his threatenings against the Hollanders. The good news of the proceedings of the city you will hear from several hands. This day brings strange news from France. Madame la Comtesse de Soissons, la Duchesse de Bouillon, Madame de la Perte and several more are fled, being accused about poisoning affairs. Monsieur de Luxemburgh and our friend Lessae upon the same score are prisoners in the Bastille. Having thus long deferred the compliments you mentioned, I think it not proper now to make them, but to expect some other opportunity. I pray God continue my father and you in long health and happiness.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679–80, January 24, London.—I am desired to send you over this note.* I know not how you were engaged to oblige Mr. Sheldon, nor how you can pay safely this money, I promised to use my endeavours towards you for the satisfaction of my Lady Elizabeth Felton, and I hope you will be pleased to comply with them, that if it may be in your power she may have the effects of her father's kindness.

* A note is enclosed of a debt due by the Duke of Ormond to one Jasper Churchill upon a bond dated Aug. 29, 1677, of £721 0s. 0d. principal and £85 15s. 0d. interest, which bond having been assigned to the Earl of Suffolk had been given to Lady Elizabeth Felton.

The sooner I know your pleasure the more obliging it will be to them.

I am told my Lord Chief Baron Bysse of the Exchequer is dead, but have not heard it from any of your secretaries I have often desired that one of them would constantly give me an account of what passes. I am sure it would not prejudice your service if it would not prove useful thereunto. Besides I am ashamed to make my ignorance of those things appear by making of enquiries. I am sorry you have had so severe a fit of the gout: I hope it will soon pass over, and that by it you will have a more established health for the future.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679–80, January 24, Whitehall.—Since my last to your Grace here hath nothing arrived worth troubling you; only give me leave to acquaint you that as I told you in my last the King had given no positive answers about the promotions in case my Lord Chief Baron die. I find since there is a design to send one from hence. The person is not yet resolved, but he is to be one of the lawyers that are most versed in the Exchequer. I find by something that fell from His Majesty that the management of his Court of Exchequer in Ireland is not represented very advantageously, and it is said that most of the places are executed by deputies. The sending of a Chief Baron from hence is much pressed by the Earls of Anglesey and Essex, who seem to lay extreme weight upon it; and the latter told me the present Lord Chief Baron, though he acknowledged him a very good lawyer, yet by not being sufficiently skilled in the rules of the Exchequer that His Majesty hath been endamaged many thousand pounds.

Monday will be our critical day, His Majesty seeming still resolved the Parliament shall not sit; neither hath he yet declared his resolution for shortening the time of the prorogation. Our fears and jealousies are as high as ever—I pray God they produce not such effects as they once did.

Earl of Ossory to Prince of Orange.

1679–80, January.—J'ay reçeu avec une satisfaction extrême la très obligeante lettre qu'il a plû à votre Altesse de m'écrire du 16^{me} de ce mois N.S. Ce sera mon ambition, toute ma vie de rendre tous les services dont je seray capable à la famille royale, et j'espère que cette union si nécessaire aux intérêts de chacun sera toujours maintenue. Voyant les peines et les difficultés que l'affaire de mes appointements donne à votre Altesse je luy supplie très humblement d'accepter ma demission, afin que je ne vous sois plus un sujet d'embarras. Le profit n'est pas le cause de cette demande que je fais avec toute soumission; mais

je croirais que mon honneur pourroit partir par une marque si singulière d'estre le seul Officier-General de Paris à qui on ne donne pas de gages. Permettez moy à present de réclamer la justice et la parolle de vostre Altesse lorsqu'elle me donne une capitulation qui fut ; qu'en cas que je ne pourrois avec bienseance estre dans les Trouppes qu'en les quittant je ne perdrois pas le bonheur de vostre bienveuillance, que je prize si fort, espérant que dans la fonction de ma charge on ne trouvera pas que j'aye manqué à faute de zèle ou bonne volonté. Pour ce qui regarde la capacité je ne me justifie pas ; mais j'ay recour à vostre bonté. Je suis autant persuadé qu'on le puisse estre que votre Altesse m'auroit fait justice, si cela auroit pû convenir avec les inclinations des Estats, et par consequent auroit esté en vostre pouvoir ; ainsi je proteste qu'en prenant mon congé d'eux je suis satisfait au dernier point en ce qui regarde votre Altesse pour l'aumone de qui je me suis engagé, et mes actions témoigneront la verité de cecy, aussi bien que la vénération et affection très sincères avec laquelles je seray à jamais de Votre Altesse le très-humble et très obéissant serviteur.*

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, January 27, London.—Upon my coming to town last night I received the honour of your Grace's favourable reception of the tender of my services which I have entirely devoted to your Grace. And although with great submission I must acknowledge my want of experience, and a great many other good qualifications which my predecessor was master of might render him more capable, yet I must beg pardon to vie with him in a steady resolution and ready obedience to your Grace's commands.

I most humbly thank your Grace for the good opinion you have been pleased to entertain of me in designing me to attend the Committee of Irish Affairs. I have already waited upon my Lord of Ossory to beg the favour of his discoursings with Mr. Secretary Coventry in order to it, and I hope in a little time to give your Grace a farther account, being very ambitious of being employed in an affair where I may more frequently expect your Grace's directions and commands.

I cannot give your Grace as yet any perfect account of the proceedings, but I find there hath very little been done (except giving out orders) since the last I presented to your Grace in the Committee for Suppressing Popery, the Commissions to the several counties being yet in hand, and not perfected till there is a regulation made of the Justices of the Peace in each county, which is likewise now under consideration. I have enclosed His Majesty's speech upon the prorogation of the Parliament, and the success and answers to the petitions from several places, your Grace will meet from other hands. The arrival of His Highness suddenly out

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

of Scotland is much talked of, and there seems some ground for it. By the next I shall be able to give your Grace a more perfect account of the proceedings of Council.

EARL OF LANESBOROUGH to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679–80, January 28, Dublin Castle.—His Grace's hand continuing still so lame that he cannot write to you himself, he hath commanded me to tell your lordship that he hath received your several letters by the last packets, and thinks it necessary you receive some account of that of the seventeen wherein he received the copies of the Prince of Orange's letter to you and your answer, of which latter he absolutely approves and will be glad to know what it hath produced. As to the exceptions taken against the Irish Bill that was transmitted for the settlement of Ireland, since that Bill is now absolutely laid aside there can be no reason for continuing those exceptions, but a malicious purpose to reflect on those that transmitted it, and perhaps when the Parliament shall meet in England some use may be endeavoured to be made of that Bill to argue a partiality towards the Irish Papists by it, against which it may be fit that some preparation be made by putting the answers that have been made to those objections into the hands of some persons that may be able and willing to make use of them. There were two papers of objections put into the hands of the Lord Chancellor of England; the one sent over by the late Earl of Orrery, and the other by some persons in England, alike concerned with him in interest and malice. Of those objections copies were sent to my Lord and answers to them were returned to my Lord Chancellor, from whom it's supposed, copies of them may be had by means of Sir Robert Southwell or Sir Edward Dering; and in them are contained all that can be said upon the subject, unless new objections be made which cannot be foreseen nor answered till they are seen.
Copy.

EARL OF LANESBOROUGH to SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

1679, January 28, Dublin.—I am commanded by my Lord to tell you that he hath received at once your letters of the 10, 13, 17 and 20th, and that having forced himself to write to Mr. Secretary Coventry he hath so lamed his hand that he cannot now write his name, whereat he is the more troubled that he cannot tell you himself as I do by his direction that there are few things wherein he is more concerned than your satisfaction in your affair of Rincorran, which cannot be effected in the way projected by Sir James Shaen, who has forgot or was not informed by his partners that during the winter season no money is advanced towards the work of the fort, but some small sum for raising of stones for it against the spring, so that it is conceived Sir James by his insignificant proposal only designed to

divert you from following the more probable course. Now as to the 12,000*l.*, his Grace is informed by some who are better skilled in that matter than himself that it belongs rather to the King than to either the Earl of Ranelagh or his partners or the present Farmers. But when his Grace shall have received Sir James Shaen's deductions, which he desires may be in writing, he will be the better able to frame a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury concerning that business. I have nothing to add but that my Lord Chief Baron died this morning.

Copy.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, January 31, London.—The last Council Day His Majesty was pleased to declare the reasons of sending leave to the Duke to return again into England. And the same day the yachts were ordered to sail to Scotland, that if his Highness please he may come by water, though it is generally believed he will be here before the yachts can be there and return.

There was a petition brought in the last Council Day by one Robert Coppinger complaining against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland's proceedings in a cause before his lordship in the Court of Chancery, which is referred to your Grace's determination, though it was stiffly pressed by some to have it heard here.

The Committee for regulation of the Justices of the Peace in the several counties is to sit on Monday morning and afternoon, intending to perfect all the counties that day, which they are the more diligent in because the commissions to the several counties for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy cannot be despatched into the respective counties till the regulation of the justices is made.

The honour of your Grace's recommendation engaged Mr. Secretary Coventry to promise me his assistance and endeavours to get me nominated to attend the Committee for Ireland, which I shall employ with all the industry I am capable of.

Earl of Arran to Henry Coventry.

1679–80, January 31, Dublin.—My Lord Lieutenant is not yet so well recovered as to be able to write himself this post. He has yours of the 24th instant where you inform him of His Majesty's purpose to send us a Chief Baron from thence to succeed ours who died about three days since. You may please to remember that it was his desire by my last letter that in case none of the persons he recommended should be pitched upon a fit person should be sent from England. The truth is the business of that Court is not very well managed now, and has been worse, as my Lord of Essex very well knows. But the fault was not so much the insufficiency

of the late Lord Chief Baron as the great power given my Lord Ranelagh and partners in controlling that Court. This with the reducing of the officer's fees which happened then might make them more negligent than formerly; all which a person well versed in Exchequer proceedings there may remedy, in case the course taken in that Court may be found practicable with us. His Grace is not so much concerned for any person recommended as he is that the King's affairs should be well managed in that Court, though he believes one of them might be as fit for the place as any either my Lord Privy Seal or my Lord Essex will recommend.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, February 3, London.—I know your Grace hath received the news of the Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle's withdrawing themselves from the Council, and the unprecedented way they took to do it. It was generally believed the Marquess of Winchester and Earl of Essex would do the same thing, though not the same way, though I hear nothing of it to-day. It is supposed the Lord Brouncker will succeed Sir Henry Capel in the First Commissioner's place of the Admiralty, and Sir Thomas Littleton Mr. Vaughan in the same Commission, tho' I perceive it is endeavoured the commission should consist of the five remaining, and by that means Mr. Finch would come into the Council. It is said Mr. Godolphin will fill up the place of one of the Council, and the Lord Ailesbury is spoke of for another. The Committee for regulation of the Justices of Peace sat yesterday morning and afternoon, both which times His Majesty was present, but have not yet perfected the lists of several counties.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679–80, February 3rd, Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 27th of January I have received, and as in my first letter I told you I thought the order defective, so I obtained another which Mr. Thynne telleth me he sent by the next post, where I think it was clearly explained and there was a passage in one of your Grace's letters that it was indifferent to you if the Bill of Settlement stayed till the Parliament met, and there it would plainly appear what kind of bill would content. I can say little of the bill myself, it having been in the hands of my Lord Chancellor and the lawyers ever since it was first sent, but it was so vehemently opposed in Council that there was no contesting for it, and particularly those that pretended to love Ireland best; and some that were not contented with the setting it aside were very eager that reasons for the setting it aside should be drawn up, amongst which was the great advantage it gave the Papists over the Protestants. Another reason is much pressed by several that are come over from Ireland, who say it serveth only the interest of

the Papists and lawyers. I then acquainted the Council how indifferent your Grace was in the point, and it was thought fit to draw up the order that it should for the present be totally laid aside. But upon any notice when the Parliament meets what your Grace and the Council findeth by the temper of the Parliament will be agreeable, upon your intimation of it to His Majesty and Council there will be easily leave obtained for transmitting another.

You will by this time have received the news that four Privy Councillors, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel and Mr. Powle, came in a body to the King to desire to be dismissed from that employment. Their entry and exit have been both very remarkable, and neither very well comprehended by men of my small talent. We are full of fear and jealousies, and the effects of those passions. His Majesty on the other side seemeth as resolved. The Duke and Duchess are suddenly expected here if the bad weather hinder them not. The two letters from your Grace and Council shall be showed His Majesty in Council tomorrow.

Earl of Ossory to Duchess of Ormond.

1679–80, February 3, London.—Just now I received your letter of the 27th of the last month, and am very glad to hear my father is recovered from his fit of the gout, and that you are also in good health. I wish that blessing may be long to you both. I presume to send you my servant's letter that I sent into Holland, by which you will now in what fortune that affair as yet remains, as also one from honest Silvius who concerns himself much in all things relating to us. Sir Alexander Colear that commanded those troops under me died lately, as you will find by those letters. He was the worthiest friend to me, and I think the best officer of that kind that ever I knew. The Prince receives by it an extraordinary loss and I an irreparable one if I should continue in the service. All your family here are well: my sister only has sprained her foot. I have nothing more to trouble either my father or you withal. Of all sorts of news the Gazettes do sufficiently inform the world.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, February 7, London.—Mr. Secretary Coventry intending to resign his place of Secretary to Sir Lionel Jenkins, and Mr. Henry Thynne, as I hear, resolving to appear no more in public business hath made me take the confidence to recommend myself to your Grace's favour for agent of the affairs of Ireland, it falling into your Grace's hands by their dissension: which I am the more encouraged to do, since I hope for an attendance upon the Committee for Ireland by the nomination of Mr. Secretary Coventry before his resignation. If your Grace for the conveniency of affairs is pleased to think fit to lay an obligation upon any one

in my Lord Sunderland's office or any other, I do with all cheerfulness submit myself to your Grace's pleasure in it.

Here are several discourses of other alterations in some of the great offices of State, that is my Lord [ ] being to be made Lord Treasurer, Mr. Godolphin, Secretary, and some others, but they are so uncertain I cannot with any confidence trouble your Grace with them. There was little further business done the last Council Day, Mr. Finch and Mr. Godolphin being then sworn into the Council and no others yet spoken of to fill up the places of those that went off.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679–80, February 7, Whitehall.—I have delivered the two letters from your Grace and Council unto the Council here. That concerning the ship taken from the Turks was read, but nothing yet ordered. That concerning the Plot and the examinations is referred to the Committee. But only let me make this observation to your Grace that there being an information of so great a treason as the aiding a French invasion that the Council of Ireland that was so scrupulous in the case of the Talbots and others as not to bail them, though never so rich, without acquainting the Board here, it is a thing divers here seem surprised at to see that all the men accused of the plot are allowed their liberties upon bail. Mr. Thynne, I suppose, by the last acquainted you that two ships are immediately going to take in your men for Tangier, which I suppose are by this time ready at Kinsale. I suppose I may very shortly acquaint you with the name of a new Secretary, His Majesty having at last consented to my retreat. But the whole of the affair is not as yet concluded, but I suppose within few days will, and I think Sir Lionel Jenkins will be the man.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679–80, February 7, London.—The winds are so stormy and contrary to come from Holland as since my last I know not anything of what has passed in my concerns in that country. The same crossness of weather hinders the yachts from getting to Leith and consequently the return of the Duke. Yesterday I was informed for certain by Mr. Seymour that my Lord of Anglesey is to be made Chancellor of Ireland. He did enjoin our secrecy to all persons but you; and I did undertake that it should never be spoke of until it were otherwise divulged, and that the information should not come to the knowledge of any. I doubt not but you make good what I have undertaken. In the meantime I will do all I can to serve so worthy a friend and so honest and loyal a man as my present Lord Chancellor has been towards you and your friends. I will not be negligent in things wherein I may be useful.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, February 10. London.—The resignation of Mr. Secretary Coventry of his office to Sir Lionel Jenkins (which I gave your Grace an account of by the last) is now no longer whispered but owned on both sides, and to-morrow being the next Council day it is expected Sir Lionel Jenkins should be sworn into the Counell.

On Sunday in the evening came an express from Tangier which brought the news of their apprehension there of another attack from the Moors, whereupon Sir Palmes Fairborne is sent over to be Lieutenant Governor in the room of Colonel Dungan, who is recalled, and leave given to the Lord Inchiquin to return home upon the arrival of Sir Palmes Fairborne there. The King intends his journey to Newmarket on the 12th of the next month. The removal of Sir Robert Atkins from the Bench I know your Grace hath heard, and the reason is said to be for his too publicly giving countenance to the petitions for the sitting of the Parliament. There is a flying report that Sir William Ellis and Mr. Justice Pemberton are like to have the same fate, which I cannot tell the certainty of.

LADY INCHIQUIN to the EARL OF OSSORY.

1679–80, February 11. The Hague.—I not having heard whether my last letter directed from hence to Dublin (the week after you went thither) has had the good fortune to be received by your lordship, I do again renew your trouble to let you see no distance can secure you from my inquiries and good wishes. Your charitable concern for me in my affliction is as impossible for me to forget as to acknowledge the sense I have of your favours, which encourage me to complain to your lordship that the distinction daily appears greater between those that are in favour and those that most endeavour to be so, or at least to deserve it. By this time I hope you have recovered your memory that you are my Lord of Ossory which here you had almost forgot, which you know was no small disturbance of mine. Mrs. Bentinck being with child, I am the only and constant waiter, for she has kept her chamber these two months and will most of her time; so you may judge my life, for the moment I have dined, the Princess goes to take the air till six o'clock, and three or four times a week to the French plays, which I am very weary of, and after that waiting till eleven o'clock. In short, I am with some reason very weary with this kind of life, and more so being from my Lord and friends, or indeed in a country where I may but too truly say I have not one, though I must really own great civility from all my good Lady Ossory's family, to which I shall ever own the truth of my being a very humble servant to them. Our Excellency has not yet made his entry at Paris, but thinks of doing it soon and at the same time take his leave. We have a strange

report of his having lost above 2,000 pistoles at play, but I hope it as false as most of our news is here.

When Mrs. Bentinck will wait, I have got leave to visit my friends at London and so to Tangiers, where I hope to pass next winter. This is the hardest and coldest that they say has been in twenty years; it's so uncreditable to tell you how many has died with cold or lost their eyes or joints, that I dare not name it. It now snows and freezes as if it was the first of winter; the sea at Squiffland is frozen as far as we can see, and hundreds of people walking on it every day. A month is the farthest my mistress has to reckon (if with child). It's with trouble I suspect it not so, but having the Doctors, my Aunt Howard, Mrs. Langford, and other sort of skilful women against my doubtful opinion, I dare not publicly own it, but ever shall in all places and companies the truth of being very much your lordship's servant. The chief arant of this is to tell you, as I did in my last, the treaty between the Marquis' son and my cousin is off, and that if you again design what I wish well to, I humbly and affectionately offer the service of, etc.

Postscript—My Aunt Howard according to my desire is made governess, all servants for that employment taken and all things provided. Since my poor girl's death I have changed my lodgings, which is now for the nursery, and I lie in that which was the chapel, which is now within the guard-chamber with a closet.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

Last night I was informed that my Lords of Essex, Russell and Cavendish, together with Mr. Powell, did intend to leave being Councillors. Talking with the King upon this subject this morning he told me that once they had resolved it, but that they had changed their minds. He spoke very contemptuously to me of the thing and them. The first of these lords is never wanting in doing you all the ill offices he can, and upon your recommending Gascoigne's son to the reversion of an office, the King signed it very unwillingly, saying that all offices in Ireland were in the hands of fools or children and executed by others deputed. The affair of the Chief Baron is not yet decided. I look upon it as a matter of that consequence as I think it not safe to appear in promoting of any unto it, unless I were morally certain of the ability and fidelity of the person. I think it my duty to inform you of every little thing, that, when you see the malice of your enemies, and in what they endeavour your prejudice, you may be the better able to defend yourself from them.

[*Undated, but endorsed* Received 12th Feb., 1679–80.]

HENRY COVENTRY to [EARL OF ARRAN].

1679–80, February 14. Whitehall.—Your lordship's of the 31st January I have received and am very sorry my Lord

Duke's gout detaineth him so long. This post will bring him the orders for the sending four more companies for Tangier which I hinted in my last. They must be entire companies and taken out of any part of the army my Lord Lieutenant shall think fitting, excepting the Scotch Regiment. I hope the mistake of the word regiment or regiments will not misguide you. The clerk that drew the letter, not knowing that the companies in Ireland were not generally regimental, used the term regiment, but His Majesty's meaning is that my lord should choose whatsoever company he thinketh fitting, the Scotch Regiment excepted. The *Gazette* will tell you as much news of me as I can. As to the Chief Baron I find now Baron Henn will be the man, and as I perceive by the recommendation of my Lord President, whether the other recommended by you will come in his place I know not, but I gave his name to His Majesty, who seemed at that time pretty indifferent, but he is much unknown here. The Duke of York is hourly expected here, the wind having been fair some days, though we have no certain news when they arrived at Leith. My most humble service to my Lord Duke and my Lady Duchess. I shall shortly be at leisure to remember her health upon her own marble table, where my office is like to be held hereafter.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, February 14. London.—Sir Lionel Jenkins was sworn the last Council day of the Privy Council, His Majesty at the same time declaring that he had given Mr. Secretary Coventry leave (after a great deal of importunity) to part with his place to him, but that he was not to do it till towards Lady-Day. Sir Thomas Lea hath this week resigned into His Majesty's hands his employment of one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Lord Brouncker and Sir Thomas Littleton are since added into that commission.

Sir Robert Atkins is lately removed from the Bench and Mr. Sergeant Weston fills up the place. Mr. Justice Pemberton hath likewise his quietus sent him. None yet supplies his place, and it is thought will not till the next term, though Sir John Keeling, son to the former Lord Chief Justice Keeling, is believed to stand fairest for the vacancy.

I presume the printed news will inform your Grace of the acquittal of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, and the Lady Powis being released upon bail. Thursday being likewise the last day of the term, the Grand Jury found the bill against one Mr. Christian, O'Brien, Blood and some others for a contrivance of endeavouring to suborn witnesses against the Duke of Buckingham.

His Majesty having been at Windsor for two days and returning this afternoon, the Council was adjourned from Friday to this day, when the Committee for Affairs of Ireland was appointed to sit on Tuesday morning next, and

I by the favour of your Grace am appointed to attend it, but my brother Sir John Nicholas who is in waiting at present in the Council is joined with me, though I intend with all the industry I have to apply myself wholly to that business and the obedience of your Grace's commands in that affair. The wind hath been so favourable that His Highness is very suddenly expected in the river: several of his servants is going down the river to-day in hopes of meeting him.

This day the Lord Stourton and Lord Hunsdon being summoned before the Council and asked whether they would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, said they were advised by very good counsel that the oath of supremacy was not to be tendered to them but by the House of Lords; which though the Lord Chancellor overruled, yet they were ordered to attend the next Council day, and nothing farther done in it at present.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679–80, February 14. Dublin.—This is the first letter I have gone about to send in my own hand this month. I cannot imagine how anybody can find his account in the change you mention in yours of the 7th, but least of all the King's, for he in place of a steady faithful servant and uncorrupt minister will have one of contrary qualifications, and that to his own knowledge. I have seen the return you had out of Holland, by this time I presume you know more. I cannot express how much I am troubled at Secretary Coventry's retreat. If either Mr. Hyde or Sir Lionel Jenkins come into his place and I might be directed to correspond with either of them [I might do so] almost with the same freedom and confidence; but Ireland is usually the eldest secretary's province, and I would not by any motion from me either injure or displease my Lord of Sunderland, but it will be necessary I should soon know into whose hands all the public despatches concerning this place will be put.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, February 17. London.—There having been no Council met since the last post day I can give your Grace but a slender account from thence. The Committee for regulating the Justices of the Peace sat on Monday and perfected the lists of all the counties which are to be despatched immediately, the circuits being already appointed. All persons both Lords and Commons who promoted the petition are left out. The Committee for Affairs of Ireland met this morning, where was read about half the number of papers of examination relating to the Earl of Tyrone which were remitted by your Grace to Mr. Secretary Coventry, and have appointed to meet on Friday next in the afternoon to go through with the rest of the examinations.

I presume your Grace will hear (from his own hands) the intended employment of my predecessor and your Grace's faithful servant, Sir Robert Southwell, to the Elector of Brandenburgh; his instructions are preparing, and it is designed he should begin his voyage the beginning of next week. There is yet no certain account when His Highness left Scotland, but the nearest guess is that he embarked there on Monday last.

M. Drelincourt to the Earl of Ossory.

1679–80, February 19. Oxford.—Je supplie vôtre grandeur d'agreer la liberté que je prends à present de l'assurer de la tres parfaite santé de Monsieur son aymable fils, et de la bonne disposition ou il continue dêtre à touts égards. Il y a du temps, Monseigneur, qu'il est devenu tres matinal, n'etant jamais au lit apres cinq heures et demyes. Il prend beaucoup plus d'exercis à pied et à cheval qu'il n'a jamais fait auparavant. Sa taille est assurement plus belle et plus grande depuis que vôtre grandeur ne l'a veu, et il fait tres jolyment son devoir: il est généreux, civil et honeste à chacun, aymé et chery de touts. Comme je l'exhorte souvent à ne point faire d'affront à personne, aussy je luy inspire a n'en point prendre de qui que ce soit, et je vois que c'est la entierement son humeur; et il y a grande esperance, monseigneur, qu'il sera un jour un tres honeste et un tres galant homme, et comme je me flatte aussy un tres bon soldat, car il a du cœur et il devient a veue d'œil extremement fort et robuste et a beaucoup de jugement et de conduite pour son age: mais j'ajouteray avec le respect que je dois que quand M. le Duc trouvera a propos de le tirer d'icy, que l'academie et le beau monde luy pourront faire beaucoup de bien. Je n'oserois pas en dire davantage sinon que je suis avec tout le zèle, le respect, et la passion imaginable, etc.*

Order Concerning Education of Lord Clanricarde's Grandson.

After our very hearty commendations to your Grace we did formerly by our letters of the 30th of May last recommend it to your Grace to take such security from the Earl of Clanrickarde as might hinder the education of his grandchild, the Lord Dunkellin's son, in the parts beyond the seas, in regard of the many inconveniencies that might happen by his being sent abroad so young. And taking into consideration that the said child is now arrived to an age capable of being instructed as well in the principles of religion as in other good learning, and that the neglect thereof may give occasion to his said grandfather to take him from his mother and to bring him up in the Roman Catholic religion, which His Majesty being desirous by all means possible to have

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

prevented, hath commanded us to signify the same to your Grace and the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council there. And once more effectually to recommend it to you (as we do hereby) to take care that the said child be educated in the Protestant religion, and in order thereunto that you cause him to be placed in the house of one of the bishops of that kingdom to be carefully instructed and bred up in the doctrine of the Church of Ireland. And to use your utmost endeavours with the said Earl of Clanrickard to make such allowance for the support of his said grandchild and charge of his education as is answerable to the relation he hath to his lordship. And so nothing doubting of your more than ordinary care in this affair, we bid you very heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the 20th day of February, 1679–80.

Your Grace's very loving friends,

Finch C., Anglesey c.p.s., Radnor, Bridgewater, H. London, Henry Coventry, L. Hyde, L. Jenkins, Ffra. North, S. Godolphin, John Nicholas.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679–80, February 21. Whitehall.—Since my last to my Lord of Arran there hath been another Committee for Irish Affairs where all the papers concerning the Earl of Tyrone and Lord Brittas were read, and though the particulars have not yet been thoroughly debated, yet I found the Committee generally surprised to find that several witnesses making depositions of so great a crime as designing an invasion of His Majesty's kingdom by the French and surprisal of his town of Limerick, etc., nevertheless the persons accused are suffered to be bailed, and therefore were all of opinion that His Majesty should command me to write to your Grace that the persons accused may be all secured in order to their speedy trial, the opinion of the Board being that the accusations import high treason. Accordingly by His Majesty's command I am to require of your Grace that the persons bailed be immediately taken into custody and there detained till released by due course of law, and that in the meantime all things should be prepared for their trial and that with convenient expedition. Possibly by the next post I shall have something more particular for your Grace and Council than I have at present, but the informations sent up by you are looked upon here as of great importance. We are every day in expectation of His Royal Highness and Duchess. All things are at present in quiet, and we think people's minds rather incline to a calm than storm. The Commissioners of the Admiralty tell me they have sent order to their Clerk of the Cheque to provide passages for the soldiers for Tangier, if so be they should be there before this convoy part.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679–80, February 21.—Having received from Mr. Evelyn the enclosed, which by Sir Stephen Fox, who was once about purchasing the house mentioned in it, I do find to be a very great bargain, and the sum demanded not very considerable, besides a moral certainty if the times be quiet that at any time it may be parted with at advantage, I thought it not amiss to send you the proposal, the conveniency and, indeed, decency of your having an abode in England, if your affairs can permit your laying out so much money, having inclined me to make this step, which, if proceeded in, I doubt not but you will be satisfied of the price and the good repair that both house and gardens are in.

I am desired to entreat your favour in some affairs of Sir Richard Bellings which I did undertake for, as far as consisted with forms and your power to assist him. By conjectures of the wind since Monday last, which was the day the Duke embarked, we expect him to-morrow or next day. I am extreme sorry that you have been so much troubled with the gout. I wish you a perfect recovery and all happiness. [Encloses the letter and note following.]

John Evelyn to the Earl of Ossory.

1679–80, February 14.—I am extremely sorry for my Lord Duke's sake but especially for your lordship's that you reject the opportunity is presented to you for the purchasing of that sweet place at Chelsey upon so easy terms, because I am certain that if ever the times should settle into any tolerable composure it will not lie upon their hands who have interest in it for a much more considerable sum that what is now demanded for it, and that then it may not possibly be in my power to serve your lordship as now it is. I have formerly acquainted your lordship with the particulars, that besides a magnificent house capable of being made (with small expense) perfectly modish, the offices, gardens and other accomodations for air, water, situation, vicinity to London, benefit of the river and mediocrity of price are nowhere to be paralleled I am sure about this town or any that I know in England. There are with it to be added as many orange trees and other precious greens as are worth 500*l.*; the fruits of the gardens are exquisite; there is a snow-house—in a word I know of no place more capable of being made the envy of all the noble retreats of the greatest persons near this Court and city, so that it ever grieves me your lordship should not be master of it. I almost forgot to tell your lordship that there is near one hundred pounds a year in good tenements under rented, so as upon the matter I do not esteem your lordship gives above 3,500*l.* for the whole, which really is not above a third part of what it would sell in other circumstances. Not one argument of all this would

I use to your lordship after what your lordship has communicated to me since you writ into Ireland (where my Lord Duke cannot have so perfect a notion of it as your lordship who is so near it every day) but because methinks I cannot have acquitted myself of the many obligations I remain under to your lordship without making your lordship this second offer of my service, whilst it is in my power.

A Particular of Chelsey House.

There belongs to Chelsey House sixteen acres of ground with several large gardens and courts all walled in and planted with the choicest fruits that could be collected either from abroad or in England. The whole house is in perfect good repair. The apartments altered according to the mode, my Lord of Bristol having laid out upon it 2,000*l*. The outhousing is very good, ample and commodious, and all the offices supplied with excellent water. The tenements belonging to it are now let for 100*l*. per annum, and may very considerably be improved as the leases expire. The purchase was at first 7,000*l*.

For this particular with the addition of all orange trees and other greens, fruit and flowers of all kinds, with seats, rollers, tables and all garden utensils. Also within the house all fixed necessaries as grates, chimney pieces and wainscot, the billiard table and a pair of marble tables and house clock, there will be paid 5,000*l*.

Thus offered 26th June, 1679. By Sir Stephen Fox.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679–80, February 24.—I received yours of the 14th with much satisfaction to find your fit of the gout beginning to leave you. Of the affair of the Chancellorship I have not heard a word more, perhaps it was a false report or a wrong information. I always tell you what I hear and my authors, but will not be answerable for the truth of my informations. I think without undecency you cannot put by my Lord of Sunderland from the affairs of Ireland, and since that is his portion I think the soonest and civillest advances to be best. In this Sir Robert Southwell's and my opinion go together. Of what we owe to that worthy friend I need not use arguments to persuade you, having found him so useful on all occasions. The King has remitted him his quit-rents in Ireland, which amount to about seventy pounds a year. The King's letter, with the usual forms from the Lords of the Treasury, will shortly be sent you, and I hope you will let him see how joyful and ready you will be to despatch anything of good relating to him. The Duke and Duchess arrived here in good health. The King met them at the stairs' foot just as they came out of their barges. My humble opinion is that to His Royal Highness you would write him a letter of compliment on this occasion.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, February 24. London.—I was so afflicted with a defluxion of rheum on my eye that it made me incapable of paying my duty to your Grace by the last post, for which omission this humbly begs pardon. I presume your Grace received the Order of Council relating to the trial of the Earl of Tyrone, Lord Brittas, etc., from Mr. Secretary Coventry by the last post, which is all hath been done by the Committee for Affairs of Ireland these two meetings. Last night His Royal Highness and the Duchess landed at Deptford, where they were attended this morning by a great many of the best quality, and came about three o'clock this afternoon to Whitehall.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, February 28. London.—I have inclosed presented your Grace with a full account of the whole proceedings of the Committee for Suppressing Popery, a copy of which is ordered to be delivered to the judges before their circuits, that in their charges they may encourage the justices to proceed to the convicting, and the juries to find the estates of such as are convicted for being Popish recusants, in order to the levying the penalties the law requires. The Lord Sunderland, Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin (who are at present our triumvirate) are very diligent in promoting this prosecution of the Papists, and lest the world might be apt to think it should slacken upon the arrival of the Duke, they have lately been more pressing than ordinary for the expediting both of the commissions which are several of them sent out already and of all other things relating to the putting the laws in execution against the Popish dissenters.

This week, the night after the Duke's coming to town, Sir John Coventry was so unfortunately drunk that at a great coffee house in the city he publicly spoke very rude and barbarous words reflecting on His Highness. The words are said to be these:—That the Duke was a Papist and a traitor, and that he would prove him one, for which a prosecution against Sir John Coventry is daily expected, though there hath no progress been made in it yet as I can hear of. This week hath likewise been very unhappy in quarrels, in one of which Mr. Henry Wharton, a third son of Lord Wharton, is so dangerously wounded that he is more like to die than to live. But another quarrel which nearer concerns your Grace was decided this morning in which the Lord Plymouth and Sir George Hewit were principals and the Lord Cavendish second to Sir George, as the Lord Mordant was to my Lord Plymouth. The Lord Mordant is wounded in the breast, but without any apprehension of his being in danger, which very happily is all the hurt that was done. Sir Robert Southwell begins his journey to Brandenburgh on Monday or Tuesday next. [*Encloses the following paper.*]

Account of the Proceedings of the Committee for Suppressing Popery.

December 19, 1479.—His Majesty out of his continual care of the Protestant religion having thought fit to appoint a committee of the Lords of his Privy Council to consider of the most effectual means for putting the laws in execution against the Papists and for suppression of Popery. And their lordships having at several times met and reported their opinions in this behalf to His Majesty in Council, the Justices of the Peace of Middlesex and Westminster have received orders in pursuance of the late proclamation against Papists residing in or near London to cause lists to be forthwith taken of all housekeepers, and especially of such as let lodgings within the bills of mortality, and of all midwives, apothecaries and physicians that are Papists or suspected to be such, and have returned the lists to the Council Board for their effectual prosecution. And that no Papist may be harboured or thought to receive protection within any of His Majesty's houses, a commission is issued out to the officers of the green cloth to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and to offer the test unto all such Papists and suspected Papists as shall be found in Whitehall and the precincts thereof, who are thereupon to be proceeded against according to law. And the messengers and knight marshals' men are ordered to seize and carry them before the said officers. And a reward of ten pounds is to be paid to the discoverers of any Papist or suspected Papist who shall be harboured in any of His Majesty's houses, and the officer who harbours them shall be turned out of his place. The Justices of the Peace are likewise permitted to search Somerset House at any time in the Queen's absence, as also St. James's, for priests and Papists. And that no Popish recusant may expect any favour or connivance for their staying in town, His Majesty hath declared his resolution not to grant them any dispensations or licenses to that effect.

And for the preventing the resort of all persons to the chapels of ambassadors and foreign ministers of the Popish religion, except they be their menial servants, the Justices of the Peace are directed to impart the lists of such servants to the constables and beadles of their respective parishes, who are upon Sundays and holydays to seize all persons who shall be found unduly resorting thither that they be prosecuted according to law. A proclamation is likewise set out to warn all His Majesty's subjects of the dangers they incur by being seduced to the Popish religion, and to encourage all persons to discover those that go about to seduce them, or are seduced to that religion, as also such as are or have been bred in Popish seminaries and such others as shall send any maintenance to them.

And that no encouragement may be wanting in order to the conviction of Papists, a Privy Seal is passed to enable all

the judges to reward according to their discretions all persons that shall prosecute such Popish recusants before them to be paid out of the estates or forfeitures of those who shall be convicted by their prosecutions. And for such persons as are already imprisoned anywhere upon suspicion of being Popish priests, it is further ordered that they be forthwith prosecuted to an attainder.

And whereas the Lords of the Committee have received copies of the lists of the Papists and reputed Papists of England and Wales which had been lodged in the House of Commons by the knights of the respective shires, the Lord Chancellor is directed to cause commissions to be forthwith prepared in which the said lists are to be inserted, impowering and requiring the justices of the peace of each county to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the persons particularly named therein, and upon their refusal to proceed against them according to law in order to their speedy conviction. Which commissions are accompanied not only with special instructions for the better direction of the said justices herein, but also with letters from the Council Board requiring and encouraging them diligently to execute the said commissions and to return an account of their proceedings in pursuance thereof, as also to send up the names of all others whom they shall know or suspect to be Papists not mentioned in the said commissions.

And the lists of some counties having been formerly withdrawn or not delivered to the clerk of the House of Commons, letters are written from the Lords of the Council to the knights of the shires who served in Parliament at that time to remit them to the Council Board, that thereupon commissions may be prepared in like manner as is already directed in respect of the other counties.

Memorandum. A letter being received from the Clerk of the Peace of Lancashire complaining of the neglect of four of the Justices of the Peace in prosecuting Papists, and the same being transmitted to the Council Board, the said justices were ordered to attend the Board, and having been accordingly examined upon the matters laid to their charge, Mr. Serjeant Rigby appearing more faulty than the rest was put out of the Commission of the Peace. Lists are likewise delivered to the judges of each circuit which are copies of the names of the persons mentioned in the commissions (for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy) by which the said judges in their circuits may see the commissions put in execution against every particular person mentioned in the said lists. Her Majesty hath likewise sent in a list signed by the Earl of Ossory, her chamberlain, of the nine Roman Catholic servants Her Majesty entertains in her service which are the King's subjects.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679–80, February 28. Whitehall.—I have received your Grace's of the 14th instant, but have had no opportunity to have that or the Council's letter concerning the Bill of Settlement debated, but shall propose it the next Council day. As to your letter that recommends a letter for the bestowing the collector's place in all the ports of Leinster and Munster in reversion, upon perusal of it I found many things very unusual in it. First, that the giving should give a place in so many several ports without naming the ports. Secondly, that it is a reversion to so many men who are not so much as named, nor what reversions are after them which are necessarily to be specified in the patent, which for the security of the petitioners you are to be directed by the King to enquire what they are, and be they never so many to be inserted in the patent; but though this may make the grant good to the petitioners, yet there is no care taken that the King shall know what kind of reversion he granteth —whether a reversion after two, three, or twenty lives, and in all grants the King ought to be informed what he grants. The next is that there is no account given of the merits of these two men. Why a grant that never, as far as I can hear of, passed before of the most considerable part of the ports of Ireland should be given them, and by a reversion, nobody here knoweth how distant. In conclusion, after His Majesty having lately complained of reversions, immediately to offer him a reversion of so unprecedented a nature as this, I could not in my own judgment think at all convenient. Therefore I showed it my Lord of Ossory and desired him to take my Lord Chamberlain's opinion upon it, which, as he telleth me, is the same with mine; so I have thought fitting not to present it till I hear farther from your Grace. Your other recommendation for the Chirurgeon's place I shall despatch as soon as possible.

I have already pressed both the Commissioners for Tangier and the Commissioners of the Treasury to adjust speedily the manner how the payment for the Irish Tangier soldiers shall be directed. They have both promised to make all haste in it.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, March 2. London.—The Committee for Suppressing Popery, etc., met yesterday in the afternoon, at which His Majesty was present, where the first thing considered of was an order to the Attorney General to inquire into the most effective ways of putting the Act for Purging and Regulating Corporations in execution. There were likewise some proposals brought in by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for the making better inquisition into the estates of Popish recusants and the better levying penalties when the estates are found, in order to which they recommend that

there may be a Receiver General for every two or three counties, who is likewise to be the solicitor and supervisor of the inquisitions and to have the care of paying in the forfeitures into the Exchequer. The commissions for tendering the oath of supremacy and the instructions which I gave your Grace an account of by the last are already gone out for sixteen counties, and commissions for all the remaining counties will be sent down to them by the latter end of this month.

The Duke hath been graciously pleased (upon the earnest intercession and importunity of Mr. Secretary Coventry and Mr. Seymour) to pass by the imprudence of Sir John Coventry which I gave your Grace intimation of in my last, so that the prosecution is ceased.

This evening at the Committee of Tangier there was mention made (as a piece of news which came to the Admiralty) that when the late ships came to Kinsale to receive the four companies to be transported to the garrison of Tangier, the companies were not ready at the place and some not removed out of their quarters at Dublin—which relating to Ireland I could not omit giving your Grace an account of.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1679–80, March 2. Dublin Castle.—My Lord Longford, by advice with Mr. Solicitor General, finding since his arrival here that his patent for the government of Carrickfergus which was passed while he was in England is defective in many particulars, there being no express mention made in it of the precincts and bounds of the said government, nor the Admiralty of Lough Neagh inserted which was granted to Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Baron of Belfast, to Edward Lord Viscount Carrickfergus, and to Arthur Earl of Donegal successively in their patents for the said government: and it appearing by the general words in His Majesty's letters for granting the same government of Carrickfergus to my Lord Longford, as also in his patent passed upon it, that it was His Majesty's intention his lordship should enjoy and hold the said government with as ample privileges, powers and authorities as it has been at any time granted to any former governors: to prevent, therefore, any disputes that may hereafter happen for want of particularly mentioning the exact precincts and bounds of the said government and of the aforesaid Admiralty of Lough Neagh, at his lordship's request and for the justice I conceive of his pretension I send you the enclosed draught of a letter for his lordship's passing a new patent of the said government prepared by Mr. Solicitor General, and I am the rather induced to recommend it to His Majesty because it brings no new charge to the establishment, nor is any other advantage to his lordship than a mark of His Majesty's favour which, I conceive, the zeal which he upon all occasions shews in His Majesty's service deserves.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, March 6. London.—His Majesty was pleased to declare last night (at the Council) his intentions of having a Parliament meet in Ireland before the latter end of May, and I presume your Grace will receive the signification of His Majesty's pleasure by this post for the preparing of bills against that time. The next month of April is my turn to attend wholly, by which means I shall be the more capable of receiving your Grace's commands. The King intends to go to Newmarket on Wednesday next, and hath in order to it appointed Tuesday to be the next Council day. Sir Robert Southwell embarked on Tuesday last for The Hague.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

Mr. Secretary Coventry showed me a letter which you desired to have sent from the King in behalf of Robert Higgins and John Drury for reversions of customers' places in the provinces of Leinster and Munster. He told me that he thought it a service to you not to propose it to His Majesty, having upon occasions of the like grants showed an averseness, and having unwillingly signed the last, saying that all places were clogged with survivances, by which reason many of them were in the hands of insufficient persons. He further adds that this draught is of a general nature, not confining it to any particular places, but gives a latitude of bestowing all within the provinces mentioned, which he observes not to have been usual. As I am far from not wishing that you should oblige as many as you can, so I should be sorry that any of your requests should be unacceptable to the King, or that they might have in them wherewithal to furnish your enemies matter of exception, though I doubt not but my Lord of Sunderland will carry himself fairly towards you; yet I think you ought to be more cautious in your despatches than when you had to deal with so worthy and so experienced a friend as his predecessor has always been to you and yours. I presume to send you the copy of that letter because it seems to him and me not according to former precedents, and your secretary is faulty if he offers you papers not according to method, it being impossible for you to read all those punctually that you sign or transmit. I beg your pardon if I am impertinent. I think it better failing on that side than in omitting to give you notice of things which I think may be necessary for your knowledge. I am extreme glad to find that you are abroad and so well recovered; may your health be well established and continue long. The place of Chief Baron, I hear, is disposed of to Baron Henn. I am told Sir Richard Kennedy is dying; if that report be true the former succeeding him, by what they say of Henn he would be a gainer by what he has already, and he's better by being first than Chief Baron,

since there may be danger of his losing that place by reason of his insufficiency. Sir Richard Stephens you were pleased to command me to serve upon all occasions; if in this juncture it be acceptable to you I will endeavour his preferment according as I shall receive your directions.

[*Undated, but endorsed* "Received March 6, 1679–80."]

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1679–80, March 6th. Whitehall.—I have since my last to your Grace got the two letters from your Grace and Council read at the Board yesterday. They would not at all meddle with the desires of Peter Talbot, but laid it totally aside. To the other of the Bill of Settlement I find them still of an opinion against that Bill, but as I before hinted to your Grace if you shall find upon the meeting of the Parliament that there is a desire to have such a Bill and upon what terms, your Grace and the Council would transmit it hither. But there are so many different opinions concerning the last Bill that cause such different opinions in those of the Council that pretend to understand the affairs of Ireland, but they do desire the other bills may be hastened over with all expedition that they may be returned to you by the end of May without fiat. There is an order drawn up to that purpose, but it being in mine and others' judgment not so expressive of the result of the Council as it should be, I defer the sending of it till next Tuesday. I send your Grace a letter this post in recommendation of Doctor Sall, who is coming over to you into Ireland. It is by the King's command, who hath been earnestly pressed by the Bishops of Canterbury and London. On Wednesday next their Majesties, Duke and Court go to Newmarket. At his return, if not before, I shall betake myself to my retreat.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, March 9th. London.—This day at Council there were some alterations made in the order which was to be transmitted to your Grace relating to the preparing of the Bills for the meeting of the Parliament. The chiefest was that though His Majesty had been pleased in Council to lay aside the Act of Settlement which was sent out of Ireland, yet that he would be very ready to agree to any other which should be transmitted from thence which should be for the public good, peace and quiet of his subjects there. Mention was likewise made in the order of a bill to be prepared to hinder Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament in the manner as the Act now stands here. In all other things and as to the time of sitting it is the same with the former. But I suppose the order will be transmitted to your Grace by this same post. The last Council day a petition of Coppinger was read complaining against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, which about three weeks ago was referred to your

Grace and the Council of Ireland absolutely, but now there is an order that the Lord Chancellor shall give his answer to the complaint which is to be transmitted to this Board.

Last night the Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Clayton, invited His Majesty and His Royal Highness to an entertainment at his house in the city, where the bonfires, bells and loud acclamations of the multitude testified the joy and loyalty of the citizens of London. But His Majesty hath not so good an opinion of those of the city of York, for this day in Council he commanded Mr. Attorney General to inquire whether they have made any such slips as might forfeit their charter or any other way bring them under the power of the laws.

To-morrow morning His Majesty intends his journey to Newmarket together with the Queen, the Duke and Duchess of Portsmouth. The Duchess of York, not being very well after her voyage out of Scotland, resolving to stay at St. James's till their return which is intended to be the first week in April.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679–80, March 9. Whitehall.—His Majesty having taken particular notice of the great labour and study of Andrew Sall, Doctor in Divinity, and one of His Majesty's chaplains, about several books in defence of our Church and doctrine, and of his intention to continue the like industry; and also considering the infirmities that are fallen upon him as well by his said labour and studies as by his age, hath commanded me to signify his pleasure on the said doctor's behalf, that in regard of his learning and pains your Grace will be pleased to confer upon him the first good deanery in Ireland that shall become vacant; and in regard of his infirmities and for his encouragement to continue his said studies that your Grace take effectual care that during his life he may have the use of those lodgings in His Majesty's College near Dublin whereof he was in possession when he was there last; and also that he have the liberty of bringing from the public library of that college to his chamber such books as he shall from time to time have occasion to use for his works in hand, he giving security to restore the same safely to the library again, which favour he says he formerly enjoyed when he first came to live in that college. And lastly that he be obliged to no duties or assistances for the use of the said lodgings and books more than he shall freely give according as the condition of his health and employment shall permit him. This is what I had direction to write to your Grace in favour of the said Doctor Sall, wherewith your Grace will comply as far as you see good cause, or otherwise return your opinion upon all or any of the particulars above mentioned. If so, I know not whether it may come to my hand, but, however, the matter shall go, I shall remain always, etc.

SIR ROBERT SOUTHWELL to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679–80, March 10th. By his Grace's command.—I am commanded by his Grace to tell your lordship that he cannot yet write to you himself, and that he hath given thanks to Mr. Secretary Coventry for not offering to His Majesty's signature the draught of a letter which he had recommended to him for that purpose. As to the house at Chelsey, how good soever the bargain may be, the purchase he says is not agreeable to his condition, and he wonders that he hears nothing of the state of your lordship's affairs in Holland.

He is much satisfied with the relation of Monsieur Drelincourt of your son, and agrees that it will be shortly time to put him into another way of education, and therefore it will be fit to consider under what government to put him, The fittest time for his going abroad will be next autumn, before which time you may fix upon such as may be fit to attend upon him. This is all for the present, only that his Grace thinks Paris the proper place for him to go first unto.

MR. ELLIS to EARL OF OSSORY.

1679–80, March 13. London.—Going to see the Bishop of Rochester, who is very much a servant of your lordship and your family, he spoke to me of a business which he presumed your lordship might not be displeased to take some cognizance of. Dr. Andrew Sall, who was a man of great reputation amongst the Roman Catholics, having been a professor in their universities many years, and a man of great learning, came over to the Church of England in the time of the Earl of Essex's government, who gave him a living just sufficient for his subsistence, which he, as a disinterested person, was contented with. The Roman Catholics, being exceeding angry with him, he came into England for his safety, and being ancient and sedentary was some time since seized with a rheumatism, which has taken from him the use of his legs, and made him a very helpless man. Not long since the Chancellor of Ireland, being advised that Dr. Sall was dead here, gave away the living he had to another, and it has cost him a year's revenue to get that man out again, which accident added to his other misfortunes has almost utterly ruined him, and now fearing from what is past that he shall have for the future but a very ill account of the only means he has to subsist on, he finds no remedy to prevent starving here but with what hazard soever to return to Ireland, if yet his indisposition of body will suffer him to make the journey, unless his condition might be made known by some good hand to his Grace, who he believes is not advised of it at present, that so his Grace may please to give order that the revenue of his living may be punctually received and transmitted to him for his maintenance. Dr. Sall, as the bishop says, is looked upon as the most considerable man for learning and sincerity that ever came over from the Church

of Rome to ours, and therefore it would give great satisfaction to many men to see that such a convert should meet with all encouragement here, especially in the government of the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and does humbly conceive your lordship might be pleased, if you were acquainted with his case, to recommend him to his Grace's favour, which the bishop having said to me, with intent, as I suppose, that I should give your lordship some account of it, I have taken the liberty of doing it, humbly submitting it to your lordship's consideration.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, March 13. London.—It was yesterday ordered that the Council shall meet but once a week, that is on Fridays, till His Majesty's return from Newmarket. There was likewise then an order made in reference to the petitions of Coppinger against the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, that the said Lord Chancellor should return his answer to both the said petitions to the Board, although the first petition was otherwise disposed of, as I gave your Grace an account formerly. The way of management of this affair and the persons concerned in the management of it makes me imagine (with submission) that there is something more than bare justice, or kindness to Coppinger in the bottom of it. The order relating to the trial of the Earl of Tyrone, which I formerly mentioned to your Grace, was stopped and some alteration made in it by the committee this day, which I suppose will be an order the next Council. The effect of it as it stands now is that your Grace shall cause the persons accused for the Plot (and who now are committed by order of the Board) to be brought to their trials with all convenient speed, and that the peers be tried first.

Here is a discourse that there lately seems to be some misunderstanding between the Duke of Lauderdale and the Lord Sunderland, which is said to have proceeded so far that it is thought the two persons of the greatest interest here are concerned in it, each for their particular friend.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1679–80, March 15. Newmarket.—I here send you enclosed Mr. Secretary's letter which will inform you at length of the grounds upon which my recommendation of Doctor Sall is desired. I believe now all your thoughts are taken up in sending over bills and in endeavouring to get honest men elected for the ensuing Parliament; as this will be a most important service to get moneys for the security of the kingdom and to have its condition settled, so you may be sure much industry will be used to hinder your compassing these ends: one lord who uses all his crafts to reflect on your Government, out of hopes I certainly know that he entertains

of obtaining it himself—will do all he can by his friends there to hinder supply, hoping from thence that a necessity of his parts and interests will procure him what he does so much long after. Whensoever you think it fitting that I should wait upon you, I shall be ready upon very short notice of your pleasure. The conduct of my Lord Candish I cannot enough admire, coming hither after his leaving the Council, and being here several days and in the rooms, where he met the Duke and never took notice of him or went to kiss his hand, as the other three that quit with him have done. The King has commanded him from his presence, since which time, though he be here yet, I have not seen him since. When the Duke was in Flanders he desired me to make from him all the professions of duty and respect that could be, and he approved of my letter, having shewed it him before I sent it, upon which he had a very kind return, and without any manner or colour of disgust he has applied himself perpetually to the Duke of Monmouth, with whom you may remember with reason he was much dissatisfied, and behaved himself towards the Duke, who was always kind to him, at the rate I have here mentioned. Since our being here my Lord of Shaftesbury sent word to the Mayor that he would bring the Duke of Monmouth to him to dinner, which he civilly excused; but being a second time pressed, the Lord Mayor replied that if the Duke of Monmouth came in at one door he would get out at another.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1679–80, March 16. Whitehall.—Your Grace's of the 9th of March I have received, and heartily condole the length of your gout, but congratulate you the gentleness of it. I am providing against mine and shall shortly have leisure to lie a-bed. I shall not fail to acquaint the Council with the contents of your letter to-morrow, but His Majesty is at Newmarket, where he hath had very cold weather. As to the letter I received from you in favour of my Lord Longford, I have written to him at large about it, and I doubt not he will acquaint your Grace with it. We have at present a great calm at land though very stormy at sea—nothing of news from abroad or at home; when and where our mighty neighbour will break this calm we know not, but the greatest appearance is for Italy.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1679–80, March 20. London.—His Majesty and most of the Court being at present at Newmarket, this place affords very little worth your Grace's perusal. There was a Council held yesterday where most of the business was concerning private affairs only, an order for Mr. Secretary Coventry to move His Majesty for the naming a High Steward for the trial of the Earl of Tyrone and Lord Brittas. The Lord

Cavendish was forbid His Majesty's presence at Newmarket, but I cannot yet find that there hath been any late occasion for it. The Duchess of Modena is daily expected here, and the Duke of York intends to be here on Monday from Newmarket, whither he speedily returns again. It is believed this weather if it continues will invite His Majesty to stay at Newmarket till the third of April, which is longer than was imagined. The Earl of Sunderland came to the King on Wednesday last, having been for this week at his home in Northamptonshire, which had occasioned a great many false reports about the town.

CAPTAIN JOHN BAXTER to the DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1679–80, March 20. [Kilkenny]—Yesterday the Lord Granard's servant came hither with seven score five trees of which care is taken according to your Grace's commands, and forty shillings given to those that brought them. They were five days coming hither with them. I have had three fair days since Wednesday last, and three or four more will make up the wall that fell, and will also do what was not done before, which is to get on a water table and a breast wall fit for the coping stones, which will make that wall pleasant to the eye. His Grace's apartment is now solely under Massy, who hath many hands at work to finish it, and very diligent to have it finished by the time limited. The sashes for the windows are all made, but not got up. The Court will look much better than when your Grace was here when the new pavement is finished, which will be done in a fortnight of fair weather. On Monday or Tuesday next the marble piers by the grotto will be got up, which could not be carried through the bowling green until this dry weather came in. I believe the like were not seen in this kingdom heretofore.

The marble chimney-piece for his Grace's bed-chamber is ready to be got up, and there is nothing that can hinder the completing of his Grace's apartment but the want of the stone door-case, which is not yet all come hither. The flags for the lobby to the garden are all ready to be laid, but Joseph will not consent to lay them till the doorcase is set up; the place is ready for it, only two foot of the outside wall stands yet unbroken, as your Grace commanded.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1679–80, March 23rd. London.—I lately received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 9th instant, and shall upon all occasions endeavour faithfully to give intimation of all things that occur to me which may be of service to your Grace. The account from your Grace and Council of the trial of the Earl of Tyrone was yesterday delivered by Mr. Secretary Coventry and read at Council.

There being an extraordinary Council called upon this following occasion, which was an information sent by Mr. Justice Dewey to Mr. Secretary Coventry of several thousand apprentices who had set their names down in a list in which they engaged themselves to meet altogether on the 29th of May and burn the Rump (as they called it), the examination of it came in the afternoon before the Board, where were only brought about ten boys, who confessed they had subscribed their names to such a paper, and all of them agreed it was at the instigation of one Alford, a bell-founder in the City, who they called Captain, and likewise said that he told them he had four or five thousand more that would join with them, and that His Majesty would give them leave to do it as soon as he came from Newmarket. Alford was taken last night by the Lord Mayor, and will be brought to-morrow (which is appointed a Council upon the same occasion) before the Board. It is discoursed that a stranger hath often been at their meetings, and paid their reckonings for them himself; but that as yet is not proved, though it induces their lordships to be more strict in the inquiry into the bottom of it, and to examine whether there be not something behind the curtain more than their boyish recreation.

Last night His Royal Highness came from Newmarket and was this morning complimented by the Lord Mayor. The Duchess of Modena arrived likewise this day, who intends but a very short stay, and the Duke designs being with the King again on Saturday next. The University of Cambridge last Sunday made their compliments to the King and Duke, though there hath been some disputes among them, and endeavours to divert them from the latter.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1679–80, March 23. Dublin.—I have yours of the 15th from Newmarket, but doubt you had not received your brother's written by my direction until after the Duke was gone from thence. You will as soon as you can perform that duty for me. I do not wish that unknowing and unthinking men should take tales on trust when I find the Bishop of Rochester could imagine that my Lord Primate would, if he could, take any advantage of Dr. Sall's absence to suspend or seize upon his livings, or that he would dispose of them upon a rumour of his death till he had very authentic assurance of it. The truth is the poor man, for want of knowledge of such affairs and for want of honesty in those he trusted, has been miserably cheated, and that I doubt by his brother. My Lord Primate will himself satisfy the Bishop of Rochester. I am able to write no longer.

Ormond to Earl of Sunderland.

1680, March 31.—Yours of the 12th of this month came not to my hands till the 28th with other letters of a fresher date,

which I mention that your lordship may not suspect it was possible for me to lose any time to make a suitable return to so obliging an instance of your favour and to so desirable a thing as the advantage of your friendship which you are pleased to offer. I had upon the first notice of Mr. Secretary Coventry's dismission congratulated your lordship's succeeding him, and the correspondence it must introduce betwixt your lordship and me, but I have till now very lately wanted the use of my right hand, with which and with great sincerity of heart I do now profess myself desirous to show myself, etc.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, March 31.—I forgot to tell you in my last that I had seen yours to your brother, and the Prince of Orange's to you. That of the Prince is so passionately obliging that I know not how you can quit his service in good nature so long as he can think you useful to him. Yet I think you ought to find some fit means to let him know how much the world is mistaken in the opulence of your family and that such sums as must be spent answerable to your quality and post do incommode you.

We are here labouring at the bills now sent for in much haste out of England in order to the calling of a Parliament here, and if I should now hesitate or appear less confident of success in it, it would be remembered how earnest I have been for a Parliament ever since I last landed here, but it would not be considered what changes have happened since, nor how since those changes I have slackened my pursuits. I shall, therefore, as soon as may be send over such bills as I think proper for the conjuncture, and yet I cannot hope they will be such but that an ingenious or an interested man may make plausible objections against some parts of them either in behalf of the King or of the Protestants, or perhaps even of the Papists, rather than want something to find fault with. And how far such objections may take place coming from persons supposed to understand Ireland with others that have taken little pains to understand it and are willing to ease themselves acquiescing, is much to be doubted, especially [*illegible*] nobody on the place capable of admittance to Committees and Councils [*illegible*] for [*illegible*] particulars that may be objected against. I see the disadvantage I am like to be upon, but I know not what to propose for prevention more than that the King would suspend his judgment till [all the] objections may be put in writing and transmitted hither, or till His Majesty may be attended by some from hence able to give some account of the matter. But this is a proposition fitter perhaps to go along with the bills than to be spoken before. If it be true that the King intends to go to Windsor soon after his return from Newmarket and to stay there all the summer, I

do not think our bills will be despatched by one Council day in a week at Hampton Court. I desire to know as much as can be known of the King's purpose how and where he will dispose of himself this summer.

Henry Coventry to Ormond.

1680, April 2nd. Whitehall.—I do by this messenger send you the letter I was commanded by the Council to write to you with all the circumstances of the Plot, which hath been improved here enough to make a sufficient noise, though, in my poor opinion, the informant either can or will tell us very little unless Morphy will open more freely to whom he referreth all. He was brought to the Council by the Earl of Shaftesbury, but Serjeant Osborne hath given a very bad character of him. For the several letters recommended by your Grace, that of Kinsale I put immediately into Mr. Hyde's hands, but there not being a quorum of them in town no report could be obtained. I shall now press it afresh. That for my Lord Longford's Government is signed. That for Mr. N. is in a fair way if we can pass that unusual clause of being paid by the Farmers. The King is well disposed for it. For that of Mr. Attorney I have not yet durst to promote it, for His Majesty is so very shy of late in granting reversions that I know not how to propose one five deep. I shall advise with your best friends, and if they give me encouragement shall proceed, but the world is very captious and particularly searching into all grants that pass in Ireland, and fail not to make their remarks.

Here is a nice hub-bub among the Prentices that we cannot yet come to the bottom of it, it beareth its share in provoking jealousies and discontents.

Postscript—Three posts have stopped by reason of the Plot.

William Douglas to Earl of Arran.

1680, April 2. Clonmel.—I do not doubt but you have been informed of the trouble has arrived concerning Captain Spot's wedding, who brought a licence from the Archbishop of Cashel addressed to Dr. Ladyman, for to marry him to one Squire Dawson's daughter, but the Doctor being a sickly man could not perform it according to our desires; whereupon he writes a letter to Mr. Jonathan Brownsworth as his curate (I believe to trepan him) to officiate for him, which he very innocently did, not only to obey his vicar's desire but also to be complacent to us officers. Since which time Doctor Ladyman has sent to inform the Bishop of Waterford against him for marrying in the Diocese of Waterford without a licence and in Lent. The Bishop is so hot upon his attack that poor Mr. Brownsworth is like to be degraded; we are all very much concerned for him and have no other way for his defence but by humbly praying your lordship's assistance, and that you would be pleased to engage (if possible)

his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's favour to the end the Bishop may be stopped in his prosecution and Mr. Brownsworth remain as formerly.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 3rd. London.—The stop which was put on the two mails, which should have gone from hence the last post days, by order of the Council, prevented me paying my duty to your Grace till now. The reason of the embargo was a discovery brought before the Council by the Earl of Shaftesbury of some designs alleged to be of great danger to the kingdom of Ireland, the particulars whereof your Grace will (I presume) be better informed of by Mr. Secretary Coventry, for it was thought so great a secret that the Clerks of the Council were commanded to withdraw, which we had no reason to complain of since it was at first debated whether it should be communicated to the Council in general, and was requested by the discoverer (at least as my Lord Shaftesbury reported) that your Grace should not be made acquainted with it till some persons were brought out of Ireland. Upon these debates it was thought fit to desire His Majesty's presence here from Newmarket, and after his arrival those orders were made which your Grace will receive from Mr. Secretary Coventry.

Here hath likewise been another dangerous design as is pretended of a rising of the apprentices, who intended on the 29th of May next to burn the Rump (as they term it) in contempt of the Presbyterians, as they usually have done the Pope on other occasions. Though many honest and well-meaning men think this and the apprentices' dear delights of bonfires and ale was the bottom of this Plot, yet some that pretend to have dived farther into it report that they were animated and encouraged by some persons to this rising, and that several of the Presbyterians were to be destroyed in the tumult.

Last night Sir William Waller brought the examinations of three apprentices (who are at present in the gate-house) to the Council, in one of which it is said that one Alford (who was to have been their captain, as they termed him had told them that he had listed several thousands of apprentices, that he could command 300 or 400 pounds if there were occasion for the design of burning the Rump, and that the Guards would join with them. And farther, that Ossory (so he is pleased familiarly to call him) would assist them and encourage them in it. This, though in the highest degree ridiculous to all mankind of common understanding 'and justice, yet is made great use of by some persons who would maliciously lay an aspersion upon his lordship.

Yesterday was likewise brought before the Council an examination wherein it did appear that some agents of the Duke of Bucks (with whom Sir William Waller and one Mr.

Barnesly, another Justice of Peace, had joined) had been industriously endeavouring to suborn and corrupt one Philip Lamar, who had formerly accused the said Duke of sodomy with himself, to deny all the former accusation, and fix a design upon the Lord Danby, the Earl of Sunderland and indeed partly upon the King himself of a conspiracy of taking away the said Duke's life. The contrivance did very visibly appear by several particulars too long to trouble your Grace with, but the resolution of the Board was that Mr. Justice Barnesly is turned out of the commission, an order of Council that Lamar shall be suffered to speak or converse with no person but by order of the Board, and that Mr. Attorney General prefer a Bill of Indictment for sodomy against the said Duke to the Grand Jury as soon as possible.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, April 3rd.—You will hear many rumours spread abroad by our enemies to blast our reputations, but I hope those artifices will not take effect. The enclosed examinations Sir William Waller showed me, pretending respect, before he gave them into the Council. How these things have been enlarged in coffee-houses, saying that you and I were in a design of betraying Ireland to France, has been also discoursed; but as in all this matter they could not find any colour of probability, so I think the visible falsity of those reports have rather done us good than harm, it showing the animosity and grounds upon which our ruin is aimed at. If you can serve the King in the Parliament I hope it may be a means to frustrate the designs of those who wish not only ours but the destruction of the Crown. Mr. Thynne has written a very honest letter to my brother about his own concern. I wish he were employed with all my heart; but without disobliging my Lord of Sunderland, who professes great respects for you, I know not how you can put a person into the agency that is not in any station or that has not some relation to him. I never see Sir Cyril Wyche and know not how you are satisfied with him; at all adventures if it were practicable I wish Thynne in his room. Possibly by the next I may write you some news.

Same to Same.

1680, April 6th.—I shall not fail to acquaint my Lady Elizabeth Felton with that part of your letter which concerns her, and to give you an account how that affair is like to go. Mr. Churchill dying without a will leaves many disputes, which I think are not yet decided. If they can get you the bonds as you mention, then you will be secure upon payment from further trouble. My Lord of Sunderland desired me that you would oblige him in employing one Benson in the agency of the Irish affairs. I told him that I was confident

you would comply with him in all you could, and in this particular I hope you will gratify him ; for I do not see how it is practicable to continue Mr. Thynne, who has no station in his office. Yours, and I may presume to say the King's enemies, use all their artifices to blast our reputations. I do consult with my friends and men of the law, and if I can get any punished that way I will not be wanting in so just a vindication.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, April 8th. Whitehall.—I have very little to trouble your Grace with from hence since what I wrote you by the two messengers that went hence on Saturday, of which I should be very glad to receive an account from your Grace.

Yesterday it was moved in Council that the Earl of Ranelagh might have leave to come into England in respect of his indisposition, but it not appearing to the Board what hindrance it might be to the clearing of his accounts, it was judged expedient that your Grace's opinion should be first known upon it, and that I may not be mistaken in my orders, I here send you a copy of the original order. It was likewise moved by the Lord Privy Seal that your Grace should be written to to take off the Earl of Tyrone's bail, but it was likewise the opinion of the Board that nothing should be resolved upon in that matter till your opinion were likewise known upon it, and I was likewise ordered to write to you for it. I send you here enclosed a copy of that order.

I cannot yet get a report from the Treasury of your order for Kinsale, they being adjourned till Wednesday next, when I am promised to have it. I shall not give you many more troubles of this nature, for though I cannot name the precise day I believe it will be hardly lengthened beyond the next week ; but though I may be in a station less troublesome and less serviceabe to you than I am, I shall never be less faithful.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 10. Dublin.—After much expectation of the arrival of three packets the yacht came in and landed Sir William Petty here, who presently came to me and told me the packets were stayed by order at Holyhead till by like order they should be permitted to pass ; but he says they were not returned to London or searched, nor any person or other vessels but the packet boats under arrest. I confess I cannot comprehend for what reason an embargo should be only on the mails, and am the more to seek by what I saw in a letter from Chester of the 4th of this month, taking notice of the stop put on the packets at Holyhead, of a discovery of a Popish Irish plot before the English Council, and of the Duke of Ormond and Earl of Ossory being, as the letter terms it,

bespattered, only it brings into my memory what I heard of one Fitzgerald being sent for Ireland of a servant of Sir William Wa[ller] going with him to Bristol and discovering there Fitzgerald's being a cheat. Yet I have this day heard from Munster that he is arrived there under the tuition of two messengers of the Chamber. Putting all this together, I must suspect it is designed that the proceeding is intended to be concealed from me and from thence that something is informed against me. I know that whoever at this time shall come with a discovery in his hand must be countenanced, at least heard, and examinations given way to by the King, else it will be said great matters would have been found out if he had given way to it, which gives occasion to lament the condition he is in rather than to murmur at his compliance. Yet it is something extraordinary to have inquiry made after treasonable practices in Ireland and the Chief Governor left out, for if he be not to be trusted with that certainly he ought not to be with the kingdom. This goes by Sir Thomas Newcomen, a man I think very zealous in the King's service and a careful good officer. I would write more fully by him if I knew what [to say]. When he returns you may have the same confidence of a safe conveyance.

Two of the witnesses against the Earl of Tyrone I understand are gone into England, and I doubt not but that they will there make complaint, but whether against the Government, the judges, the jury, or against them all for the not finding the Bill, I know not. They had protection against all suits and molestation that they might attend the prosecution of their accusation, which being at an end I am told it was necessary for them to withdraw, one of them, namely McNamara, being accused for horse stealing, and the other called Hubert Bourke being liable to other suits. These are shrewd fellows; then one that calls himself Fitzgerald, a Franciscan friar that, I am told, has made much noise in England and has received countenance from a great man there. I still presume we shall be heard to anything that shall be objected against our proceeding, and therefore I say no more.

Ormond to Henry Coventry.

1680, April 10th. Dublin.—You may remember upon what account and upon what information the titular Primate was apprehended and other Popish Bishops sought for, and that I gave you notice of the apprehension of the Primate, who has ever since lain in the Castle for no other reason (known to him or to any other but myself here) than his presuming to stay here in contempt of the proclamation. I have forborne hitherto to have him examined upon the particular he is charged with, in expectation of some further light into the matter, which is of such a nature that he will certainly deny his having any part in it, and then we shall

want anything wherewith to convince him or draw any acknowledgment from him that may lead towards a discovery of the truth. I put you now again in mind of this affair, because that the person from whom the first notice came is returned into England, and that another titular Bishop is taken whose name is Creagh and is styled Bishop of Cork. Though you should be out of the secretary's place yet I hold it most proper for me to address myself to you for a signification of His Majesty's pleasure in this particular till he shall think fit to direct me otherwise.

We have notice by passengers of a stop put upon the packets at Holyhead, where there are now four that might be here, the wind standing fair. There are many conjectures made upon it, of which some reflect upon me, as if there were some great discovery to be made with which I am not fit to be trusted. A short time may let us see what the matter is. I send this by Sir Thomas Newcomen, one of the Privy Council, and a faithful servant of the King's. He says he will ride post.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, April 10th.—I received this day yours of the 31st of March, and have often reflected on those things you mentioned in it relating to a Parliament. I confess my insufficiency to offer anything tending to advise, but being encouraged by your letter I hope you will not take amiss my expressing my thoughts upon this subject so important to the King's and your interest. If you believe Ireland is not so infected with those ill humours which abound here, and that your ill wishers as well as those averse to the Government would be sorry you should have the honour of settling it, and putting it in a posture which may render it secure will not have power to prevent supplies, there is no doubt but a meeting ought to be pressed with all imaginable vigour. On the other hand, if you believe the malignity of men to be such as to prevent your good intentions, I think your safest course would be to let the King know the motives on which you have altered your mind, the many accidents which have happened since your giving that counsel affording you many reasons for such a variation. When I consider how much a Parliament doing their duty can contribute to the safety of the kingdom, and that the fault is not yours if they act otherwise, and that in such case they may be dismissed without inconveniencies visible to me of a high nature, I confess I am for the affirmative. In all events you will observe much of the behaviour of many in the army who certainly ought to be dealt withal according as they behave themselves on this occasion; that my Lord of Essex will endeavour to cross you by his friends there, to render himself necessary for your employment, and that he will use all manner of artifices to lay reproach on such bills as you transmit, is to be expected from his ingenuity.

To send Mr. Solicitor, it you rely upon him, or some able lawyer, were, I think, a better and shorter way to come to an issue than by way of replies; in one thing the King's mind were good to be soon known, which is whether he will be pleased to have anything in the bills appropriating such monies as shall be given to the use of that kingdom, or whether he will any other way signify that to be his purpose which will more easily bring him supplies. His Majesty on Monday next come sennight intends for Windsor, but will once a week come to Council at Whitehall. I do imagine committees will sit about most affairs in his absence, which I believe will continue until the middle of September at least.

Having showed my letter to my Lord Chamberlain, his opinion is that you should not move the King concerning appropriating of what shall be given otherwise than as you may be advised by the Council as a thing arising from them and not foreseen by you. He approves of Mr. Solicitor's ability, but fears by many ties as well as my Lord of Essex's late endeavouring to have him made Attorney here, that he may be induced to do you ill offices in delaying the sitting and good effects of Parliament. He advises your complimenting by letter Sir Lionel Jenkins upon his employment, who professes upon all occasions particular and great respects for you, and that you would desire him and his predecessor to attend carefully the affairs of the Committee for Irish affairs. He is on the milk diet, which agrees well with him; he hopes you will not forget sending him the hawks you promised him. This I write in his presence, who desires that his compliments may be made to you and excuses for half a year s silence, and resolving to mend, he intends to do it in this as well as in other things. The longer James is at Oxford the more prejudice it is to him. I think if he were in Monsieur Faubert's academy here it would be the best course that now could be taken; he might there follow both his studies and his exercises.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, April 10. London.—I had nothing to trouble your Grace with by the last post. All that was done the last Council day relating to Ireland was comprised in the two orders, one concerning the Earl of Ranelagh, the other the Earl of Tyrone, transmitted to your Grace by Mr. Secretary Coventry. The putting Sir William Waller, who hath been a very busy man here, out of the Commission of the Peace, and the whole account of the ill practices used by him and several others in the matter relating to the Duke of Buckingham the printed papers are very full in.

His Majesty intends to go to Windsor on Monday night, where he resides all the summer, only once a week to be in London at Council. Before His Majesty's removal he intends

to take a new review of the Justices of the Peace in all the counties of England. I am likewise just now commanded to summon a Committee for suppressing Popery to meet on Wednesday morning, as also to give notice to the judges to attend at that time in order to the giving an account of the success of the commissions for tendering the oaths of supremacy sent to the several counties by order of this Board.

Next week Mr. Secretary Coventry intends to resign up the seals to Sir Lionel Jenkins.

ANONYMOUS.

1680, April 10. Worcester.—Dear brother, We are almost distracted with rumours of plots and massacres in Dublin, and do admire I hear not from you. It almost startles me in sending or coming, but in regard I hear not from you therein I am in hopes that it's not true, though I saw a letter from a very honourable gentleman and a friend of mine, Sir Henry Capel, a late Privy Councillor, written to Sir Francis Russell, wherein he tells him that there is a most horrid plot discovered to be in Ireland by very great persons of quality; the particulars are kept so private that the clerks and the attorneys and solicitors were all turned out by the King's command, and the King and Council unanimously voted a damnable plot, and blank warrants are sent over to apprehend great men. The soliciting party in the management is committed to the Earl of Essex and Shaftesbury. Our Parliament is prorogued till the 15th of May. Dear Ned, I need not advise you how to steer affairs, but not too confident of your country's strength. I hope ere I take my voyage and journey we may have a letter from you. Pray be as nimble as you can.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 12. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 3rd with the copies of the examinations concerning the 'prentices. I do not so much wonder at the scandals cast upon us now as that it was not done sooner. But it was necessary to amuse the people, as with new plots so with new actors in them, and we were not forgotten but reserved for the last. The discoveries now on foot in the north and in the west of this kingdom can come to nothing by reason of the extravagant villainy and folly of the discoverers, who are such creatures that no schoolboy would trust them with a design for the robbing of an orchard. My Lord of Essex's tool is a silly drunken vagabond that cares not for hanging a month hence if in the meantime he may solace himself with brandy and tobacco. Murphy is all out as debauched, but a degree wiser than the other. The other fellow brought by my Lord of Shaftesbury to the Council broke prison being in execution, and now the sheriff or jailor are sued for the debt. This is

their true character, but perhaps not fit for you to give of them. If rogues they must be that discover roguery, these must be the best discoverers, because they are the greatest rogues.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, April 14. Dublin.—I received yours of the 6th next day after Sir Tho. Newcomen parted hence with all the despatches I wrote by that post. Fitzgerald's errand into Munster is no secret here, nor yet that his undertaking of finding dangerous papers walled up in a ruinous Abbey has failed. It is a great misfortune to the discoverers of plots in this kingdom that my Lord of Orrery is not alive; he would have done his part here as well as the other cripple in England. But his brother Shannon is a plain, honest gentleman, and was ill pitched upon by my Lord of Essex for such an employment. If shipping was to be had at Cork, Youghal, or Kinsale, that gentleman is returned with his guard of messengers—the other that landed here is with his principal informer gone on their northern expedition. I hope a week will finish that work on this side, yet it may be necessary to keep up the noise, lest perhaps a Parliament should sit in May. If this grow stale during a longer interval another may easily be substituted. If jail birds liable to hanging or starving will serve the turn, my Lord Sunderland shall have who he pleases in the Irish agency.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1680, April 14, Dublin.—I was glad to receive yours from London of the 3rd inst., hoping that by your solicitation these things depending in the report of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury will have the better and speedier despatch. The bills in order to the calling of a Parliament here will, I doubt not, be transmitted hence by the end of May as is required by his Majesty's order in Council; against that time you shall be furnished with a list of them, and with what the chief of them import, to save you the labour of reading them over or to direct you in the doing it. There have arrived two discoverers of plots here—one in Munster and another in this place. I hear the Munster informer has not satisfied those he led to find out papers in the wall of an old Abbey; he that landed here is gone in search of witnesses guarded with three horsemen of the army and two messengers that come with him. I expect their return by the end of this week, and then they shall not stay long here.

SIR CYRIL WYCHE to ORMOND.

1680, April 14, St. James's Square.—The necessity of my own affairs and the opportunity of the likely vacation of business here upon the King's being at Newmarket carried

me for a little while down to Norfolk where the misfortune of a fall from my horse kept me for some few days longer than I proposed, but on notice of the arrival of Irish letters I made what haste I could to town and am come home this night. I was extremely rejoiced to find here the honour of your Grace's commands by two of Mr. Ellis's of the 10th and 17th past. Those two businesses you have been pleased now to transmit I will take immediate care of, and of the rest that are mentioned as soon as they come to hand, and whatever you shall think fit to command my care in, and from time to time give a just and early account of every circumstance relating to any of them. That I have not hitherto troubled your Grace as frequently as the relation you vouchsafe to honour me with might have justified me in, has proceeded only from my fear of abusing that liberty, thinking it indecent in me to take up your time with matters of no moment, who have constantly so many weighty affairs in your hands, when I have had none at all in mine. But whenever you shall be pleased to make use of my industry, my utmost application shall never be wanting.

ORMOND to HENRY COVENTRY.

1680, April 14, Dublin.—Whatever you may be from other you are not like to be absolutely free from this kind of trouble from me, and you see by my leaving off the ceremony of beginning and ending my letters how I intend to treat you and desire to be treated by you, and tho' you are in some degree gotten out of the storm, I do not doubt but you will afford all the light you can to the friends you have left in the violence of it to keep them ashore. I will not conceal from you the reasons that keep me in it, when a few lines importing a desire to retreat could help me out of it, if there be any place to which it would not follow me on this side heaven. My first reason is that methinks the Crown and Monarchy and my bountiful master are too apparently threatened for a man that pretends to honour and gratitude to make a voluntary resignation, at least whilst he has vigour or vanity enough to persuade him he can contribute considerably to serve an interest he is obliged unto.

The next is that I have a little stomach left yet that rises at the thought of giving some men their will just when they would have it of me. And in the last place it may be thought that the grandeur and emolument belonging to the station may be of force; and I will not deny but it is. But if I know myself it would not prevail against the quiet of body and mind that may reasonably be believed I wish for at these years and might hope for in a retreat.

Upon the whole matter it is so probable that this place and I must part, and that when we shall this kingdom will not be a fit place for my residence, that I really wish I had an habitation within the distance of neighbourhood to your lodge and do

seriously desire you to inform me if any such can be had by purchase or otherwise. You will judge it is not fit I should be named in it and you will as easily, I hope, believe I should take great delight in your conversation.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, April 17.—By this you will hear that his Majesty has been pleased to call me to his Council, which he did in the most obliging manner that could be; in this particular the Duke endeavoured and showed me much good will, and Mr. Hyde expressed in this and all other concerns very much regard to you and your interest.

My Lord President is very civil to me, and desired me, out of his respects to you, to mind you of examining well the matter of my Lord of Tyrone's being acquitted by the grand jury, there being, as is said, four witnesses against him. I am of opinion, and so is my Lord Chamberlain, that a letter from you to him of compliment considering his station were not ill placed; if it met with the same success as that you writ to my Lord of Shaftesbury, I think the mortification may be easily borne, but by his behaviour towards me I do expect other and better returns. Mr. Secretary being ill, I did from him communicate your letters with the Portugal information to the Council which caused some sport, his Majesty being present, with them also a relation of what was done in the affair of my Lord Brittas and others, to which no answer was requisite. I shall make the best use I can of your letters of the 10th and 12th of this month brought me by Sir Thomas Newcomen, who I shall countenance and be glad to serve on all occasions. The late accident you will hear from other hands.

Henry Thynne to Ormond.

1680, April 17, Whitehall.—The return of a fit of the gout having confined Mr. Secretary to his bed is the reason your Grace receives the enclosed in a strange hand, and that I presume to acquaint your Grace of the arrival of yours of the 10th and two of the 12th instant, together with one from yourself and Council of the 7th, all which have been communicated to his Majesty and Council, and not the least exception that I can hear of made to any part of them.

This I presume will be one of the last I shall trouble your Grace with whilst Mr. Secretary continues under that character, resolving to-morrow (if he be able) or at farthest on Wednesday to give up his seals, at which time I shall likewise quit the Secretary's office, but never the zeal I have for your Grace's service nor the ambition of being, &c.

Postscript.—The enclosed newsletter will acquaint you at large with the news of this place. The King and all the Court go to Windsor on Monday.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 17, London.—His Majesty was pleased yesterday to call in my Lord of Ossory to the Council, who was that day sworn of the Privy Council and took his place at the Board, at which time was read an account of a very barbarous action committed the night before on Mr. Arnold, the particulars whereof this enclosed order will give your Grace an account.

On the 18th of this instant Mr. Arnold was to have had a hearing at the Council Board against one Mr. Herbert, which, with some words accidentally let fall, hath been so unhappy a circumstance to Mr. Herbert that he is committed to Newgate for suspicion of felony by warrant from the Board. Besides this order there was likewise another to the Lord Mayor of London and another to the Justices of Peace of Westminster to make forthwith a more diligent search for all Papists who were harboured in their respective jurisdictions contrary to the many proclamations which commanded them so often to depart from the town, and likewise a letter written to the Warden of the Company of Chirurgeons to make inquiries whether any person lately wounded in the leg had been with any of that profession. There was likewise a report read from the Committee of Popery which was to this effect. The judges being summoned before that committee to give an account what was the success of the commissions and instructions for putting the laws in execution against Papists in their general circuits, acquainted their lordships that they found great readiness in all places for putting them in execution, and that most of the Papists named in the commissions were already convicted, but that they shifted their counties, and did not appear upon their summons in many places, endeavouring thereby to avoid the prosecution intended by the said commissions.

Whereupon it was ordered that all those who had gone out of their counties should be prosecuted upon the statute which inflicts penalties upon Papists that go above five miles from the place of their habitations, they being most of them convicted before, and also that the judges should make returns of all such as were convicted in their several circuits to the Lords of the Treasury, in order to their proposing to His Majesty such an election of the penalties inflicted by law upon Papists convict as shall be most penal to them, and most advantageous for His Majesty's service, whether by receiving the two-thirds of their estates, the 20*l* *per mensem* or any other legal forfeitures.

This afternoon His Majesty being at a committee for the review of the Justices of the Peace, the letters from your Grace of the 7th, 10th and 12th of this instant to Mr. Secretary Coventry were read with the inclosed. Your Grace will receive a particular account from Mr. Secretary Coventry of the transactions of the Board in relation to Bourke and Macnamara, to whom I have by order transmitted them.

ORDER IN COUNCIL

(entered in foregoing letter).

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL. April the Sixteenth, 1680.

Present: The King's Most Excellent Majesty.

His Highness Prince Rupert.	Earl of Essex.
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.	Earl of Bath.
Lord Chancellor.	Viscount Fauconberg.
Lord President.	Lord Bishop of London.
Lord Privy Seal.	Mr. Hyde.
Duke of Lauderdale.	Lord Chief Justice North.
Marquess of Worcester.	Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Earl of Ossory.	
Lord Chamberlain.	Sir Leoline Jenkins.
Earl of Bridgewater.	Mr. Seymour.
Earl of Sunderland.	Mr. Godolphin.

Whereas information hath been this day given to His Majesty in Council upon oath "That John Arnold, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Monmouth, was the last night between the hours of nine and ten of the clock in Bell Yard, near Jack-an-apes Lane end, maliciously and feloniously assaulted, dangerously wounded and endeavoured to be assassinated by three persons unknown who are since fled (one of them being hurt in the leg), after which barbarous act one of the said three persons did utter these words to the said Mr. Arnold, 'Damme yee dog, now pray for the soul of Captain Evans, which Evans was a Jesuit executed in the County of Glamorgan, and who sometime before his apprehension had threatened to pistol the said Mr. Arnold: It is ordered by His Majesty in Council that the Lord Mayor of the City of London and the Justices of the Peace of the County of Middlesex and City of Westminster, do cause diligent search to be forthwith made within their several jurisdictions for the said persons, or any of them, or any that did incite, encourage or set them on to make that attempt.

And for an encouragement to all persons to use their utmost diligence herein, His Majesty is pleased to promise that there shall be the reward of one hundred pounds forthwith paid to any who shall discover or apprehend the said three persons, or any one of them, or any of those who did incite them thereunto. And if any one of the said three persons, being touched with remorse for that horrid fact, shall discover the same and his accomplices, His Majesty is graciously pleased to promise that he shall have his pardon for the same, besides the said reward.

And for the better notification hereof it is further directed, that this order be forthwith printed and published.

FRANCIS GWYN.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, April 19.—It is not perhaps a fit time for me formally to except at the proceedings of the Council there, in respect of the station I am in. But I think I have ground to complain of the suspicion expressed of me in the directions sent about Fitzgerald's discovery in Munster by letters from my Lord of Sunderland (I suppose as Secretary of State) and by my Lord of Essex I know not in what capacity, of which I had not the least intimation sent me, and even in that of Hethrington sent over with two messengers there are such restrictions as imply my unfitness to be trusted with the bottom of the affair, which with rumours in England of the unusual stop of the packets have not only given licence to popular discourses of me, but some umbrage to men of higher quality. This I could bear in respect of myself, but if the course be persisted in I shall certainly be less able to serve the King, which to do is the greatest delight I have in the place I hold.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, April 20, Whitehall.—I received this morning yours of the 14th of this month and shewed it His Majesty, who was much pleased with it, and expects such a return from the northern intelligencer as Fitzgerald's expedition has produced. I now come from Windsor in order to my wife's voyage, which she intends on Monday next come sennight to begin, and I shall follow her as soon as possible; my stay will only depend on those bills expected from you, which as soon as they are despatched, I will immediately after set forth. I heard a rumour as if something was intended by bill from the Council of Ireland to be sent hither, strengthening the lawful succession of the Crown. I am confident it is a mistake, since doing that would argue a doubt of a thing unquestionable, and consequently wound rather than serve those most concerned. I intreat your answer, since a considerable friend of yours told me there was such an intimation given. Upon my asking leave of the Queen to wait on you, she said if it were practicable she would also go, for to visit you and my mother would be to her one of the things in the world that would give her most satisfaction. I told her both of you should know it, so if both of you say a word or two upon this subject in a letter to me it will be very well received.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1680, April 20, St. James's Square.—At my return out of the country, I brought an indisposition along with me, which proved a violent fever, and made me keep my bed for some days; as soon as I found myself unable to rise I sent for Mr. Mulys (my Lord of Ossory's secretary) and acquainting him with the matters I had in charge from your Grace, desired his immediate care of them, and an account of your Grace

of what he did, which he tells me he has transmitted. My distemper, though very sharp for the time, has not proved long, so that (I thank God) I am upon my legs again and abroad; and yesterday morning, being the first time the Commissioners of the Treasury have met since their adjournment upon the 3rd inst., I got the draught of the letter for money for the fort at Rincorran with the reference upon it read. The Lords do not at all stick at the matter of it, but there being mention made of an account already transmitted under Mr. Robinson's hand of 11557*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* laid out to the 25 Feb. last, they think it necessary in point of form to see that account and be possessed of it, as one of the chief grounds of this letter before they pass it, nor would that clause in the letter, whereby an exact account of the whole upon oath (of which this is to be a part) is required to be sent over, when the money is all laid out, serve the turn, but that they insist upon having this first, as being alleged to have been sent hither already. I went to Mr. Thynne as the likeliest hand to find it in, and he searched all his papers for several months but found none, so that if your Grace please to cause another copy of it from Mr. Robinson's books to be transmitted I see no further difficulty. I most humbly thank your Grace for the honour of yours of the 14th inst.; it came speedily, for I had it last night. As soon as I receive the bills mentioned, I shall carefully observe your Grace's directions.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, April 23, St. George's Day, Dublin.—Yours of the 17th to your mother and me are received, and a yacht shall be sent to Liverpool to receive my daughter's orders as soon as she returns from a voyage she is upon with ladies to Chester, but for a man-of-war none is to be expected—the only one appointed for the service of this kingdom being called for by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. If the Algerines be what you fear, I think you are safe enough. The only one that ever I heard of come so far as this harbour in the Channel having been without doubt driven up by a storm, and besides I am assured there will be two frigates forthwith sent to cruise betwixt the Lizard and Cape Clear. Your Lord President has been too long so for a congratulatory letter upon that account, and is a man that may perhaps love to receive but cares not to return compliments. Besides I had no sooner performed the ceremony to his predecessor but he turned tail, and it has been the fortune of all I have courted to become useless as soon as my friends, so that for luck's sake I forbear till I see you.

The messengers are upon their return with a cargo of witnesses such as they are. Yet they are the best any market in this kingdom will yet afford. The last of the men for recruits for Tanger have been about a fortnight ready at Kinsale for transportation, so that I do not only wonder at

the confidence of those that wrote the contrary from Ireland, but something at the belief given to them by the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 24, London.—The Lords of the Council have spent most of their time this week in examining some persons suspected to have a hand in that barbarous attempt upon Mr. Arnold, but as yet cannot make any considerable discovery, though there are two persons committed upon suspicion.

His Majesty is at present at Windsor, where he hath had a great cold, was yesterday morning let blood, and is (God be thanked) much better. He intends to be in London on Monday morning next, at which time there will be a Committee of Intelligence, who are to have Sir Gilbert Gerard before them, he being sent for out of Yorkshire by Mr. Duppa, one of the gentlemen ushers of the Privy Chamber. The particulars I shall be better able to give your Grace an account of by the next post.

The Turkey Company yesterday made an election of the Lord Chandos for their Ambassador, and they are this day gone to wait upon His Majesty at Windsor in order to desire His Majesty's approbation. There were several competitors for it, but Mr. Thomas Thynne, son of Sir Henry Frederick, came nearest to my Lord Chandos, he having 75 votes and my Lord 81.

The King intending to go to Newmarket on Tuesday hath put off the Council's meeting till Friday next in the afternoon, which is the time he designs to return from Newmarket.

ORMOND to HENRY THYNNE.

1680, April 25, Dublin.—I could wish Mr. Secretary could part with his gout and keep his seals; however till I am authentically informed that the thing is done, my despatches will be directed to him, as you will find by that sent by the messengers in return to what they brought, and though I were so informed, yet Mr. Secretary continuing of the Council, he must expect the trouble of being made acquainted with what passes here, that he may afford his assistance upon occasion. It would have been some compensation of the loss I sustain in Mr. Secretary's demission if you had continued in the office, as the continuance of your friendship is for your quitting, which I desire you to believe is very much valued by, &c.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, April 27, London.—His Majesty having commanded an extraordinary Council to be called yesterday in the evening, at which His Royal Highness and all the judges were

commanded to be present, was pleased to take notice of a false and seditious report lately spread abroad that Dr. Cosin, late Bishop of Durham, did at his death leave a box sealed up with directions it should not be opened till after His Majesty's death; that notwithstanding some persons having had the curiosity to open the said box, there was pretended to be found therein a writing importing a marriage or contract of marriage between His Majesty and the Duke of Monmouth's mother.

And it being likewise reported that Sir Gilbert Gerard had seen the said writing or had it in his custody, Sir Gilbert Gerard was called in before His Majesty and the Council; to whom this following question was (by His Majesty's order and by the advice of the Privy Council and by the opinion of all the judges) proposed, viz., Whether you know of or have seen any writing importing a marriage or contract of marriage between His Majesty and the Duke of Monmouth's mother? To which Sir Gilbert Gerard, having taken his oath upon the Holy Evangelists made this answer: I never saw any such writing nor was there ever any such committed to my custody, nor do I know of any such thing, to which he subscribed his name. After which His Majesty (declaring he resolved to use all means possible to find out the authors of this seditious report which he himself knew to be so abominably false) required all the Lords of the Council and the judges there present to give an account of what discourses they had heard of concerning that matter. To which they all answered they had heard nothing of it but a flying and imperfect report lately discoursed of; only the Earl of Essex acquainted His Majesty that a gentleman (Col. Roderick Mansell) had told him of some particular discourse he had lately heard relating to that matter. His Majesty thereupon commanded the said Earl of Essex and Mr. Secretary Jenkins to examine the said gentleman or any other person named by him in order to trace up the said false report to the first authors and inventors of it. It was ordered hereupon that a narrative of this whole matter should be entered in the Council-book.

After the Council, which was taken up wholly with this affair, a committee of foreign affairs met where the Lord Chandos, who the day before had His Majesty's approbation to succeed Sir John Finch as Ambassador at Constantinople, upon his lordship's desire came to acknowledge his error which he had formerly been guilty of in signing the petition for the sitting of the Parliament, and beg His Majesty's pardon for the same, alleging for his excuse that he did not know it was contrary to His Majesty's pleasure, and did then think it might have been for his Majesty's service.

Sir Lionel Jenkins this day received the seals from His Majesty's own hands, Mr. Secretary Coventry not being able to come abroad, and was according sworn Secretary in the room of Mr. Coventry.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, April 27, Dublin.—The messengers that brought Hethrington—my Lord of Shaftesbury's agent—went on shipboard I think on Sunday with all his ten but may be still tiding it over, the wind being but little and that contrary. There must go in my opinion much skill to make anything material out of their narratives and as much indulgence to make them creditable witnesses. However, the great care that is taken of them here, and that will be taken on the way to London will for some time keep up the reputation of the matter. There has been great industry used to make it believed all over England that Ireland is on the brink of confusion and cutting of throats, insomuch that traders have stopped their traffic and sent to know if their correspondents be alive, and I think I shall be able to prove Sir Henry Capel to have been a principal promoter of the report, if I can procure his original letter, of which the enclosed is an extract as to the substance; but till I can get that it is not fit to make business of or publish the information; in the meantime I am sure this kingdom has not been so quiet as it is at this instant these forty years. Fitzgerald's expedition was set afoot whilst the King was at Newmarket. If His Majesty find no objection against it, I should humbly beseech him that I may have copies of the letters and instructions that were sent which may be had out of the Secretary's Office, and the Council-books. It will appear by Sir Hans Hamilton's examination that he sent my Lord of Essex some examinations that seemed to be of more consequence than any I have seen produced, and if it was his lordship that moved I should be called to for the Portugal letter, and that found in Fleming the Tory's pocket, he may as well be called to for those more material papers; but I confess it will be hard to call a Chief Governor to account for any of those thousands of papers he must receive in three or four years time, but it is easy for any man to pay or for any knave to swear to the contents of a letter that cannot be produced. After I had written thus far, Sir Hans Hamilton brought me his original letter to Sir George Rawdon after he had taken the examination of Moyer the friar, now sent with the messengers to London, and Sir George Rawdon's letter to him concerning it, by both which it will appear that Sir Hans according to his duty sent the examination to the Earl of Essex, and what account he made of it at that time. I send you copies of the letters that you may understand the matter. The originals are sent to Mr. Secretary. If this letter should come to you before the Pursuivant I send with two prisoners goes to Mr. Secretary, you are not to take notice of what you receive, that is care to be taken that the matter be not made public till the King and Council shall think fit to have it so.

1680, May day.—Now that I am gotten to this side of the leaf I think good to let you know of a new stratagem I am told

out of England will be practised to render my service in the Government ineffectual, which is to send me directions to prepare such bills to be transmitted hence against the Papists as for their severity may be inconsistent with the condition of this kingdom where the body of the people, and of those that drive the trade of the kingdom, are of that religion. If I refuse to return them my inclination to Popery will be thought apparent. If I send them, and they should pass, and be put in execution, the Revenue must sink, and that with all the ill consequence will how unreasonably soever be laid to my charge, and though I should have the unanimous concurrence of the Council either in sending or not sending, that will not absolve me because it will be said I influence or awe them. The prevention of this difficulty, if there should be a design to put it upon the King's service, is only in him, and he cannot want reasons against any such directions, but I think the safest for him to give will be that as the constitution for calling of Parliaments provides that the bills in order to it should be left to the direction of the Chief Governor and Council, who are reasonably presumed to be the most competent judges of what may be fittest to pass into laws, so he can find no precedent of any directions sent from the Council of England in the like case ; but if His Majesty shall think it unreasonable for him to interfere his authority in the case, I am not so much afraid of the device but that I hope I shall be able to frustrate what shall be aimed at by it.

Earl of Ailesbury to Ormond.

1680, April 29, Newmarket.—Having so good an opportunity by this worthy bearer to present my humble respects to your Grace, I take the liberty to renew my assurances to you of the sense I have of your constant favours to me. If it were not a public concern that your Grace should be where you are, I will assure you that as to your friends here it is no little trouble to be deprived so long of a person so esteemed of all that are firm to King and Government ; but when we consider how necessary your being there is to the preservation of peace and quietness in that kingdom we must submit. The diversions of this place Sir Nicholas will inform your Grace most punctually. I was never here before this time since I waited on you here. Besides my private concerns which have been great of these late years, much of my time hath been employed in looking after what is entrusted to me by His Majesty. I have had no little share of the calumnies that have been laid of late on those who endeavour to keep things in the old frame both as to Church and State. That God may preserve you long to be a prop and support of both is the hearty prayer of, &c.

Postscript.—I am my lady's most devoted servant. This place will afford me no better paper to write with.

ORMOND to the MAYOR and CITIZENS of KILKENNY.

1680. April 30th.—After our hearty commendations, whereas Richard Reeves, Esq., is lately chosen Recorder of this city, and as he informs us intends to resign that of the City of Kilkenny, we, particularly knowing and being very well satisfied of the fitness and ability of Arthur Turner, Esq., one of His Majesty's Council learned in the laws to succeed in that employment, do hereby think fit to recommend him effectually to you as one we shall very well approve of to succeed in it. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From His Majesty's Castle of Dublin.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 1st, London.—The last Council day was taken up wholly with the more particular inquiry into the rumour spread abroad concerning the Duke of Monmouth, several persons being then examined, amongst the rest one who seems to fix something upon Sir Thomas Armstrong, and who likewise saith he had 30*l.* given him by the Duke of Monmouth to bear his charges of a journey into the North, whither he went to inquire of some kind of evidence which was pretended to be there relating to a marriage between His Majesty and the Duke of Monmouth's mother. Several other persons are sent for in order to a further discovery of the authors of that report. His Majesty, after the Council, was entertained at a supper by Sir Jonathan Raymond, one of the Sheriffs of London, and this morning early returned to Windsor.

The Earl of Thanet hath enjoyed his title but a little while and died the last week, that title and estate of the late Lord Thanet (as well as that of the elder brother) falling to Capt. Richard Tufton, one of the Captains of Col. Russell's regiment.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 1st.—I am desired by this bearer, Mr. St. John, to recommend him by letter to your favour. He is brother to one of the same name who some months since was murdered by the Tories. He is very zealous to find out means for extirpating that sort of wicked men. I here enclosed send you a copy of that bond due to late Mr. Churchill, upon payment whereof my Lord of Suffolk will deliver it according to your direction. He gives this money to his daughter who earnestly desires to know the time when by your means she may receive the benefit of her father's bounty. This is all the trouble I shall give you by this occasion.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 8, London.—On the 7th instant the messengers, Bradly and Atterbury, arrived here out of Ireland with Murphy, Moyer, Callaghan and Henan in their custody, and

Edrington and Fitzgerald in their company. Notice being given of their arrival to the Lord President in the morning, his lordship sent a messenger to give His Majesty an account of it at Windsor, and appointed an extraordinary Council in the afternoon, to which the Earl of Ossory and Mr. Secretary Jenkins with some instructions from His Majesty came from Windsor. The four persons above named were called in and sworn, and the Clerks of the Council took their examinations as well as it was possible, but they not expressing themselves very intelligibly, they are ordered to be kept separate from one another and from any other company, and this day to send in their informations in writing, signed by their hands and sealed up to the Clerk of the Council in writing. There was likewise this day read before the Board the examinations of Sir Hans Hamilton, Captain Richard Bolton, and Lieut. Henry Baker transmitted by your Grace to Mr. Secretary Coventry with your Grace's letters of the 23rd and 24th of April, which is all that is done in that affair till the next Council day, at which time His Majesty will be present.

Wednesday, the 5th, His Majesty being present, as also His Royal Highness, several persons were examined concerning the report of the pretended marriage of His Majesty with the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and one Mr. William Disney and Mr. Robert Clynton, who had appeared to be very inquisitive and officiously solicitous in that affair, being ordered to attend the Board in order to a farther examination, went out of town, on purpose as it seemed to avoid it, whereupon warrants are issued out to take the said Disney and Clynton into custody and bring them before the Board.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, May 8th.—We are under great engagements of secrecy, but I believe I break them not in sending you these informations. My Lord President upon the arrival of these fellows called yesterday a Council, and being at Windsor when notice of it came to me, the King commanded me from thence immediately to attend it, the result of which you see by the enclosed. I cannot but wonder that my Lord of Essex, who is now so diligent in discovering Irish plots, and who knew from Sir Hans Hamilton something of this business, as appears by one of the papers you sent, should not have taken notice of it when he was in the Government, or advertised you at his leaving it. I return this evening to Windsor, and to-morrow shall be back hither, my wife intending to begin her journey on Tuesday next. If I had money I would purchase a very pretty house with great gardens; a thousand pounds it will only cost. It was once my Lady Cranborne's at Twicnam. If you would think of it everybody says it is a pretty box for retirement or for children and a great bargain.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680, May 8th, Whitehall.—Since I am by the King's most gracious pleasure to serve in the function of Secretary, I humbly take leave to offer your Grace my best and faithfullest service wherever you shall judge me capable of executing your orders. I know that I make this step out of my province, but it is the sincere and deep veneration that I have for your Grace that carries me beyond my bounds. What my late Lord of Canterbury hath taught and enjoined me in point of faithful observerance towards your Grace I must always remember and practise; and 'tis no more but what the merits of your glorious life would have extorted from me, had I never been admitted to the honour of approaching your person, as I have been often by your great condescension. You will, my Lord, receive from my Lord of Sunderland the result of what is to be done further, when His Majesty hath had an account of what those persons that are come over with Hethrington have deposed. I only take leave to enclose what the Clerk of the Council gave me by way of extract of what they said last night, as they were examined in Council.

Ormond to Sir L. Jenkins.

1680, May 10, Dublin.—If have not congratulated your access to the Secretary's place till I was sure you were possessed of it, I desire you would not impute it to my want of satisfaction in it, though I must confess there are very few besides yourself that could have succeeded your predecessor but that I should have thought myself a great loser by the exchange, and though the course of the offices may direct my public despatches to another hand, yet I do ask your leave sometimes to trouble you with duplicates, that when you shall hear the originals read at Council, you may not want that preparation and notice of the subject which I am sure you can and will employ so usefully to the King's service, I doubt not with friendliness to me, who have long had your person and qualifications in high esteem.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, May 15, London.—This enclosed relation of one of His Majesty's physicians will inform you of the hopeful condition His Majesty is in, which will relieve you as well as it has done all honest men out of the great apprehensions which so just fears did create in them. I do constantly attend the Council, and whenever it meets, as sometimes it does on the sudden, I immediately repair from hence unto it. The informers with additional papers from my Lord of Essex are sent unto you. I should be sorry such an objection could be laid to either yours or my charge as appears in his lordship's by having so long important informations if they prove so, and not to

have given notice then in so long time as appears by the date of them. I beseech you to remember that you told me Sir Richard Stephens had satisfied my Lord Chancellor, otherwise I should not have countenanced him to the degree I did. Your commands made me desirous to forward his pretensions, and I beseech you to let my Lord Chancellor, know that upon these grounds I acted. I hope you will compose matters between them. I have and ever had that kindness and respect for my Lord Chancellor, as I should think myself very unhappy if I did anything displeasing unto him, being confident of his integrity and moderation not to demand from his friends things either hard or unjust. I send you Sir Richard Stephens' letter, of which you may make use, or else burn it after your reading of it. I got my Lord Chancellor's petition, desiring a month's time to be read, which was granted. You well know who are not much his friends no more than they are yours. The hurry and post haste in which many affairs at the board are despatched is not to be imagined. I need not therefore mind you how necessary it is to keep authentic copies of all papers. I wish my son from Oxford and in Fauberts' Academy, until we see what comes of an affair relating to his marriage, of which I do not despair.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680, May 15, at ten at night, Whitehall.—I gave your grace the best account I was able of the state of His Majesty's health as it stood yesterday at 9 o'clock in the morning. That which I have to add will be most welcome to your Grace. Though His Majesty had a fit yesterday at 11 o'clock which lasted till four, yet it was far more gentle and shorter than that he had on Thursday. Last night he rested very well, and this day (as our letters written at Windsor at five this afternoon assure us) His Majesty hath had no fit at all; he is hearty and well, blessed be God, and his physicians (who have not spared to give him the Jesuits powder) are confident he will have no more returns of his ague. I beseech God to bless His Majesty with long life and health. About two hours ago Mr. Wakefield—your Grace's messenger—arrived here with the two priests in his custody. The four that Atterbury brought hither began their journey yesterday for Ireland again. Fitzgerald and Hethrington are dismissed. David Fitzgerald, who accuses the Lord Brittas is under an engagement to return, but he is not tied to the messenger's company, but is left to himself.

Earl of Sunderland to Ormond.

1680, May 15, Windsor.—In compliance with the promise I made you in my last of sending your Grace what should further occur with relation to the Irish plot, I enclose an order of Council containing the resolution their lordships

have taken, and the proceedings they think fit should be had against the persons concerned in it. And the Committee of Examinations having (in my absence) desired Mr. Secretary Jenkins to charge himself with the transmitting to your Grace the depositions and other evidence of each informant, I shall not for the present enlarge your trouble.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 15, London.—The four priests, Murphy, Moyer Calaghan and Henan, brought in their informations in writing the last Council-day, to which they were sworn. At the same time likewise Mr. David Fitzgerald came before the Board and gave a relation to the same effect with that which he gave to your Grace, the particulars chiefly relating to the Lord Brittas and Col. Pierce Lacy; whereupon Mr. Mr. Secretary Jenkins (who was then present) was ordered to remit the aforesaid priests and also Mr. David Fitzgerald together with their informations and some other papers delivered in by the Earl of Essex (which his lordship formerly received from Sir Hans Hamilton and the Bishop of Meath) agreeing in some parts with Moyer's information to your Grace. Mr. Secretary Jenkins was likewise ordered to signify to your Grace that Oliver Plunket, titular Primate, should speedily be brought to his trial, and also a new indictment brought against the Lord Brittas and Col. Pierce Lacy, and that particular care should be taken that no Papist should be on any of their juries. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland's answer to Coppinger's petition was likewise then read, and his lordship is thereupon ordered to bring in his answer within a month peremptorily.

The news from Windsor on Thursday in the afternoon gave great trouble and disturbance to all people, which was that on that morning about eight o'clock His Majesty had a return of his ague, which fit lasted him till three or four o'clock in the afternoon, whereupon the physicians being sent for, at night prescribed a preparation of the Jesuits powder (extracted by one Monsieur Charras, a French apothecary, which hath had great success on several other people). His Majesty slept very well that night, and waking about five o'clock took another dose of the same extraction. On Friday morning early I was commanded by the Council to wait on His Majesty at Windsor, where I found him very well relieved by his Thursday night's rest, and he continued very well all the morning whilst I stayed, which was till eleven o'clock in the morning, but our letters this morning bring an account that about twelve o'clock at noon yesterday another fit took him which was much gentler and of shorter continuance than the former, it not lasting above two hours. His Majesty slept very well last night, and at ten o'clock this morning had no apprehension of any fit. His Majesty left off a waistcoat and shaved his head since he came

to Windsor, which, with walking very early in the mornings and late at nights in that sharp air is believed by all to be the occasion of the return of the ague. Most men who had an ague last fall at the time the King had his, and who were then cured by taking the Jesuits powder, being very apt to have returns this spring upon the least cold or any other accidental irregularity. I hope by the next post to give your Grace the good news of His Majesty's perfect recovery. From Windsor three o'clock this afternoon we hear His Majesty continued very well all day and had missed his fit.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, May 16, Dublin.—With yours of the 8th I received a summary of what was deposed by those the messengers carried hence: the next will I suppose bring us all they can say more at large with some directions to me what to do more, if more be to be done. The titular Primate accused by them is not no more above them in gifts of nature then he ought by his place to be and I doubt hardly so much, his life I confess is much more churchmanlike. This character I believe my Lord of Essex will concur with me in, his lordship having had much more conversation with him than I. I suppose your wife may be now at Knowsley, and I hope the yacht may this evening put to sea to transport her, though yet the wind is out of the way; all the money I could or shall be able till after Christmas to get together has been employed to free me from Sir Robert Vyner's debt, but if by the help of Sir Stephen Fox or any other friend you could take up a 1000 to make the purchase you mention, I will take order that by this time twelvemonth it shall be repaid. I suppose you will know what sort of estate you buy and be satisfied in the title. It will be about that time before I can undertake to pay my Lady Eliz. ffelton; but to make her present bounty sure to her, if she can get the bond to her hands I will enter into a new to or anybody else she shall name.

I hope the Bills may be ready to be sent over by the end of this month, but if you stay for their return back I doubt it may be longer than you think before we shall see you, for my Lord of Anglesey, my Lord President, and my Lord of Essex may, if they will, make objections to some parts of most of them, and not to disparage your understanding in statutes such as I would not have you take upon you to answer, we shall send over the Bills, and perhaps with them reasons why some of those things liable to exceptions as far as we can foresee them are inserted. But it is the part of the King's Counsel at Law to study them and give their opinion, and it is the King's business, and no otherwise ours than as we are his servants to send or not to send them. My part is only to get them passed if I can after they are returned, and see them

obeyed after they become laws. If you shall be inquisitive enough, you will judge when the Bills are like to be returned and may accordingly and according to [ ] that place govern your journey; in the meantime your wife shall be well treated.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

1680, May 16, Dublin.—Dean Hinde going to Oxford to receive a favour from the University (which I hope I have properly and reasonably recommended) I think it reasonable by him to acknowledge your favour to my family in the care you have been pleased to take of my grandson. I wish his proficiency may be answerable. The bearer is able to give a good account of the state of this place, which is not so dangerous as has been reported in England, not yet so safe as it might be, if those that seem to be zealous for it were in good earnest, and if those that have it in their power would let us secure ourselves.

I have recommended a set of players to the acceptance of the University against the Act, but I think the inconvenience they bring with them so great that I shall be glad of an excuse, provided no other be admitted, which I beseech your lordship to let the Vice-Chancellor know.

COMMISSIONERS OF ARRAY FOR KERRY to ORMOND.

1680, May 17, Lixnaw.—In obedience to your Grace's commands, and pursuant to the instructions annexed to the Commission of Array for this county, we have proceeded in order to arraying these troops and foot companies designed to be arrayed in this county, and do humbly lay before your Grace that this county is not capable of raising more than two troops of horse and two foot companies, nor could that be done but by the supply out of the Lord of Kerry's own stables, which, with others arrayed for his lordship's troop, hath made up a complete troop.

Captain Edward Denny hath also arrayed and mustered a complete troop, Captain Arthur Blennerhassett hath arrayed a complete foot company, and another foot company may be raised in the county, but no arms for the foot are to be had in the county. All which is humbly submitted to your Grace.

TOBIAS CRAMER VIC'. KERRY. FR. BREWSTER.
AR. BLENERHASSETT. H.[?] BLENERHASSETT

J. PYTT to ORMOND.

1680, May 17, Kilfenny, Co. Limerick.—One person, William Burgh, of Newcastle (happening to preach here yesterday) told me that one James Hawksworth, of Balliroe, averred to him that there was a certificate under the late Lord Bishop of Durham his hand found by one Gerard in England

in a black box left sealed up by the said Bishop with the said Gerard, certifying that the said Bishop had married His Majesty Charles Stuart, King of England, to the Duke of Monmouth his mother—which report, together with the author, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with that I may receive your Grace's pleasure and direction how to demean myself towards the publishers of such reports.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 18, London.—Yesterday the titular Primate's servant and a friar that lately went from Prague into Ireland were examined of a committee of the Board, but by reason Mr. Secretary Coventry was absent, and that your letter with other papers were not sent us, the further looking into this matter is deferred until to-morrow. These two persons deny anything which can shew the truth of Murphy or Moyer's depositions, that crew being sent back unto you. I believe the same order will be given unto these, and we shall be rid of a trouble that will come to you. Your letter of the 27th of the last month I received on Sunday last, together with an extract of Sir Henry Capel's letter, both which His Majesty read very attentively, as did also the Duke, and it had all the effect upon them as the subject did deserve, though neither of them does doubt the truth of what you allege, yet I wish you could meet with the original. I will endeavour this post or the next to send you copies of those letters and instructions you desire. I think you need not apprehend any orders for bills from hence; that motion for one to exclude the Popish nobility from their votes in Parliament proceeded from the great zeal of my Lord of Essex, and I believe he will rest satisfied with having been the promoter; that part of your letter dated on May-day the King and Duke are very sensible of, and said that difficulties of that nature you had been accustomed unto. That Mr. Bennett I did mention relating to a match for my son has two daughters; the fortune is so great, though divided between them, as I hear not of so considerable a one in the kingdom. I shall so govern myself in the matter, as I hope you will not disapprove what I shall do. The King, God be thanked, last night continued in good health. If the yacht be at Liverpool my wife will soon wait on you. Major Billingsley, whose licence expires about the 25th of the next month, hopes you will not take it amiss if he stays to accompany me over. I hope the bills may be despatched, and I ready to go about that time.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, May 18, Windsor.—I have received your Grace's of May the 10th, and shall take care of all things you please to commit to me. Mr. Secretary Coventry has not delivered to me any of his papers, not having had time to sort them,

but he has promised me all that are important to His Majesty's service. What was resolved in Council about Hethrington's information has been already sent to your Grace, and I did order that anything of that kind which might be done at any of the Committees of Council whilst I am attending the King here should likewise be constantly written to you. The condition of His Majesty's health I am sure my Lord Ossory has always informed you of, but he being now at London, I will let you know that he is perfectly recovered of his late indisposition and there is no fears of any return of it.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680, May 18, at 8 at night, Whitehall.—It is an effect of your infinite innate nobleness to descend (as you are pleased to do in your letter of the 10th current) to express a satisfaction in that I have the honour to succeed Mr. Secretary Coventry. I must confess (and 'tis no humility in me to do it) that I cannot but come behind my most worthy predecessor very much in all the capacities that this place requires. But if there be anything in this world in which I may be suffered to say that I know not how to yield to him, it is in that unfeigned devotion I have for your Grace; as the most glorious confessor (in that most righteous cause) of all the King's subjects, the Royal family only excepted. In truth, my Lord, had you left it to myself to choose my own argument and assurance of some degree of your Grace's favour and confidence, I should have chosen above all things that which you are pleased to intend for me; I mean a duplicate of such despatches as your Grace can imagine I may be in any wise serviceable in. I shall make the best use I can possibly of this special great honour and favour, and though it were not indulged me, yet my obligation is nevertheless to watch carefully wherever your Grace's service, which is always the same with that of His Majesty, is concerned.

I come now (just at seven at night) from Windsor, where I had the honour to see His Majesty without any other symptom of an aguish distemper but that of his lips broken out. He was at prayers in the public oratory. I was at his feet for half an hour together upon business; I saw him dine with the Queen publicly, and which is a good indication of that which his dutiful subjects looked and prayed for, I saw His Majesty eat a very hearty meal.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, May 18, London.—This brings with it the happy news of His Majesty's complete recovery (as we hope), having had no fit since that on Friday last, which I gave your Grace an account of by the last post; amongst other symptoms which induce the physicians to believe there is not likely to be any return, one is that the King's lips are broken out as

they did when his ague left him in the autumn. The Council is adjourned till Wednesday, the 26th of this month.

This morning about two or three o'clock began a most violent storm of thunder and rain, which continued till about ten o'clock, and ended with a shower of hail of an extraordinary kind—some of the hailstones being of the bigness of a pullet's egg.

SIR WILLIAM KING to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1680, May 21, Limerick.—In obedience to his Grace's commands to me of the 10th instant's date, I sent out from hence two parties of foot (under the command of two commissioned officers) to the several places mentioned in his Grace's list to make search for the titular Bishop of Killaloe; and they returned hither the last night, but could neither find him nor hear of his being at any of the places; nor at several other places where they made search for him. I will lay out all I can to find him, and there is no way to effect it but by setting of him, and that cannot be done without money, which shall not be wanting. The inclosed letter from the titular Bishop of Limerick I this day received. I desire you will acquaint his Grace with its import, and that he will vouchsafe to signify his pleasure to me therein.

I desire you will also acquaint his Grace that two companies of foot (viz., the Lord Granard's and Sir Richard Aldworth's) and the troop of horse garrisoned here were by his Grace's orders lately removed hence, and that by this post there are orders come for Captain Hamilton's company to remove to Londonderry: the Lieutenant (who is the chief officer present) came this day to me, and told me he had not money either to pay their quarters here, or to march his men so far, so that unless a supply be sent him he knows not what to do but stay till the next assignment comes, if his Grace shall nor order the contrary. By the removal of these three companies and the troop I know not how I shall be able to perform the duty of this garrison with those that remain unless his Grace be pleased to send me some in their steads, having so many posts and guards to maintain, and our men on third night duty. I also desire you will from me humbly represent to his Grace that since our late distracted times I thought it my duty to take care that every night all our musquets on our guards should be loaden; by which the consumption of powder must necessarily be more than heretofore it has been, and yet the half-yearly allowance for watch ammunition is less by half than heretofore it has been; so as we are very much straitened; neither have we had any allowance of ball these three years; and some companies lately come hither have not one bullet. To these particulars I beg the favour of a line from you.

Postscript. The titular Bishop of Limerick has, pursuant to his Grace's order, entered security to me to be forthcoming at his Grace's pleasure.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, May 21.—This morning the committee examined the friar and the servant of the titular Primate; I suppose they will, when the Council meets, be sent back into Ireland; we are not at all edified by anything they say. I cannot find any copy of an order of Fitzgerald's being employed into Munster; from the messenger that carries with him the four priests you may learn the proceeding of that affair, it being the same person that was then employed; the King jestingly said that it was my Lord of Essex's and his plot. I think it is not necessary any further inquiry; however, I will see if any thing material can be gathered upon what was done in it. I wish you could be truly informed whether the wall, wherein that important writing was said to be hid was lately or of a long time laid down. My Lord of Essex said my Lord Shannon spoke doubtfully in the point. The affair of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts and the bills from Ireland are things that raise great expectation among us. The King is well; if at Windsor, where I am now going, I hear anything new, I shall write another letter.

Francis Benson to Ormond.

1680, May 22, Whitehall.—My Lord Sunderland having commanded me to send directly to you the enclosed examinations, I am obliged to give your Grace that trouble, which I have used to do to Mr. Ellis, since his lordship was pleased to appoint me particularly to solicit the business of Ireland.

On Wednesday last the Duke came hither, principally about farming the Post Office in Ireland, and having dined at my Lord St. Albans' returned to Windsor in the evening.

Yesterday Philip Le Mar and his mother received their trial at the King's Bench bar, and were both found guilty of being suborned to swear sodomy against the Duke of Buckingham. In the course of the trial some reflections were made upon His Royal Highness, but very severe and frequent ones against the Earl and Countess of Danby; but especially upon the latter, against whom one witness deposed that Le Mar told him the Countess of Danby offered him at her house in the Cockpit 300*l.* if he would give evidence against the Duke of Buckingham upon such a crime.

The same day my Lord Stafford brought his writ of *habeas corpus* and moved by his counsel to be bailed; being likely, as he represented, to be otherwise imprisoned *sine die.* The Court ordered he should be sent back to the Tower, and my Lord Chief Justice told him the only remedy in his case was to petition the King for the speedy meeting of the Parliament.

His Majesty finds himself so well recovered from his ague that he purposes to be here on Wednesday next, when the matter of the examinations of Kennah and MacDonald is to

be reported to him. And in regard their ignorance is believed to be rather affected than real, it is supposed they will confess something more material concerning a Plot than hitherto they have done.

It is said that the marriage between my Lord Mordaunt and Mrs. Frazer will now be speedily consummated, the lady being discovered to be with child, and my lord seeming to own something of a contract.

Our letters from Flanders give us an account of some great alterations that have lately happened in the Imperial Court, that Count Montcocoli is banished, and that his places of General and Governor of Raab in Hungary are given to the Prince of Baden; that General Captoeres is under a criminal process; that the High Chancellor Hocher is accused of high treason; that the son of the Count Serini (who was beheaded in the year 1671) is imprisoned for treason for holding intelligence with the Bohemian rebels, and that the French King has distributed monies to the Chief Barons of the kingdom. The several disgraces of these great men are attributed to the Italians, whose faction and power in the Emperor's Court is very strong.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, May 23.—I have little to say to yours of the 15th till we know when we are like to meet, for though I have not much esteem of your abilities in the comprehending of all the intricacies of bills, about which the most learned in the art seldom agree either in composing or interpreting them, yet there may be so many other good uses of your being at Court that I desire you would not quit it till you and I are agreed of the time. The yacht I presume is by this time ashore somewhere, and the Captain gone to advise with your wife about her embarkation, so that by the next favourable wind we look for her. The four Irish witnesses landed here last night, and I shall as fast as I can put that affair into the proper way of prosecution, and be as careful as I can that no advantage shall be given on that account against me. We have a probable project of setting up a little fleet here of ten sail in all, but must have His Majesty's own direction how to proportion them, the biggest being a five rate; of this you shall shortly hear more at large.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, May 25th, London.—This morning I received your letter of the 16th of this month. You will be informed before this what has passed concerning the titular Primate's servant and the friar that accompanied him. I believe to-morrow's Council will order their return; if the yacht has got to Liverpool, as I may conclude by the orders you gave, I hope my wife may have the happiness of waiting on you before now. As she always owns with much gratitude your kindness,

so I am sure she has for you all the duty and affection imaginable. When I have seen the acting of some when the bills are come over, I will accordingly take measure for my journey, towards which neither impatience or desires are wanting on my part. I shall speak to Sir Stephen Fox concerning the purchase, and will be careful if it prove a good one to see the title made clear. I shall also acquaint my Lady Elizabeth Felton with what you propose in her favour. Mr. Hyde in confidence the other day told me that the King and Duke wished Mr. Russell's regiment in my hands, and proposed my purchasing of it. I replied that I would ever be ready to lay down all I had and to venture my life for the service of the Crown, but that in this particular I desired to be excused, thinking it was not decent for one of my quality that had served to get by money a military employment, were I rich enough to do it. He has undertaken that my declining this matter shall not be ill resented. As I would not refuse the command if freely offered, so for some reasons of my own I do not eagerly desire it. I send you the enclosed, by which you will see in what condition my affairs are in Holland.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, May 25, Dublin.—I have resisted several importunities to recommend persons fit enough to be Privy Councillors here—the number being in my opinion already greater than is needful or well consisting with the respect that ought to be incident to the dignity and would be paid to it if fewer had it. But now I must offer one to His Majesty for that favour—one Mr. John Eyre, a gentleman of a good family and fortune, and that with it has acquired considerable interest in the country he lives in and may be of great use to the King's service on all occasions, especially in a House of Commons. This recommendation is without any solicitation on his part, and only thought of by me as an expedient to overbalance some who in the same country I suspect may trouble both country and Parliament affairs. The draught of a letter to that purpose goes herewith, which I desire your lordship will be pleased to offer His Majesty.

THO. HAMILTON to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, May the 25th.—Aboard the *Charles* galley in Tangier Road.—I believe your lordship will have heard of the condition that Tangier was in afore this comes to your hands, but this gentleman who comes latelier from thence can inform you better than anybody you can have met withal, he being sent expressly from my Lord of Inchiquin to the King, and is a very understanding gentleman, his name being Fitzgerald I do not question but that my Lord of Inchiquin has met with enemies who have not been sparing to write against him, but in my opinion he has behaved himself with

a great deal of discretion and conduct in the whole business. The bearer hereof will give your Lordship the whole particular of what has been transacted, so that I will trouble you no further.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, May 25, Dublin.—In one of your late letters you tell me of your diligent attendance at the Privy Council; to make that diligence the more useful I would recommend to you that before the affairs of the day are out of your memory you will set down in writing such short heads of what has been agitated or concluded as being sometimes considered will enable you to inform me and be a great help to yourself. I have by this post recommended Mr. Eyre of Eyrecourt, in Connaught, to be sworn of the Council, and sent the draught of a letter to my Lord Sunderland for that purpose, which if the King agree to it, I desire you to cause Mulys to solicit and pay for and put it on my account and send it away. My sense is purely to secure a considerable man to the King's service and to set him up against a faction that may be troublesome. I have [recommended the removal of] Sir H. Ingoldsby from the Council which would be a useful demonstration of His Majesty's dissatisfaction with him by reason of his factious carriage in England, and traducing of the Government here, and I think there need no reason be given for it.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, May 26, Enfield Chase.—Since I wrote last to you I have received several from your Grace, which I immediately transmitted to the Secretary of Council. My gout as if reproaching me the little use I have of a right hand hath not yet set me free, but by frequent returns visits my wrist, and so at once spareth my hands and excuseth me.

This day I received a letter from your Grace of the 7th of May by Mr. Muschamp. I should be very glad to serve him or my Lord Primate in any thing I can, but like deer when they have first cast their horns keep the woods for some time, I have not seen London or Windsor since my first leaving the town, but am busied in settling my small management here, where, if God sendeth quiet, I intend to spend most of my time. If your Grace continue any thoughts about a house, here is one nigh me that was formerly Judge Barclay's house—capacious enough, I think, for your Grace's family. I am told it hath 50 or 60 chambers in it. It hath garden and bowling green, but neither in good order; it hath several fishponds, and a much meadow and pasture as letteth for 40*l.* a year. It is well in repair as to the outside, but in the inside it will require some amendment, especially the outhouses. It is now in possession of a schoolmaster who is removing to Barnet; he hath a lease

for 20 years, and the rent he payeth is 50*l.* a year, but he pretendeth to have been at expense in meliorating the land, and upon that score demandeth a 100*l.* for his lease, but possibly he may fall of that price. If your Grace have yet any such thoughts you may give order to my Lord of Ossory to see it as for himself; the rent being so low, it may very well look as but a reasonable convenience for him, and I will at any time go over with him and view it, but I desire an answer from your Grace speedily, because the present possessor is poor, the place nigh London, and probably may take the first chapman. I should be sorry to see you desire a remove, but if that should be, I should be much comforted to find you in our neighbourhood, where I will assure your Grace I am very far from repenting my retreat. I hope before this comes to your hands my Lady Ossory will be safe landed with her knight errant, Sir Nicholas. For news I can only tell you I am providing for my campagne hunting season now approaching, and if our neighbour of France will let me alone I will him. My most humble duty and service to my Lady Duchess.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, May 26.—I have received yours of the 18th of this month. All I have to say in return is that I have also received news of Murphy, Moyer and the rest of that knot by [ ] all the papers that belong to them into the Chief Justice's care and management. The man that wrote the letter from Worcester, wherein the contents of Sir Henry Capel's letter to Russell were, is now here himself, where he is satisfied we are not in the disquiet Sir Henry apprehended, but he undertakes not to get the original, doubting that Russell if he has kept it will not part with it, other things being contained in it. The match you mention for your son I suppose would accommodate our domestic affairs, but it ought to do it considerably, and it should be compassed without great difficulty, else it will hardly counterbalance some alloys that are in the matter. The yacht set sail hence on the 20th of this month, and since she is not driven in again I presume she may be ready with this wind to bring your wife.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, May 29, Windsor.—Since the orders were sent to your Grace concerning the men which His Majesty thought fit to go to Tanger out of Ireland, he has considered it will be most for his service that they should be all of the Scotch Regiment, which is the occasion of my sending you the enclosed directions.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, May 29, London.—The Council not sitting the last week occasioned my not giving your Grace the trouble of

any letter from me till this post. The answer of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to Coppinger's former petition was brought in the last Council day, but hath not as yet been read, the Board being then employed in considering the ways of sending present recruits to Tangier. Six hundred foot were ordered to be sent out of Ireland, and an express to that purpose sent to your Grace, by which I presume your Grace before this time hath notice of the particulars. Six hundred foot more were ordered to be drawn out of the four standing regiments here, viz., 240 with two captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, &c., out of Col. Russell's regiment, 120 men with one captain, &c., out of the Lord Craven's, 120 men with one captain, &c., out of His Royal Highness's regiment, 120 men with one captain, &c., out of Lord Musgrave's regiment. 60 horse to be drawn out of the troop of Guards with a commander to be appointed by His Majesty. 60 horse to be drawn out of the Earl of Oxford's regiment, with one captain, &c., which aforesaid forces are to march immediately to Portsmouth, there to be shipped for the voyage.

The last letters from Tangier of 24th April from Sir Palmes Fairbone give an account that the enemy had fortified themselves so well in their trenches that there would be need of a very considerable force to remove them; that they had intercepted Henrietta Fort and Charles Fort from communication with the town and made several very brisk attempts upon the said forts, but that they gave them an account from the forts by speaking trumpets that they were in a very good condition and wanted nothing, that their only way of conveying intelligence to the forts was by the speaking trumpets, and that they always of late spoke Irish, having received notice that some English renegadoes amongst the Moors understood them in the other language. This is the latest account from thence, and the Lord Inchiquin is preparing to come hither according to his orders sent him by Sir Palmes Fairbone.

His Majesty after this at the Council table took occasion to mention a pamphlet lately printed by stealth called—"A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the Black Box," which being full of sedition and malice against the Duke of York, and endeavouring to persuade the people that the Duke of Monmouth was legitimate, His Majesty ordered the Clerks of the Council to make copies of His Majesty's declaration entered in the Council books concerning His Majesty's marriage, which they are to attest upon oath, and with an account of the late examinations to have printed for the satisfaction of the minds of the people. That night after the Council the King returned to Windsor. Here are some alterations in the military employments going on: Mr. Churchill is to command the Duke's regiment of foot and the fort at Sheerness in the room of Sir Charles Littleton, who is to be Governor of Jersey; Sir John Lanier is to be lieutenant of the Duke's troop of

Horse Guards in the room of Sir Richard Dutton, who is to go Governor of Barbadoes, and Sir Jonathan Atkins is to be recalled home.

Mr. David Fitzgerald and two other persons brought out of Ireland by the messenger Wakefield are ordered to return forthwith into Ireland, there to give evidence of what they can inform.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, May 29. London.—I think last Council day an express was ordered to give you notice of another recruit out of Ireland for the relief of Tangiers. I beg your pardon in minding you how greatly you may suffer if the men be not ready at the arrival of the ships. I mentioned in a former letter either to you or my brother what notice was taken that the second four companies had they been ready might have gone by the first opportunity, and this was said on Wednesday last, and not having had an answer to that enquiry I could not make any reply. This is all the trouble I shall give you now, which I hope you will pardon.

PRINCE OF ORANGE to EARL OF OSSORY.*

1680. May 29, La Haye.—If faut que vous me croies le plus faus de tous les hommes apres les asseurances que je vous ay donne que vostre affaire seroit terminée bientost qu'elle ne l'est pas encore, mais si vous esties sur les lieus vous voiries que ce n'est pas ma faute. J'ay cru ne la devoir pas propose en un temps ou nous sommes a l'Assemblee d'Hollande en de tres fortes disputes comment de lever de l'argent pour payer nos debtes faites pendant la geurre cette dispute a dure trois mois, j'espere pourtant qu'elle se terminera cette semaine et qu' apres cela vostre affaire s'achevera. Je vous prie destre bien asseure du deplaisir que J'ay de ce retardement et du chagrin qui me cause un affaire de cette nature ; J'espere qu'elle sera si tost finie que nous pouroiez avoir la satisfaction de vous voir en ce lieu avant vostre voyage d'Irlande affin de vous pouvoir assurer de bouche de la veritable passion avec lequel je suis absolument avou. Vous aimant autant que je fais l'on ne sauroit avoir eu plus de joye que j'eu d'apprendre que vous esties refait du Cousiel. Je n'ay pas le temps de vous informe d'un affaire qui est arrive au Regt. de Weesly qui fait grand bruit. Je vous en faires envoyer les informations par l'ordinaire prochain.

THOMAS FAIRFAX to [EARL OF ARRAN.]

1680, June 1, London.—I am infinitely ashamed that your lordship should find me here considering the date of my letter, but since I am sure it's none of my fault I

* The orthography of the original is followed in this transcript.

hope my Lord Duke and your lordship will please to pardon it. If you did but know what delays and vexations I have had to bring about my business, your lordship, I am sure, would pity me, but now God be thanked it's over, and on Friday I intend to set forward towards Ireland, but it must be by the way of Yorkshire, where I must stay a week with my old mother, so that I believe it will be the latter end of the month before I can reach Dublin. I went yesterday to the Lodge to take leave of the Good Secretary (as we call him yet), where I had the most to do to get away in the world. He is mightily pleased with his retirement and talks of living at the Chase all winter, which we say will be something tedious for him to want company to chat at nights, but he seems to be resolute bat. My Lord Mulgrave goes the chief command to Tangier; my Lord Plymouth, Lumley, Mordaunt and several other volunteers go with him; Lord Ossory and Duke of Albemarle proffered their service in that affair, but the King thought fit to deny them both. Pray, my Lord, be pleased to make my excuse to his Grace for my long stay since he took my oath; it's not out of any inclination of my own, but the dilatory proceedings of our English Court. I hope to repair all by my future diligence, since no man takes more delight to be in the service of your lordship's family. Pray, my Lord, tell my Lord Chief Justice Keating the Secretary began his health

James Buck to Same.

1680, June 5th, Chelsey.—Your letter of the 22nd of May came not to my hands till the 2nd instant, which gave me notice of my Lady Arran's coming into England, which is no more than I expected, it being here as I am told long since contrived. I assure your lordship I shall be as assisting and serviceable to her ladyship as lies in my power or her ladyship's pleasure to command. The six coach horses shall be ready at Chester to attend her ladyship the 13th or 14th instant, according to your lordship's desire. I have tried the coachman here, that Mr. Clark always made use of for my Lord Duke, when he hired horses for Chester, and their price is still what Mr. Clark gave, which is 35*s*. per day whilst they are out, so that there needs not be any long stay. The charges will be so great, I have not yet made the bargain; I hope to bring it easier, but Monday will be my last day to try others. My Lord, I know not how my Lady comes over furnished, but your lordship will consider my disbursements; this last half-year's rent, which is more than I have received by 100*l*. I have redeemed the pendants, and it's as far as Chester in the way, but I have sent for them back. Mad. Ferrers sometimes tells me all the children come over to her, and sometimes that none but my Lady Betty; and she is much troubled she has not particular order in the whole affair. I hope my son has by this time kissed your lordship's hands.

EARL OF OSSORY to ORMOND.

1680, June 5, Windsor.—My indisposition in my eyes still continuing, though somewhat abated, hinders me as yet from being able to write. The last Council day His Majesty commanded all those that were present at Council when he swore to the truth of a paper signed with his own hand, declaring that he was never either contracted or married to any but his present Queen, that they should some day the next term depose in Chancery that they were present when this thing passed; after which this transaction will be made public with threatenings to any that shall go about to spread false rumours in this particular. I hope I shall soon send you copies of Fitzgerald's instructions which were passed in an extraordinary manner, and not by the Board. My Lord Primate's answer to Coppinger's petition was read last Council day, unto which Coppinger is ordered to reply. The answer might have been better penned, for besides the length, my Lord Primate's enemies observed too much sharpness, and some jestingly said that he was mistaken when he made any difference between ethics and morals. I will serve him in all things to the best of my power. I shall say nothing of your project for shipping, but humbly offer my advice that the number may be rather less, and the proportions larger, for a fifth rate will have enough to do with one Algerine. Anything under this will in my opinion be useless. I wish rather that some might be fourth rates. I shall not fail to impart your letter of the 30th May, which I now received unto Mr. Hyde, and shall speak to the King for his commands concerning Sir Hen. Ingoldsby's dismission from Council. I hear the States General have ordered my commission of General, but I cannot learn what they have done as to my appointments, in which, if I find not satisfaction to some reasonable degree, I shall soon return it unto them again. Several of your friends are of opinion that, upon the occasion of these forces going from Ireland to Tangier, it would be reasonable for you to move His Majesty for some declaration of his mind to you that this expense was to be but temporary and that the supplies his people in Parliament shall give him should be laid out for the security and good of that kingdom. Sir Wm. Petty has desired me to get him to be made a Councillor. He professes great respects to you, but without your permission I shall not move in this matter.

I know nothing of any pardon for Col. Gorges till you wrote me word of it. I am very much a servant to Col. Cecil, but knew nothing of any concern of his. Major Billingsley is now with me, who will wait on you about the beginning of the next month.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, June 5.—I have yours of the 25th and others of the 27th from the Council, by which I am ordered to send 600

men more to Tangier. I conclude from thence that the place is in no small danger, else it would be unconsidered how displeasing it will be to a Parliament here to have men paid by this revenue employed upon another service, but necessity must be obeyed and I will make the best I can of all I am commanded. God send they come not too late to preserve us from the damage and shame of such a loss. I am extremely unsatisfied with the management of James his expenses, the account for a year coming to 1,100*l.* in a place where the half ought to have served. I thought you would have taken the pains to have inquired into it; the account for gowns and clothes is most extravagant. I wish you would call for an account—particularly of the number of suits, the kind and rates they cost and by whose direction so many were sent. My luck always has been that all that serve me, as well as others, think my wealth is not to be exhausted, and that I am fit to be a dupe to all sorts of people; the post is just going. No news of your wife.

PRINCE RUPERT to ORMOND.

1680, June 7th.—The bearer hereof—Major Billingsley, my godson—is returning for Ireland. I could not but trouble your lordship with two or three lines in his behalf to give your lordship thanks for your kindnesses already showed unto him. And also that your lordship will continue the same for the future in any thing that may intervene, according to his desert and better preferment as occasion shall offer.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, June 9, Dublin.—I have yours of the 29th of May, and before that received orders to send hence a further recruit to Tangier, which shall be prepared as fast as the thing can be done, and if that cannot be by the time the ships shall come for them, it will be unjust to lay the fault upon me, considering that there never is sixpence in the Treasury to advance upon such occasions; how averse men are from going to that service (in so much that half companies run away at once when they are on their march) that they would all do so or mutiny if they were sent without some pay, and that neither in case of mutiny or running away there is any power to hang criminals, which only can terrify them, for all inferior punishments they had rather undergo than that service. I send you herewith extracts of all the letters I sent from the first time that I was ordered to send men for Tangier, out of which if the dates be compared with the times that they were ready for transportation it will appear there was no time lost that could be saved by me, and that the four English companies have taken above two months for ships to carry them; where that fault lies I know not, nor why it should not be inquired after and reflected on. If the Secretary did not read my several letters on this subject,

or if it be forgotten that he did read them to the Council, I cannot help it, and perhaps you are not free from blame if you have forgotten what your brother and I have written to you on the subject; you may read this letter where and to whom you please or make use of any part of it as you shall think fit. The wind has been fair two or three days, and has brought in many vessels, but there is no news of your wife.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, June 12, Whitehall.—His Majesty hath altered nothing in the measures he hath taken for the succouring of Tangier upon the loss of the forts that are near it. The horse and foot are hastened away all that is possible here; the same, I doubt not, is done in Ireland. 'Tis hoped they may come time enough to save the town, though the Moors will in all probability have already carried the little forts and redoubts that were remaining (when the express came away) after the loss of the Charles and the Henrietta forts. The Alcade offered a peace if we demolish all the forts and be content to hold the town as the Portuguese held it. On Thursday night last there was a defensive alliance signed between His Majesty and the King of Spain; it is the same in effect with that which was made between Spain and Holland in '73, and between His Majesty and Holland in '78; 'tis purely defensive and induces no obligation but that the two Kings maintain and defend each other in their present peace and possessions against all aggressors.

THOMAS PRICE, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL to ORMOND.

1680, June 13, Cashel.—In obedience to your Grace's commands of the 11th of the last month, I caused all diligent search to be made for the body of Edward Ball, and that by those that I know just to me and faithful to His Majesty's interest, but as yet he is not to be found. If he lurks hereabouts ever so closely I hope ere long to find him out, but what I have done hitherto has been private, and if your Grace thinks it more convenient to make now a more public search, upon the least intimation it shall be strictly and readily observed and obeyed; in the interim I shall not slacken the duty required from me.

Since I have taken the confidence to give your Grace this trouble, I shall also beg leave to return your Grace my hearty thanks for your great care of the inhabitants of that Union whereof you have been pleased to condescend Dr. Sall should be the minister. He preached in the forenoon at St. John's to the English, and in the afternoon at the Rock in Irish, to both with great satisfaction, but to the latter so far to their contentment that he had at the least 100 of Papists to hear him of almost all sorts as well as literate as otherwise, and if the Church could have held them, it is reported there would be as many more. I hope it will work upon them by degrees,

and if we can win but some our labour is not lost. I pray God reward your Grace for contributing so much to so good a work by your encouraging of it, which I hope will tend to God's glory, as it is altogether intended. The Dr. intends to live with me for his better security, which I think really necessary, his living consisting almost of mere Irish, and no house yet built to live in. I intend to join with him to get therefore one to serve that cure that can read and preach in Irish. I thought fit to acquaint your Grace with it and hope it will meet with your approbation.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, June 15, London.—My being a fortnight out of town hath occasioned my not paying that tribute to your Grace which I hold myself (in duty) obliged to do, though His Majesty's declaration concerning his marriage and the affairs of Tangier have taken up most part of the debates in Council during that time.

I find my Lord Chancellor of Ireland's answer to Coppinger's petition was read the last Council day, and an order made that it should be shewed the petitioner, which will regularly produce a hearing before the Board (as I imagine).

The Treaty between us and Spain was concluded the latter end of the last week at Windsor, in which there is said to be a condition that the Parliament shall sit in a short time, which is thought to be the beginning of October, and it is supposed His Majesty will at next meeting of the Parliament, which is to be in July, signify his pleasure that he intends they shall sit at the said time of October.

Mr. Slingsby's patent as Master of the Mint is ordered to be superseded, and that office is to be put into commission. And it is said the Master of the Ordnance place (which is at present in commission) is to be given to Col. George Legge, and the Lieutenant's of the Ordnance place to Sir Christopher Musgrave, one of the present Commissioners.

This day all the Lords of the Council who were witnesses to His Majesty's former declarations concerning his marriage took their oaths in the Court of Chancery in order to have the said declarations (so attested) recorded in the said Court.

His Majesty is so well pleased with the good air of Windsor that he intends not to be here to-morrow at the Council.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, June 15, London.—I received this day your letters of the 5th and 9th of this month. The first relating to the ill management of my son's expenses, I have already ordered Mulys to require from M. Drelincourt an account of the particulars of them. I am extremely scandalised at the extravagance of them and shall show my dislike and require better management for the future, as they shall value your displeasure. I am sure a much less sum would keep him

decently in an Academy, which I think a more proper place for him. As to the transcripts of parts of your letters to my Lord Sunderland and Secretary Coventry, I beg your pardon if I did ill express my meaning, my brother's nor your letter not answering the thing I thought I had mentioned, which was, that I heard it alleged that orders came to you for the second recruit time enough for them to have gone away with the first, which consisted of the four Scotch companies, and there was conveniency in those ships for their transportation, had the men been at the waterside, as, it is said, was ordered from hence. If you will be pleased to look upon your first and second orders, I doubt not but you will furnish me with a satisfactory answer in this particular. Dr. Turberville being in town, I remain here for the cure of my eyes, which are in an ill condition by my returning to Windsor before they were perfectly well, that place by reason of the chalkiness and dust of the building being very hurtful to all that are liable to any such distemper. I have been let blood, physicked, bathed, scarified, and blistered, and still the sharpness of the humour continues.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, June 16, Dublin.—I have yours of the 5th and some copies of the transaction concerning Fitzgerald—the rest I hope to have by the next, but by these I find the proceeding was extraordinary and malicious, the ill manners ere excusable as faults of ignorance.

We have the King's declaration as to the Duke of Monmouth's mother in print; it shall be reprinted here. My Lord Primate shall know your care of him. The King may mend the proportions of the ships any way he pleases, so he give no umbrage that he means after they are built to call them away to other service than that of this kingdom, of which they are so suspicious that though moved to it they would not agree to have any 4th rate. We conceive there will be great use of two yachts and other small craft, and I suppose His Majesty may save in England full as much as we shall lay out here, since the stations of the Land's End, Cape Clear, and the chops of the Channel may be supplied by them, besides jobs to Tangier, and even to the Leeward Islands may upon occasion be performed by them.

I send you herewith some notions of Sir Wm. Petty's upon the subject, but I omit his computations of charge because they are too much mistaken, and that we can have them more certainly elsewhere. I have no objection to Sir Wm. Petty's being a Privy Councellor, but that he will make so many objections and propose so many notions that much of our time will be lost in them; besides, till a dispute betwixt him and the Farmers is over it will be highly inconvenient to have him there. In the Bills now transmitted His Majesty will find himself sufficiently bound to employ the revenue

of this kingdom—new and old—to the service of it, and yet he may dispose of money after it comes into the Exchequer to what use he pleases, but he can give no new grants or pensions. This, I am sure, is a great security to the Crown and kingdom, and no small ease to the King in freeing him from perpetual importunities. If the King finds the proportion of the ships too small, why may we not call a ship of betwixt 40 and 50 guns a 5th rate, for as I remember neither tons or guns were specified in the Bill.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, June 16.—I received the last night the honour of your letter bearing date the fourth of this month, whereby I perceive that your Excellence has not yet had notice of the present Vice-Chancellor's entire resignation of himself to your disposal for the succeeding year—a thing which will be very much for the security of our concerns in this place, and also to the service of the King, especially if at the close of this year he should have occasion to call a Parliament here again. I sent your Excellence also an account of the performance of your commands at Magdalen Hall, and the settlement of Dr. Levett in the Principalship, and likewise represented the difficulties which we now have in executing your Excellency's commission by reason of the death of some and absence of others who were nominated therein; for remedy whereof I humbly offered it to your Excellency that you would be pleased to supply the vacancies. This letter I doubt has miscarried, being enclosed in one to Mr. Moreton, who I hear is coming for England. Since my Lord of Ossory will not close with the conversation of books, it remains that he have the advantage of conversing with men. In reference to which I heartily wish your Excellency may find a fit person to serve my Lord in the quality of a Governor, who, besides the real endowments of knowledge and virtue, may have the advantages of conduct and address to make himself beloved and revered. There is not, I think, generally speaking, a worse sort of men than they who set up and make it their trade to be governors to young noblemen; so that if the person who is recommended to your Excellency be one of that profession, I hope you will have a very particular assurance before he be entertained. The settling my lord in principles of honour and industry, and prepossessing him with true notions of things being not the work of base and mercenary minds, it will be very hard to find upon that level any one competently fit for such an undertaking.

As to my Lord Courcy, though I cannot boast any great acquisitions in learning, I may assure your Excellency that he has lived here with sobriety and innocence. What his temper and inclinations are Sir Robert Southwell is very well enabled to inform your Excellency; it is, I fear, not so active as were requisite to the building up the decays of a

family. The sea is, I perceive, an element which he utterly declines, and therefore he implores your patronage at land. The Court I doubt would not be a very safe, though suitable station to him. Possibly if his quality would prefer him in marriage, it may be the best disposal. But this must be referred to your Excellency's judgment. Beseeching Almighty God to continue His blessing to your person, your counsels and affairs, I take leave with all possible duty and respect.

LADY CAVENDISH to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680, June 18th, Chatsworth.—I am but just now come out of the coach from a very tiresome journey, but hearing the post was just going from hence, I was not willing to omit letting your ladyship know I have brought James and Betty hither very well, though the ways cannot be worse in winter than they are now, which made the journey very troublesome, but James is so good a traveller he is not at all the worse for it. I have but just seen Will and Harry, so I can say little of them. I received when I came hither a letter from your ladyship, in which I find you expected my sister Ossory, but Maisson has one of a later date says she is landed, which I am very glad of.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, June 22.—I am exceedingly glad that my Lord James's being here proves to your Excellency's satisfaction, which I hope will always continue during his abode, and that his improvements will be such as will continue with him in all future removes. Mr. Dean of Limerick, has not yet thought fit to make use of your Excellency's favour in reference to his degree, there being a Statute of his College that six weeks must pass after he has his grace from the private society before he can be a candidate for the degree in the University. As to the other affair of comedians, the King's players having had cold reception from Mr. Vice-Chancellor in their desires to be received here this Act, obtained a solemn recommendation from His Majesty, and that not taking the desired effect they have procured a second letter. What the event will be I know not; but I think if the Vice-Chancellor be forced to receive them, he will so shorten them in time as may discourage them from coming on such terms.

ORMOND to EARL OF OSSORY.

1680, June 23.—I have caused all that could readily be found relating to the recruit commanded hence to Tangier to be extracted, and you have them in a paper enclosed herewith which you may upon occasion shew the King and the Duke and also produce at Council, but it will be hard to be put to such searches and retrospects upon

every suggestion that may be made in discourse when there is nobody to answer and when the reflection is made to serve a present turn and yet remains as an aspersion to the prejudice of another. I saw it in a letter from one that said he stood by when somebody belonging to the Admiralty had the impudence to tell the Duke that the ships had stayed I know not how long for the men at Kinsale, when on the contrary the men stayed for the ships six weeks at least, I am sure till with trouble I was fain to make up what they had spent in that time, but to this hour no ship has stayed a minute for the men. I am sorry your eyes are so bad. You must not think of a penny till they are better.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, June 26th, London.—The last Council day the Lord Sunderland brought in the Bills sent by your Grace out of Ireland with your Grace's letters, one of which relating to the Farmers of Ireland making a proposal for a new farm of the Revenue was particularly ordered to be laid by carefully till it should be taken into consideration, the Commissioners of the Treasury then present at the Board giving an account that they had not heard of any such proposal made or like to be made by the Farmers.

The Bills of the Revenue and of settlement were ordered to be copied with all speed, and as soon as they are done the Committee intends to take them into their consideration, as likewise all the other Bills remitted by your Grace hither. For the relief of Tangier four thousand foot and six hundred horse are ordered to make the number of the garrison and the Earl of Ossory to be Governor.

On the 24th inst. a common hall being met in the City of London, Mr. Slingsby Bethel and Mr. Cornish, two persons represented to be men of factious principles, were chosen sheriffs for the year ensuing; at the same time was likewise a petition for the sitting of the Parliament delivered to the sheriffs of London to be presented to the King, which is not as yet delivered.

This morning the Grand Jury of Middlesex brought a petition into the Court of King's Bench for the sitting of the Parliament, which they would have delivered the Judges to have presented to His Majesty but the Court refused to receive it, intimation being given to the Judges that the Grand Jury were likewise preparing a Bill of Indictment against His Royal Highness, in which they would have indicted him for being a Papist. The Judges discharged the said Grand Jury from their further attendance, to the great disappointment of many who attended in Westminster Hall, with the Earl of Shaftesbury at their head. Another Grand Jury is intended to be summoned before the end of the term, who it is believed will be of another temper. The trial of the Lord Aston is put off and leave given to have him bailed. Yesterday

the Duke of Buckingham had a verdict against Mr. Christian, Mr. Blood, Mr. Curtis and another person for subornation of perjury in the case of Le-Mar. 1,800 foot are to be sent out of Ireland and Scotland to make up the number of the 4,000 for the service of Tangier. The presentment of the Duke for a Papist was brought to the Grand Jury, signed by the following persons as prosecutors: Earl of Shaftesbury, Earl Huntington, Lord Grey, Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Mr. Wharton (eldest son to Lord Wharton), Sir Scroop Hore, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir [Henry] Calverly, Mr. Forester, Mr. Thyn.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, June 26. Whitehall.—I have the honour of two letters from your Grace of the 16th current by your express, together with an extract of your Grace's letters to Mr. Secretary Coventry, as also to my Lord of Essex and the late Lord Treasurer. I have also a list of the Bills transmitted hither under the Great Seal of that kingdom. I want words to acknowledge the condescension you are pleased to use towards me in this and other occasions, but shall not be wanting by the help of God in my best endeavours to do what your Grace hath all reason to expect at my hands. 'Tis probable there will be those whose interests will bring them to find fault with some things in the Bills now sent over. When it shall be on the other side considered that your Grace and the Council there had no other view nor interest but that of the King's service and the public good, I doubt not but that which is well projected will be well received and have a general approbation here; I have that reverence for your Grace's particular great lights and the public wisdom on that side that I shall come to attend the service of these Bills with a very great deference and respect for those that framed them, and give your Grace the best account I can of what passes.

As for Mr. David Fitzgerald, I moved the Council, His Majesty being present, that some course might be taken to oblige him to hasten over to attend those trials where he hath some things to say as a witness for the King. I was answered that he should be in Ireland time enough for the Limerick Assizes. I take leave to enclose a petition of his that was read last day in Council; as also a letter which His Majesty hath been pleased to write to the Lord Dunkellin, and another to my Lord the Earl of Clanrickarde, his father, to the end your Grace may see the favour intended to my Lord the son, and be pleased to promote His Majesty's good intentions for and expectations from that Lord. [Encloses the two following letters.]

KING'S LETTER to LORD DUNKELLIN.

1680, June 23, Whitehall.—It is with singular great satisfaction that we have understood of your being thoroughly

instructed in the true Protestant religion as it stands established by law in that our kingdom. And that you have thereupon united yourself to the Protestant Church there, having forsaken that of Rome. We shall not enlarge to tell you how great a gainer you are in several respects by this exchange; but we are glad of this occasion to observe to you that you have happily rescued yourself from a foreign jurisdiction and dependance which too many of our subjects in Ireland do make a main essential point of their Christianity; and yet that dependance is such as hath always given jealousies to the Crown, and sometimes brought it to great extremities of danger, most especially in the late Irish rebellion, which was entered into merely for maintaining of that dependance and yet was so cruel that no Christian can think of it without horror. The religion that you have now embraced teaches you better things, not allowing so much as the possibility of a case where it may be lawful for subjects to take up arms against their sovereign. As such a religion is the best security to the public peace, so upon your professing of it we are readily inclined to allow you the same privileges which our other Protestant subjects of your quality do enjoy. We have therefore ordered our Chancellor of that our kingdom to insert your name in the Commission of the Peace and to issue out our gracious writ of summons when a Parliament is called in that our kingdom, whereby you may sit as a Baron in our House of Peers in the right of one of the ancient baronies belonging to your family, to the end you may miss no opportunity nor advantage incident to your quality to assert and maintain the true Protestant religion, as also to maintain as occasion shall require the rights of the Crown, together with the liberties and properties of our subjects, and so we bid you heartily farewell.

KING'S LETTER to EARL OF CLANRICKARDE.

1680, June 23.—Having out of our special grace and favour to your son the Lord Viscount Dunkellin thought fit to put him into several commissions of trust and honour in that our kingdom, and to order our Chancellor there to issue out our gracious writ of summons to him whereby he may take his place as Baron in our House of Peers in the next Parliament to be holden in Ireland, We cannot but express our confidence in you that you will receive this honour done to your son as a mark of our favour and esteem for yourself and your family, and that upon this consideration you will make your son such an allowance for the support of himself, his wife and children as may bear a proportion with those dignities we have or shall confer upon him. His present circumstances do make it necessary that we press you earnestly in this point, and we hope that your compliance will be as cheerful and liberal as our recommendation of your son's case is just and seasonable. To this we expect your speedy answer.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, July 1.—Being confined to my chamber by a little lameness (which I hope will not continue long upon me) I could not wait upon your Grace, and therefore have presumed to send your Grace the enclosed, that you may understand the unfit condition of that man to be Mayor of Limerick whom they have this year made choice of because it happened to him by succession; he is a person so declaredly opposite to the Church and to conformity that I presume your Grace will not hold him fit for so great a trust; there are several worthy persons who may be very fit for that employment in these times: I shall not trouble your Grace with the names of any of them until I shall have the opportunity of attending your Grace; but I held it necessary to give your Grace at present some short account thereof, lest the business might have come before your Grace this afternoon at the Council.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, July 3, London.—On Wednesday morning, being last day of the term, the Lords and others who before had signed the presentment of the Duke came to Westminster Hall with an intention [to send] the said presentment to another Grand Jury who were then sitting, but the Grand Jury were met so privately they came away without their ends, but it is said they still endeavour to arrive at them, and are ready against the Quarter Sessions to be held shortly at Hicks Hall with the said presentment. On Thursday in the evening His Majesty returned again to Windsor.

We have no news from Tangier since my last, the Earl of Ossory making his daily preparation for his voyage thither. The forces to attend him are a regiment of 600 foot to be commanded by the Earl of Plymouth, Mr. Kirke, Col. Charles Trelawny, Major, to be new raised here; 200 foot to be sent out of Ireland to recruit the Irish companies in Tangier; 400 out of Scotland to recruit the Lord Dumbarton's regiment there; 300 to be sent out of Ireland, which are to be mounted on Spanish horse at Cales, from whence they are to be transported to Tangier.

The Judges being summoned to appear at the last Council, had instructions given them to be observed in their next circuits, which were to this effect: that they should take particular care to have well principled men of the Grand Juries in their respective circuits; that they should put the laws against Popish recusants strictly in execution, and that they should distinguish between Papists and other Protestant dissenters; that for the satisfying men's minds, and to prevent the seditious way of tumultuary petitioning, they should acquaint the Justices of Peace and gentlemen of the Grand Juries in their counties that it was His Majesty's firm resolution the Parliament should undoubtedly sit in November at farthest. The Attorney General and King's

Counsel being likewise summoned, were ordered to consult and bring in their opinions, whether by the Act for regulating Corporations the livery men of the several companies within the City of London are obliged to take the oaths, receive the Sacrament, and subscribe the declaration mentioned therein.

Mr. Savile is lately returned out of France, whither it is said he very suddenly repairs again. The King of France is this night expected at Dunkirk, and the Earl of Oxford goes on His Majesty's part to compliment him there, and Col. Churchill from the Duke. The Bishop of St. Asaph is lately dead, and Dr. Lloyd, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, it is supposed, will succeed him in that Bishopric. The Irish Bills are all transcribed according to order, but as yet no committee is appointed to take them into consideration.

Earl of Derby to Ormond.

1680, July 5, Knowsley.—I cannot express how well I am pleased to hear your Grace likes the hawks I sent last. As I was ashamed there was but one cast, so now I am very glad your Grace pardons me for that fault. But I promise you what hawks can be got the next year shall all be at your service, and I hope there will be more then, because I will for the future have more care taken of the eyries than has been yet. Your Grace's falconer told me he thought you had some hawks to spare, which encouraged me to make your Grace a request for one. The greatest plenty we have of game is partridge and woodcocks, crows and herons, but I humbly leave for what game the hawks should be to your Grace's judgment, for I own myself so ignorant of hawking that I cannot pretend to know what game please me best. But you have so given me encouragement as the advice about a faulkner, for which I give you most humble thanks, and the other the invitation your Grace is pleased to make me, I esteem to that degree that I must personally acknowledge the honour your Grace has done me so soon as I can, that whatever happens nothing can dishearten me from that sport, but I will endeavour as much as in me lies to learn something of the same. I must not omit any longer giving your Grace an account of Parson Piggot, who did so brag of your Grace's kindness to him, with what splendour and ceremony he was received, particularly by the clergy in Ireland at his going over there with my Lady Arran, and what preferments he might have had if he had so thought fit to have received them, that he gave me a hint once something to this purpose, as if for his sake I might be well received there. I mention this to show your Grace how well he would have the world to think of him. I will only tell you thus much of him—he is not a man at all beloved by the gentry, for there is few knows what to make of him. He

speaks loud for the Church of England, but at the same time he offered his parishioners at Rochdale, that if they would pay for a curate they might choose whom they would and he would approve of the choice. I thought it my duty to acquaint you concerning this divine; yet if I have been too forward in this I humbly ask your Grace's pardon, and I will trouble you no further only this much, if you would have a further account of what I now say, your Grace will then wonder he durst show his face to you after what he endeavoured to do, which I have under his own hand.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, July 6, Whitehall.—Last post I sent you a copy of my letter to my Lord Sunderland. The enclosed, which I met yesterday at Windsor from Sir Palmes Farebone, I think fortifies what I wrote upon the subject of Tangier. Yesterday morning the King commanded the Earl of Sunderland and myself to attend him about the choice of officers. I desired that the project of what was intended might first be established, upon which the said lord said that if nothing was to be proposed as to augmentation since in that there was an impossibility, and that if I could not defend the place, as he thought I could not, that I might, if I had time, represent so much here, or else leave it the best way I could. I replied that the commission was no way agreeable, and that few who value their honour would willingly undertake it. His lordship said that if nothing were done the people in the streets would throw stones. I answered that if more men and treasure were employed upon a vain undertaking that ten for one would be cast at the advisers. Thus ended the consultation. In the afternoon I got the King alone, and told him that I thought myself bound to let him know that by what we heard, and by the opinion of every man that has been on the field or appointed to go thither, that anything like the supplies intended would prove insignificant, and that though I would obey him always, yet I desired not to undertake a service wherein I thought certainly to miscarry. He said he intended me this as a pleasure, and that no harm was done if I declined, and that he would take other measures. He seemed not in the least displeased, but I will not answer how the ministers may strive to exasperate him; though I said that when I had thus declared myself he should always find me obedient, but that I hoped he would not enforce upon me impossibilities or employment to lose my reputation. Afterward I gave the Duke an account of this conversation, who seemed satisfied, and told me I should in this and all things else find his kindness. The thing is secret, and I desire you not to impart it unto any. You may let my mother and my wife know that my going is not so sure as when I wrote last.

Ormond to Sir Stephen Fox.

1680, July 6, Dublin.—It is long since I ought to have acknowledged to you the part I take in the constant obligations you have laid upon me in the care and kindness you have expressed to my niece Hamilton in all her concerns. It is not over usual that men remember the friendships they have had so long and so usefully where there is so little expectation of suitable returns; but as I ought to put myself into the place of my dead nephew and take his obligations upon me, so I desire you to believe I will never forget the kindness you have shown to his wife and children. My niece is lately gone hence, having entertained me with fresh instances of your great civilities to her.

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, July 6. Dublin.—I could not better give you my sense of your employment in Tangier than by a transcript of my letter to your mother, who, with your wife, are at Kilkenny. You may be sure there will not be the [ ] shall be [ ] from [ ] of your concernment. I doubt not but that many young men will go from hence in a belief that they show you affection and kindness. Yet I know how troublesome that sort of people are and that they may be more so in a straitened garrison. But on the other hand I do not find that our nation need discouragements to keep them at home. Let me know how you are inclined in the matter. I like your son being in the Academy, if Whitehall and his friends were not so near; but I will hereafter entertain my Lord Chamberlain on that subject; in the meantime a suit a month is a larger wardrobe than any of his forefathers had. I have much to write by this post and can spare you no more time.

——— to Mr. James Clarke.

1680, July 13, London.—For my Lord's service at Tangier I am commanded to send you the enclosed list of live provisions and other stores that his lordship desires may be made there out of her Grace's stores, and shipped on a vessel hired for the purpose at Kinsale, to sail under convoy of the ships that will be ordered to transport 600 soldiers for Tangier. This matter his lordship would have you to acquaint her Grace withal, and to proceed as you find orders from hence for the transportation of the said 600 men, which orders (my lord says) will go hence to my lord Lieutenant this night.

The reason that have moved his lordship to this is the low price that provisions is at there, that they have a shorter way to sail than from hence, and especially because he must hold little or no communication with the Spanish coast, the plague being in their borders (as His Majesty is informed), and we are told that 5*l.* will buy more provisions in Ireland than can be had for 30*l.* at Tangier, besides the trouble and

hazard of fetching the same under convoy either from Spain or Oran, on the coast of Barbary. What servants you give the charge of these things unto must be paid for their voyage (as you can agree) and returned to Ireland again, if they like not to engage in the service there. [Encloses list of provisions.]

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, July 13, London.—The last Council-day being taken up chiefly with the hearing a long cause concerning the Corporation of Tiverton, in Devonshire, I did not give your Grace the trouble of a letter by the last post. After the determining the cause His Majesty was pleased upon a petition of Mrs. Hyde (daughter-in-law to Sir Robert Vyner) to grant a Commission of Review (which is the last appeal) the Judges' delegates having given judgment in affirmance of the marriage betwixt the petitioner and Mr. Emerson already.

One Mr. Doughty, being condemned for murder, the bailiff of Westminster on Friday morning broke into a house (formerly Mr. Doughty's, but now taken by lease by the envoy of the Duke of Savoy), which being complained of to the committee of Lords then sitting, Mr. Stroud was sent for before them, who refused to deliver up the possession, and was thereupon sent to the Tower and his servants to the gate-house, from whence they all came in two hours by *habeas corpus*. Their Lordships thereupon ordered Mr. Attorney General to inspect the Chamber of Westminster, and if by any of his irregular proceedings the bailiff, Mr. Stroud, have forfeited his place to evict him thereof by law. This morning the Justices of Peace of the liberties upon view of the force have recorded Mr. Stroud and his servants guilty of a riot and put them out of possession of the said house, and restored the envoy again thereto.

The Earl of Inchiquin is returned from Tangier. He waited upon His Majesty at Windsor, but the King refused to let him kiss his hand. This day his Lordship was before the Committee of Tangier (His Majesty being present, but his papers not being yet ready, he had nothing said him of the faults that are laid to his charge, and was only asked concerning the condition which the town and garrison was in when he left it. His lordship referred himself in that likewise to his papers for the particulars, but in general he seems to think the town in a weak condition enough, and therefore advises a peace which, he says, may be had upon very advantageous terms for His Majesty, but that the Moors will not suffer any of the outforts or fortifications ever to be repaired again; and his lordship agrees that whenever the Moors will break the peace, the town without the outworks must be in great danger. The commissions of raising the regiment of foot and six hundred horse were this day signed by His Majesty, but I perceive His Majesty doth not intend the Earl of Ossory shall begin his voyage to Tangier so soon

as was at first resolved. A courier is this day despatched over land to Tangier with a project of peace to be offered by Sir Palmes Fairbone to the Alcayde with instructions to him to endeavour to procure prolonging the present truce for two months.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, July 15.—The Act being now over, it will be fit that I render an account of that part thereof which my Lord James supported. And this I shall very cheerfully do, he having acquitted himself excellently well. And if hereafter he speaks with the same assurance and advantage in Parliament and Council and the head of an army as he did in our great audience, he will not fail to answer all your Excellency's both expectations and desires in that particular. I am further at this time to represent unto your Excellency the state of your University in reference to a Vice-Chancellor for the following year. The present man has with great prudence and dexterity performed his duty, but of late there having been examples that his predecessors have been dismissed after a year's service, and the straitness of his fortune not well consisting with the necessary expenses of that office, he is very desirous to be dismissed. On the other hand, it is plainly the interest of the University that Vice-Chancellors should be continued at least for two years, not only because that else they will still quit their office when they begin to understand it perfectly, but also because that else there will not easily be found fit men enough to succeed into the employment, and at this day some of our heads of houses not being divines, others being disabled by age or sickness, it is very hard to find a man in whose hand the government of the University may safely be deposited, when the present Vice-Chancellor shall be dismissed. When Mr. Dean of Limerick returns, I shall give your Excellency a further account, but this I thought necessary to intimate at the instant.

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD (TIMOTHY HALTON) to ORMOND.

1680, July 16, Queen's College, Oxford.—I have with what faithfulness I could discharged that great trust your Excellency was pleased to lay upon me in this University for this last year. But by reason of my many disabilities I could not answer your Excellency's expectation, and therefore I most humbly beseech that you will be pleased to make choice of some other person who may discharge the office to the greater honour of the University than possibly could be done by, &c.

REV. P. DRELINCOURT to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680, July 16.—Voicy la mesure de mylord James selon l'ordre que j'ay reçeu de l'envoyer à vôtre grandeur. Il

nous semble icy que mylord est cru considerablement depuis un an, et quoy qu'il ne soit pas si gras qu'il était l'année passée, cependant il a un peu trop d'embonpoint, à mon avis, nonobstant qu'il fasse icy toute l'exercise que l'on peut attendre du lieu ; il y a plus de neuf mois qu'il se léve régulierement a cinq heures et demyes, sans manquer il monte a cheval des jours entiers, et dans la saison nous chassons toutes les semaines, et aussy souvent que M. nôtre bon Evêque nous le permet. Mylord fait aussy des armes en particulier, n'y ayant point icy de maitre pour luy montrer. Il joue aussy, quelques fois à la paulme, mais il n'y a pas beaucoup d'inclination, de quoy Mr. nôtre Doyen n'est pas fâché. Il marche beaucoup soir et matin, et hors ses heures détude il est tonjours en action le reste du jour. Il est assurement, Madame, beaucoup plus vif et plus actif que vôtre grandeur ne l'a point encore veu. Sa santé du reste est très bonne, et il devient fort robuste. Je suis tonjours dans le sentiment qu'une bonne academie luy seroit fort necessaire ; cependant je say bien, Madame, que c'est à moy a me soumêttre (comme je fais) en silence et avec respect aus ordres et aus sentiments de M. le Duc, souhaittant passionément et contribuant de tout mon pouvoir et avec sincerité que la demeure de mylord icy luy soit enfin aussy avantageuse que sa grandeur peut ou desirer ou esperer. Permettez moy, je vous supplie, Madame, de vous dire librement entre vôtre grandeur et moy, qu'il y auroit quelque sujet de craindre avec le temps que les tentations et les exemples continuelles de buvette icy ne luy devinssent contagieuses et ne gagnassent enfin quelque pied sur ses bons principles nonobstant tout le soin et toute l'exactitude qu'on y peut aporter.

Au reste mylord fit icy des merveilles la semaine dernière en nôtre grande solemnité au Theatre publick, ou il parla avec toute la liberté, la hardiesse, la gentillesse, la bonne grace et le succez que l'on peut esperer, et même au dela.

J'ay bien de la joye d'apprendre, Madame, que M. le Comte se trouve beaucoup mieux de la goutte. Je fais touts les jours des voeus tres sincères et tres ardents pour la santé, la gloire, et la prosperite de cet illustre Epoux aussy bien que pour celle de vôtre grandeur et de tout ce qui luy apartient, etant inviolablement, &c.*

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680, July 17, Whitehall.—I have the honour of a letter from your Grace of the 6th current, which I acknowledge with all humble thanks possible. There is nothing yet so much as begun upon the Bills that your Grace hath transmitted hither ; only they are transcribing for the several hands that are to use them—His Majesty being so much of his time at Windsor, and the incident of Tangier not allowing time enough yet for so serious a deliberation.

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

On midsummer day there were two sheriffs chosen—Bethell and Cornish, but they being not qualified having not received the sacrament in twelve months before, and having refused the bond that the Court of Aldermen offered them to the end to tie them fast to hold to the place they were chosen to, Wednesday last was appointed for a Common Hall to choose new ones in their place. There was a world of insolencies committed in the Hall that day; one of the sheriffs was taken by the throat and punched in the breast, and all this by the fanatic party who will have the sheriffs first chosen (who have since Wednesday the sacrament) to hold, notwithstanding that the Court of Aldermen hath declared them incapable of being chosen (having once refused and being fined) for this year. Yet that party would by all means have a poll for them. Their names are Cornish, a Presbyterian, and Bethell, a member of the late Committee of Safety, and in that quality most abjured the R-line. Against them are set up two honest gents, Box and Nicholson,and there hath been a poll of the livery-men on Thursday and yesterday, which being not finished is adjourned to Monday. 'Tis thought the majority will prove to be for Box and Cornish. The confidences of the restless party are very great, and so is their diligence at this pinch. I beseech God to bless His Majesty. Such collisions are not without danger. I do not presume to trouble your Grace with the enormous excesses of the head bailiff of Westminster, knowing that Sir James Butler will give your Grace an account of that affair, and take your Grace's directions upon it.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, July 17, London.—On Wednesday morning last just before the Council met, one Owen Callaghan applied himself to me with an account of great discoveries he could make of several persons having a hand in the Popish plot who were of the kingdom of Ireland. I (according to my duty) brought him to the Council, who ordered him to attend your Grace, and have transmitted his information, together with a letter from the Board to your Grace by this post. Your Grace will likewise receive two letters in answer to your Grace's, one being concerning Capt. Patrick Lavalline; the other relating to the titular Bishop of Limerick, and the Popish titular dignitaries in Ireland. His Majesty was at that time pleased to declare that the prorogation of the Parliament should be to the 23rd of August next, and the commission is preparing accordingly.

On Wednesday in the evening His Majesty commanded the summoning a Council at seven o'clock, where the Lord Mayor of London and Aldermen attended, and giving an account of some disturbances which had happened that morning in the Hall upon the occasion of electing sheriffs of London for the next year, and particularly that one of the

present sheriffs endeavouring to adjourn the poll about twelve o'clock was struck by one Osborne, master of the Salters' company, on the breast, and very much bruised, a special commission of oyer and terminer was ordered to be issued out for the trial of the said Osborne and others concerned in that tumultuous way of proceeding. The poll continued all Thursday and Friday, Cornish and Bethell being set up by the factious party, and Box and Nicholson by the others. This day being the day of sessions, the poll was adjourned till Monday, which it is supposed will end the dispute, and at present there is not much difference in the votes.

The Commissioners for raising the forces for Tangier are given out, and the drums beating for raising the men. The horse men come in very readily, but the foot but slowly. The Marquis d'Augeau is arrived here out of France with a compliment to His Majesty from his Master.

Earl of Ossory to Ormond.

1680, July 17, Windsor.— I hope you will pardon my curiosity in opening the inclosed, imagining that it did concern me and the present expedition. I will employ all my endeavours, and hope that God will supply the weakness of the means that are appointed for me. I cannot write either to my mother or my wife, not having anything material to say; besides I am a little indisposed in my eyes, and I abstain writing as much as possible for fear of a relapse.

Netterville to Earl of Longford.

1680, July.—The Farmers have declared to the King that if these Bills go on they must quit the farm, and have desired that they may have their advance money and so be at quiet; this also they have declared to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and have also declared if my Lord of Ormond have any other set of people that he had rather should have the revenue than they, they are willing to resign it; they have also declared that the country cannot bear any taxes, for they are poor, and the money current in specie is not above 30,000*l.* in the whole kingdom, and the Farmers declare to me that if their farm be dissolved, which the present Acts will certainly do, that though they be all hanged at Tyburn some great men shall pay for it, and that dearly too, though the Duke of York espoused their [cause], and do bid defiance to the greatest men that lives to ruin them if he dares; this they told me in some rage two days ago, but of this not one word for your life, and do say that the Parliament in Ireland shall not sit, and if they do those that think to carry all, shall be much mistaken and laughed at into the bargain. The Farmers if the Parliament do sit, will go to the House of Commons and declare the state of Ireland and their reasons for not passing the Acts; they do tell the King that if the pretences be to get money by a new law, they will show the King how he may by the laws in being levy 300,000*l.* which he is entitled

to, and do say that the Lord Lieutenant will find more difficulties in the Parliament of Ireland than he thinks, and this they assured me as also that I might take my measures of them, and their knowledge in Ireland of this assertion of theirs, and I do believe them in that as I do in any other matter, and they are no fools; besides they will set forth all the state of Ireland to the Parliament here, if ever they sit. And this, my Lord, they do openly declare, and also declare that they do not value any man for his greatness or power, whoever he is, though they are assisted by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Lanesborough, Col. Dillon, Nick Armorer, Mr. Ellis, with his coach and six horses. Things my Lord are come to another kind of posture than you can possibly imagine, though you may think my letter the discourse of coffee houses and the *male* contents, yet you will find them to be syllobycally true at the long run, and pray do you remember I have told you of it.

Says my Lord Shaftesbury: "What! does Ireland, the snake, which we have harboured in our bosom and warmed it then when it could scarce live, think to give law to England? To give money to make the King independent of his people, to raise an army if they be so powerful! It's time for England to look about them, to make it a province; and for the grants of Ireland contrary to the intents of the declaration, and which has swallowed the satisfaction of Protestant adventurers, and soldiers, they will vote them null and void, and make a law also to that purpose. Lord Strafford thought to have saved his neck by sheltering it under the law there, that a law did this, and by a law that was done; but the Parliament here knew very well how laws in subordinate governments are compassed; and how also Privy Councillors are made there too, who transmit the Bills." This Sir William Cooper told me, so I do judge some letters came out of Ireland to that effect, or else somebody well knowing in the affairs of Ireland was with my Lord Shaftesbury to inform him of all matters, for he has the names of all the Council that were for and against the Bills there, and also the measures of their understandings and capacities with their estates, substance and dependencies on the King; of all this for your life speak not one word. He also told me that Strafford was a ——— and lost his head too, and he did not question but to see those who thought to bring England under the same tyranny my Lord of Strafford did to have the same fate. My Lord, till you assure me you have burnt or destroyed all my letters, I dare not write any more to you, for we live in dangerous times. Pray let me except my Lord Lieut. see my letters.

[*Endorsed:* "Mr. Netterville's letter received the 19th July, 1680."]

Ormond to Earl of Longford.

1680, July 20.—In one of Mr. Netterville's he tells you the East India ships are arrived, which I wish may hasten your journey that you may be upon the place before the Bills be

returned or wholly laid aside, that you may expedite your own affairs and return to us before the ill weather we are to expect about Michaelmas. Your lordship will observe your correspondent continues the freedom of his style, exalts the powerfulness of the Farmers, their magnanimity, their desperate intentions, and that with all this he would terrify me to a very humble compliance with them. Your lordship will further observe that my Lord Lanesborough, Cary Dillon and Ellis are added to the number of my Governors, and it is not his least mistake that he allows Ellis six horses to his coach, whereas I doubt he has but four and erects a chariot to the dignity of a coach. I could not imagine how Cary Dillon came to be a Governor till I remembered I had the ill fortune to be a small obstruction to his pretensions: after all he is damnably afraid his intelligence should come to be confronted and therefore repeats his conjurations of secrecy so often, yet after all this he is not to be angered, for as the hot weather is or may be, the most despicable insects may be troublesome, and so much for your correspondent. I am in good hope that some time next week I may be at Kilkenny, and if you resolve for England sooner than you intended, you will do best in case of your sudden going to leave my daughter at Kilkenny, or to bring her hither and leave her to my conduct.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, July 24, London.—I am very sorry to be one of those that give your Grace an account of my Lord Ossory's indisposition, and that he hath at present an intermitting fever, which hath been upon him these five or six days, but it is hoped he is something better than he hath been at the beginning of his distemper.

The last Council day was read a letter from Murphy to Hetherington, in which he complained that Oliver Plunket's trial was to be at Dundalk, which would be a great discouragement to himself and several others who would be evidence against him, which occasioned the letter from the Board to your Grace and Council recommending the having the said Oliver Plunket tried at the King's Bench at Dublin only. A commission was likewise then ordered to be issued forth empowering the Admiralty to give commissions of reprisal to such merchants who trading to the straits should desire the same against the Algerines, as likewise another commission to empower two officers of the Navy Board to impress artificers and workmen for the King's ships now building and repairing in the yards, according to a former precedent in the 16th year of His Majesty's reign upon the request of the Admiralty. The poll for the sheriffs of London is ended since Thursday last, but the present sheriffs have taken time till Sunday next to declare who is chosen by the majority, but it is agreed by all that Cornish and Bethell have the greatest numbers.

The Earl of Oxford is returned from Dunkirk with a present to the value of nine hundred pounds. The Earl of Carlisle is upon his voyage hither from Jamaica.

The Irish Bills remain still in the Attorney General's hands, and have not yet been read by the Board.

DENNY MUSCHAMP to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680, July 24, London.—This town has been more alarmed at the apprehensions of my Lord Ossory's sickness than at the loss of Tangier. Yesterday I spent my whole time running to the several coffee houses, where, greatly to my satisfaction, it was the whole discourse amongst the rankest and most accursed Presbyterians the great loss that this nation would have in the loss of my Lord Ossory. It's really hard to relate with what hearty affection all people speak of him. God be praised, he is very much better this afternoon than he was last night. The not operation of the Jesuit's powder which he took yesterday did much to frighten us, but now he is pretty well and his fever abates as well as his drowsiness, and by the next post I hope to tell you he is well. [Extract forwarded to Ormond.]

ORMOND to EARL OF CORK.

1680, July 24, Dublin.—I have proposed to myself to be at Kilkenny the last of this month, foreseeing nothing that is like to disappoint my purpose; yet as the times are it is possible a packet out of England may do it. There are two at the waterside, besides Sir James Shaen and his brethren, but if they should bring me business they may, if they think it worth the pains, follow me. My Lord of Ranelagh has brought his accounts to a balance, which I am told will weigh heavy on him and his partners. Yet I will bear him witness it has not been for want of ability or industry, and I am confident all that are engaged with him put together could not have come off so well without him. The intimation I give your lordship of my intended journey should have been as far as Lismore, but that I am not in any degree so much master of my time as I am with all reality, &c.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, July 27, Arlington House.—The last carried your Grace the ill news of my Lord of Ossory's sickness, since when we have suffered sharp alarm by the increase of it; but this day, God be thanked, all symptoms are much more favourable, of which your Grace receives a particular account under the physicians' hands, wherein yet I cannot forbear saying to you that they speak yet more hopefully than they have written. It ought somewhat to alleviate your Grace's grief to know how this whole town of all sorts are concerned for my lord your son's recovery, and I hope in God their good wishes will yet keep him among us. But let him recover never so fast

it cannot possibly be so fast as to enable him to make the expedition for Tangier, which, when he is well enough to understand, will be of no small satisfaction to him, for never man was put upon a thing so against his mind, as being of so hazardous an event in point of reputation (as he thought and not without reason). It exercises everybody's guesses who will be now named to the command, it being concluded impossible to find another so fit for it. I leave it to others to tell your Grace what report my Lord of Mulgrave brings from Tangier, my time having been wholly taken up in looking after your son. I opened yesterday his letters from Ireland, and amongst them that your Grace sent with copies of what correspondence is held betwixt the Bishop and Col. Mansel. All I could do with them was to read them directly to His Majesty, which I immediately did, desiring him to send you by this post his directions upon them. I have nothing to add but to pray God the next may carry your Grace better news of this your great concernment. I could not omit inclosing herein the letter I receive just now from Windsor that your Grace may see to what degree the King and Queen are concerned for my Lord of Ossory. [Encloses the following letter.]

RICHARD COLINGE to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1680, July 27, two of the clock, Windsor Castle.—All this morning His Majesty was very inquisitive and impatient to hear how my Lord Ossory did, and as soon as your lordship's came to my hands, which was about one of the clock, I showed it His Majesty at dinner. He was very much satisfied with the account your lordship hath given, and desires by all means that the physicians may continue giving the drops and in a great quantity, to try the utmost that can be done, since there seems to be some good symptoms from what hath been given already. His Majesty desires he may hear often how he does, and is pleased to express a great sorrow, and that he shall have the greatest loss, and cannot speak of him but with great concern, and sometimes with tears in his eyes. The Queen hath wept often, and is very sad, and so is the whole Court—a place seldom generally concerned for any one. The Earl of Rochester is dead, of which His Majesty had notice last night. Dr. Dickinson is of opinion the drops should be continued and given to four score or a hundred drops. God preserve your lordship and yours in this time of danger, where the symptoms are so malignant.

REPORT of PHYSICIANS ATTENDING LORD OSSORY to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1680, July 28.—Since our last my lord's fever hath increased much, with great signs of malignity, particularly a great fainting fit, and an eruption of spots all over his body. He hath been delirious these three days, and his water like small beer, and hitherto he hath had no sweats neither could

they conveniently be forced by reason of the great burning heat of his head, which hath accompanied his fever. This afternoon his delirium hath somewhat abated, and his pulse keeps up tolerably well, which gives us some hopes. We have treated him with remedies suitable to his condition and shall continue our care and diligence as becomes those who are sensible of the great quality and worth of his person.

[*Signed*] Tho. Witherley, W. Needham, Th. Sydenham, Ferd. Mendas, Richd. Lower.

Mr. Mulys to [Henry Gascoigne.]

1680, July 28.—On the 25th I sent you a diary of my lord's condition from the time that his fever seized him to 10 that night, and did hope this post might have afforded more comfort. But our troubles and frights have ever since increased as his disease hath heightened. Saturday night and Sunday morning he was very restless, and tho' I called to the assistance of the physicians formerly mentioned to you, Dr. Walter Needham (Sir Charles Scarborough and Dr. Dickinson being at Windsor attending the Duchess' daughter, the Lady Isabella, ill of convulsions) and Dr. Sydenham, we could not find that his lordship found any relief from anything that they have prescribed from the beginning. On Sunday night his fever returned and kept him raving till 8 the next morning. Sunday in the forenoon I besought my Lord Arlington that I might get a Divine to him whilst his understanding remained, and accordingly I fetched Dr. Lloyd, the Bishop of St. Asaph elect, and about 4 that afternoon they were private above an hour to the very great satisfaction of both. It was then resolved that on the morrow morning his lordship should receive the Sacrament, and accordingly I prepared to receive with him, and the Bishop came about 7 of the clock, but finding his lordship in a delirium he sat by the bed to watch an interval to speak to him, when all of a sudden his lordship rose up in his bed to get out of it, and upon laying him down again a swownding fit seized him, and for about an hour we all gave him for dead; at last the spirit of hartshorn applied to his nostrils, cordials, rubbing with warm cloths, &c., it pleased God he revived. The physicians agreed to let him blood, finding on his hands, arms, and breast indications for it, and accordingly eight ounces were taken from his left arm, after which the spirits returned into his eyes, and we began to have new hopes. In the afternoon he was restored to his understanding and our joy doubled. In the evening they bled him again in the foot, hoping to draw it from his head, but about 11 at night his fit grew strong upon him, and we expected every minute he would expire. The Queen's physician, Dr. Mendas, watched with him. The night was very bad, as can be imagined. This morning he dozes, and to deal plainly with you, I do not expect he can outlive it, though while he has life there is hopes. Dr. Lower tells me they have

but one good sign, viz., his pulse keeps up; a great many bad ones appear, as fits spots, though they put out but faintly; moisture about his tongue, his teeth furred: his water now casts white, which they apprehend, for that thick cloud and muddiness which was wont to be in it and stained the glass does now offend the head and the brain, to disperse which and make room for the spirits they put twenty drops of Godderd's drops into his beer, or other draughts, and have this day laid pigeons to the soles of his feet. At 5 this evening the physicians have a council and agree what further method to use; I have got them to write to his Grace an account of my lord's present state, a copy of which my Lord Chamberlain sends this night to the King. Perhaps this account may not agree with what you may receive from other hands. I desire no use may be made of it to afflict their Graces or confront those better accounts you may have from better hands, and that I may find pardon for telling this truth.

My Lord Mulgrave is returned to Windsor, and 'tis said in much grace; people about the town say he hath kissed the King's hands for the Government of Ireland, but I do not believe it. Yesterday I received your letters of the 20th. Mr. Netterville prays you to forward the passing of his patent.

Postscript.—Several polls declared. 20 July, '80.

Bethell.	Cornish.	Box.	Nicholson.
2274 ..	2481 ..	1428 ..	1229

Ormond to Earl of Ossory.

1680, July 28, Dublin.—This will contain little more than my letter to the King, which I desire you would deliver upon the first opportunity after you have received it. I have your short letter of the 17th inst. The twelve Scotch companies sailed from Kinsale the 15th or 16th of this month. We may hope they may be there now or in a few days. The commanded men to recruit the last five companies of that regiment and the commanded horse are drawing to the rendezvous about Cork, and I suppose the Farmers of the Revenue are preparing provisions for their transportation. The freight of ships for that voyage is extravagantly dear here, as you will find by Ja. Clarke and Sir Richard Rooth. My Lord of Ranelagh's accounts being brought so far towards a conclusion as that there remains nothing more for me to do, I go to-morrow towards Kilkenny, where I shall be more ready than here to supply any defect that may be in the sending the men to Tangier. My Lord of Ranelagh has brought in a very civil appeal from the proceedings of the Council and the Commissioners of his Accounts in several particulars. The appeal is partly to the King and partly to the law. Our informer of the Presbyterian Scottish plot is very large in his information and very particular. There is a very ill character

given of him, and I believe him to be a man of no excellent morals, but such are most of these we have had to do withal on such occasions. Yours at Kilkenny are well. I hope to hear as much from Knowsley.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, July 29, Whitehall.—The two despatches from your Grace and His Majesty's Privy Council there, bearing date the 16th current were this day, by His Majesty's special command, read before my Lords the Committee of the Council here for the affairs of Ireland. Their lordships were pleased to command me to let your Grace know they are very sensible of your Grace's great care in this affair, and to desire your Grace to continue your endeavours to apprehend and secure the three unknown persons that landed at Cork, and to inform yourself whether the Lord Bishop of Waterford hath any correspondence with or knowledge of James Hackett *alias* Hara the Jacobin, mentioned in some of the papers sent over by your Grace in that despatch which related to Hackett and Macarty. The other despatch relating to Johnston, together with the papers belonging to it, was by order of my Lords transmitted to his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale, This was all I had in command.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to [EARL OF ARRAN.]

1680, July 30, London.—Woe is me that I can acquaint your lordship with the death of my brave Lord of Ossory; his sickness occasioned my silence hitherto, still hoping to be rather the messenger of good than bad news; but he is gone to rest and has left the generality of mankind in tears and trouble; I cannot write to my Lord Lieutenant, knowing his grief must be insupportable for the like loss was never made. The narrative of all you will have from my Lord Arlington, whom I left just now in tears writing to my Lord Lieutenant. God comfort you all.

I have much to write to his Grace, but truly I am so confounded that I must be silent; only the King is seemingly convinced of the necessity of a Parliament in Ireland, and so is most of the Council with whom I have spoken; by my next his Grace shall have a full account of what may be expected. The King is out of town, but expected here on Tuesday; then they speak of falling to work about our Irish affairs. Your lordship will excuse me to my Lord Lieutenant. Be pleased to honour me with your commands, for truly I am. &c.

JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD, to ORMOND.

1680, July 31, Oxford.—We are here under the consternation which the loss of my Lord Ossory brings with it. But although your Excellency's share therein be infinitely the greatest

yet is your courage and constancy in the same proportion superior to that of others; and with the same firmness of mind wherewith you have borne all past calamities you will also bear this last and severest stroke. I earnestly beseech Almighty God who has sent this severest trial to support your Excellency under it, and give you comforts answerable to your afflictions. The occasion of my writing at so unfit a season is that with the notice of my Lord's death, my Lord Chamberlain sends to me that your grandson should immediately come to London. I have written back to his lordship that within the compass of fourteen days an answer may be expected from Ireland, which I conceive, considering the retirement which is decent in the present occasion, will be as soon as it can be needful for my young Lord to appear in London. And therefore I have begged of him that I may be permitted to receive your Excellency's directions and commands.

SAME to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680. July 31.—I know not with what words to bespeak you in the present amazing calamity. It has pleased Almighty God to take from you the light of your eyes, and comfort of your life, your most worthy son, and in that stroke made whole nations mourners. With you the wound is so deep that it could not be borne but by a courage and virtue as great as the occasion, and only the mother of the Earl of Ossory can be able to support the Earl of Ossory's loss. Most honoured Madam, this is the season when you are to call together all the aids of reason and religion. Your best, your dearest, your most worthy son is taken from you; but he is taken by a gracious God, is taken from the miseries of a vile sinful world, and received to the rewards and joys of heaven. He is now at ease, free from the languishments of sickness and scorchings of his fever, is above the malice and designs of naughty men, and secure from the temptations of the world, the devil and the flesh, and could you now be so cruel to wish him now again engaged in all the miseries of life, and yourself to be put in the possibility of having all your griefs renewed again upon you? No, madam: Almighty God knows what was best for your most worthy son, and he has done it. From the prospect of what is taken from you it will become you to divert on what is left behind. Whatever comforts are removed will, I hope, be supplied in my Lord James unto you; and no kindness can be so great unto the father as that which you desire unto the son. My Lord Arlington has now written to me that my Lord should come to town. I do not understand the expedience of the counsel, and know that place has not been thought by your Grace to be the best for my Lord's abode. I have represented to my Lord Arlington my apprehensions that it cannot be of use to my lord to be now in town, where it will be indecent

for him to appear at present, and that within the compass of a fortnight we may expect my Lord Duke's and your Grace's direction, without which I must be very unwilling to make any step in the disposal of my Lord who was entrusted to me. Whether my Lord Chamberlain will over-rate me herein I know not, but hope he will be content to respite things till your pleasure can be known. I have only to add my heartiest prayers to Almighty God that as he has laid the severest affliction on you, so he would give patience and strength to support it.

DUKE OF YORK to ORMOND.

1680, July 31, Windsor.—I am sure you will easily believe me when I tell you that nobody is more sensibly troubled than I at the death of the Lord Ossory. It is not only a very great loss for you and all his family, but to the King and indeed the whole nation, and more particularly to me to whom he was so true a friend. I could say much more upon this subject, and pray to God to give you patience to bear this as a good Christian, and be assured you shall always find me a true friend to you and yours, which I am sure you deserve from all our family. JAMES.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, July 31. Whitehall.—It is with a most unfeigned deep sadness that I humbly take leave to break in upon your Grace with these few condoling lines for my most honoured Lord the Earl of Ossory. He was a person that no eulogy of mine is able to reach. He was the glory of the King's subjects. This appeared eminently by the love he had won himself at home, and by the respect he met with abroad. And which is yet more than all this he was a hero, I may say, in Christianity eminent, and (as great men cannot but be) an honour to the communion he was of. God Almighty had disposed him excellently for this change. The Dean of Bangor, who assisted him all along, told it me just now with tears in his eyes. My lord, when the King hath asked him of your Grace, you have not grudged to part with him, though to the most certain dangers. We have therefore no reason to doubt but that you do resign yourself now that Almighty God hath taken him to Himself, and that you do bow to and adore that Providence, which that it may multiply comforts and blessings upon your Grace and all your illustrious family is my most hearty poor prayer.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, July 31. Arlington House.—My last gave your Excellency some hopes of my lord your son's recovery, and the next day after those hopes were strengthened by the concurrent opinion of all the physicians, but we at length were undeceived on Friday. At a quarter past seven in the

evening it pleased God to take him from us, to whose will we resign ourselves, as I hope your Excellency will do, and in so extraordinary occasion fortify your Christianity with your prudence and experience of the vanity of this world, which we take more pains than we ought to render pleasant and acceptable to us, and value ourselves upon possessions which in a moment we may lose.

His disease was so strong in his head (being a high malignant fever) that he had but few intervals free from the delirium that troubled him more or less all his sickness, which Dr. ffloide* with much care and prudence made use of for the composing his mind and to render him capable of receiving and doing other acts of a good Christian. In the middle of his sickness he spoke of making a will, but finding him so ill I diverted him from it in the presence of some of his servants by telling him the circumstances in which he was did not make that so necessary for him as another man : for, said I, my lord, I think you have nothing of that nature to do but to recommend your wife and children to your father, and to him likewise the payment of your debts and gratification of your servants, and this, if you choose, I will do in your name ; which he seemed very well to accept of, and never more mentioned it ; and I the rather humoured this way with him, because in the times he hath heretofore put himself into any extraordinary actions at sea or land he used to leave a short paper to me which contained the same things in effect, and particularly beseeching your Excellency to increase his wife's jointure, which I knew not whether she were ever acquainted with but now ; and then too I ever told him the afore-mentioned points would be over secured by your Excellency's generosity.

I have caused his body to be prepared to be laid into a vault in Westminster Abbey, that it may be in a condition of being buried hereafter here or carried to Sussex or Kilkenny as your Excellency shall think fit to direct. What I have further ordered concerning his affairs you will find in a memorandum I have put into Mr. Mulys's hands to receive your orders thereupon. In the meantime I have presumed to send to the Bishop to let my Lord James come hither to show him to the world whilst they are so in love with his father's memory and lament to such an excess the loss of him that it would look like flattery if I should tell your Excellency but half the truth herein. I cannot end this letter without adding that I never saw a better set of orderly, affectionate and deserving servants, who have sufficiently shown it in his sickness, each of which I have promised to recommend to your Excellency as any occasion offers for their preferment and advantage.

And thus I will dismiss your Excellency for the present, and myself too from this unpleasing theme, reserving myself to compliment my Lady Duchess and Lady of Ossory upon it

* The Bishop of St. Asaph.

(as my wife does also) until we have better recollected ourselves upon a matter of so hard a digestion, and in the meantime only offering myself to obey all the commands your Excellency shall be pleased to lay upon me in this or any other occasion. The bearer is a very ancient faithful servant, St. Paul, who in pure obedience submits himself to be the bearer of this unhappy news.

RICHARD MULYS to [CAPT. GEORGE MATHEW.]

1680, July 31.—This afternoon your letter of 25 was received an hour before that I sent by Mr. St. Paul, who goes express to his Grace, a further account of my lord's sickness to the time he expired. I presume St. Paul and this letter may arrive together; to him I refer you for further account of all things, it being too sad a strain for me at this time, my heart being deeply wounded for the loss of the very best and bravest man in the world. All your enclosed letters are according as you directed. I will observe his Grace's commands touching my Lady Delvin, and obey him in all things as my Prince. It is many things that cumber me at this time, wherefore I must be in the comptroller's debt till the next post.

RICHARD MULYS to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1680, July 31. Sat. 3 aclock.—On Wednesday night last my Lord's condition altered so much for the better that we all had hopes of him. But in the night when the burning fit came upon him he raved much of Tangier, posting his men, attacking, retrenching and defending, then sighing heavily as in despair, more bewailing the loss of his people's lives than his own: on Thursday he grew very bad, the Sacrament was administered to him, in taking whereof he seemed verysensible. That night he fell speechless about 5 o'clock, although he had a medicine in his body the good effects whereof the physicians did expect in twenty-four hours. And that was the principal reason why they would not admit a quack who tendered himself with a powder, and if the physicians would give leave he undertook to do wonders. But he was an idle man. He lay gasping till about a quarter after 7: at which time he expired. This morning the body was opened, and enclosed you have an account how the physicians found it. The body is to be embalmed and laid in a leaden coffin in some vault in Westminster Abbey until his Grace's pleasure be known. My young Lord Ossory I sent an express for last night by my Lord Chamberlain's orders.

PHYSICIANS' ACCOUNT OF LORD OSSORY'S ILLNESS, AND POST MORTEM EXAMINATION.

1680, July 31.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Ossory being seized of a fever with a latent malignity which did not appear

for six or seven days, did on the ninth day fall into a fainting fit, after which time he continued phrenetical with many other malignant symptons. He died on the thirteenth day. His body being opened, the brain was found very full of blood and water, insomuch that the white part of it was discoloured; his lungs was very black upon the settling of the blood, but they and all the entrails were sound. The stomach and guts were puffed very much with wind, which occasioned the swelling of his belly some days before he died.

THO. WITHERLEY, FERD. MENDAS, WALTER NEEDHAM, EDW. WARNER, RICH. LOWER.

EARL OF RANELAGH'S APPEAL TO COMMISSIONERS OF FARMERS' ACCOUNTS,

1680, July 31,—We have perused the general account of your undertaking as drawn up and engrossed by the auditor, which consists of two parts. In the first part we find ourselves charged with six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, payable to the Earl of Arlington, whereas we humbly conceive we were not obliged by our covenants to pay his lordship any more than what remained unpaid to him of his grant of ten thousand pounds, which then was but five thousand pounds and no more. So that we look upon ourselves as charged with one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds more than we ought to be, and therefore in this particular we do with great submission to your lordships desire the judgment of the law upon our covenant in a legal way. As to the rest of the charge in the first part we make no exceptions, nor to the discharge of it.

In the second part we find ourselves charged with ten thousand pounds as due to His Majesty, he having paid that sum to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, which your lordships are pleased to say we ought to have paid. To this sum we humbly conceive we are no ways liable, it being not so much as mentioned among the sums by us undertaken, and we cannot find any clause in our contract which makes us liable to be charged by inferences or constructions, and therefore in this particular we do with great submission appeal to the law, being advised that your lordships as commissioners of our accounts are judges of our payments and of the vouchers relating thereunto, but not of our covenants, which, if disputable, are to have a legal determination, which therefore we humbly desire they may have, and in the meantime we do with much respect to your lordships declare that we can by no means submit to or allow of this charge.

We also find ourselves charged with the sum of twelve thousand nine hundred and three pounds one shilling, so much having been allowed us in the several accounts of our undertaking passed by the Earl of Essex and the former Commissioners of our accounts for the salaries paid by the late Farmers to

the then Commissioners for government and management of His Majesty's revenue. To this charge we can by no means submit, an allowance for those salaries having been so often and so solemnly adjudged to us both in England and Ireland, and that under some of your lordships' hands; and besides we are advised that no allowance granted us by the former Commission of our accounts (which had a particular clause empowering the Commissioners to make us allowances) can properly be questioned much less disallowed by the present Commission, in which we can find no power granted either to make us new allowances or to surcharge us with allowances formerly made us, and therefore with great respect and submission to your lordships we do in this particular humbly appeal to His Majesty's justice, and again declare we can by no ways submit to this charge.

We also find ourselves charged with ten thousand one hundred and twenty-two pounds ninepence halfpenny for assignments yet unpaid, and with seven thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds three shillings eleven pence for deductions made in the treasury. Whether these sums be rightly computed we do not now examine. But we assure your lordships that now that the process hath liberty to go abroad we will take a particular care to see them paid and will not desire a discharge as to our undertaking till they are satisfied. Having said this we must beg your lordships' leave to say further that we humbly conceive those two sums ought not to be brought into the charge of this second part of our accounts, they being not money we owe His Majesty but our private debt, for which if not paid the subject hath his action against us and very good security to answer his demands; therefore with great respect to your lordships we do not submit to have these charged in this account.

We also find ourselves charged with four thousand five hundred seventy-one pounds five shillings and one penny to make good compositions alleged to be made by some employed by us, to which we cannot submit. For whether we have broken our covenant in that particular and what penalty we are liable to upon such breach, are questions as we humbly conceive to be determined at law, and thither with respect to your lordships we humbly appeal, only observing that the article which chargeth us with this sum doth not take any notice that the officers of the regiment besides the money paid to them had upon their own desires signified under their hands exchequer acquittances given them for as many debts of record due to us as completed their full pay.

From the foregoing exceptions your lordships will please to observe that we humbly conceive ourselves charged with forty-six thousand five hundred sixty-three pounds ten shillings eleven pence more than we ought to be. But what we have now to offer to your lordships is an exception of another kind, and which accountants seldom make, for it will

complain to your Lordships that we are not charged with twenty-four thousand pounds, which His Majesty was pleased to furnish us with by way of imprest, of which no notice is taken by your lordships but by way of memorandum after the closing of the account. Whereas we humbly conceive and are advised that the same ought to have continued as a long time it did, part of the charge of our account, both because the King's letter which directs the impresting of that sum to us declares that it was for the use of our undertaking (viz.) to enable us to clear December pay, 1675, to which it was accordingly applied as by our accounts for that quarter signed by your lordships doth appear, and because the condition of the bond which we entered into before the receiving of that sum wholly relates to such just demands as should appear to arise to us from our contract.

As to the discharge of this second part of our account we must likewise beg your lordships leave to except to it. What we have to say thereupon is that we humbly conceive and are advised that all accountants have a right to apply their allowances to what part of their charge they please, that your lordships have thought fit within these few days not only to turn the twenty-four thousand pounds impressed to us out of the charge of our accounts when it was lodged for two years and more without having any objection made to it, and where we humbly conceive for the reasons mentioned in the preceding article it ought still to have contiuned. But your lordships have been pleased to refuse at the same time our humble and repeated desires for leave to withdraw out of our accounts before signed or closed as many allowances formerly granted to us as should amount to that sum, and your lordships have brought into our account against our will the allowances lately given us by my Lord Lieutenant and Council, by which means those allowances and demands which we always designed to apply to the satisfying of the condition of our said bond, and not only kept and brought into the account against our wills, but also notwithstanding the accountant's right of application are by your lordships applied without our consent to those imaginary charges to which we have herein before excepted, and therefore with great respect to your lordships we do enter our absolute dissent to all this proceeding humbly appealing herein to His Majesty's justice.

The foregoing exceptions are what we are at present able to make, having had so short a perusal of the account and these we do humbly offer to your lordships this 31st of July, 1680.

[*Signed.*] RANELAGH.

JOHN STEPNEY.

Copia vera exe
p. Ri. Chapell dept. Audr

HENRY GASCOIGNE to ORMOND.

1680, July 31. Dublin.—I have inquired, and find the post office fixt with the Farmers, with whom I have no friend at present, nor can I learn their names as yet whereby to make friendship in the office. I have waited on my Lord Primate on this matter, who has not directed me being, I conceive, at as great a loss, but thinks by the time he returns I may find out some means for continuing the discovery, tho' it be not advisable to meddle with it yet for 2 or 3 posts: if it be now urged, perhaps the person to be made acquainted with it may be discharged, or rather so unacquainted with the method that he may find himself necessitated to make use of those formerly employed; if he holds it, my Lord P. thinks he it too much a creature of Sir James Shaen to be true to your Grace. However I have found by them—the Farmers—that the packet when it comes in is to be kept till I shall have discharged it, within an hour: I can on this power only receive your Grace's, and send them to you, for if I should pretend to take up any other, an officer (whom I dare not trust) of theirs will be by, and tho' I should cull out one or more, the craft will be how to get that when made use of into it again; and without such help as I had before, or the like of it, I shall not be able to go on with it; and finding that neither my Lord Primate or my Lord Lanesborough can put me on a better or securer project or design for it, I humbly acquaint you with what I have done, and wait your Grace's further commands. I am by directions from my Lord of Longford preparing a cypher betwixt his lordship and your Grace.

I have presumed to send Will Somers to Kilkenny to attend your Grace on any occasion you may have in my behalf while I am here.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, August 2. Enfield Chase.—I never had so little satisfaction in performing any duty I owed your Grace as I have in this of condoling with you for the death of my dear Lord of Ossory. When I consider by how many infinite circumstances your Grace hath lost more in him than I by my own disturbance, I cannot but guess how great a disquiet this sad accident must bring to you and his nighest relations. To tell you how much he is generally lamented here were but to mind you the more of the value of what you have lost, and consequently in no way a diminution to your sorrow; but thus much I must say. It is a very strange thing in so very bad an age to see so good a man lamented by so many of all sorts.

The only way of comfort I can present to you is to have recourse to your own great experience of the uncertainty of all worldly things, and consult your own virtue and practice how they have been and are to be borne. I pray God this be not a praeludium to greater and more universal tragedies,

and that the Earl of Ossory appear not to have been taken away from such evil days as no man could wish a friend to live in. I beseech God to recompense this loss to your Grace in some eminent marks of his favour and protection to yourself and family, and all that are left of that worthy Lord. I beseech the presenting of my humble services and sorrow to my Lady Duchess and to the afflicted widow, whose sorrow will require the utmost courage of your Grace to comfort. I pray God bless you and all yours to whom none is more entirely devoted than, etc.

Ormond to Henry Coventry.

1680, August 2. Dublin.—I am extremely ashamed to find among my papers a letter of yours of an ancient date unanswered. It is that wherein you mention a house in your neighbourhood that was to be had, and proposed my son Ossory's seeing it; at the same time came such alarms and so very unsuitable commands to me, that for some days I laid aside all thoughts but those of applying myself to perform my duty and prepare for another kind of life than that I had figured to myself and is still in my wish more than in my hope. The heat of the alarms have not since abated, but seem to me to be come to such a height as it is not possible they can long stay at, and our condition looks to me much like that I was once in near Havre de Grace: there was not water enough to let the vessel I was in into the harbour, and the storm was too fierce to let her live without. God give the same issue to the difficulties we labour under. Just now letters of the 24th bring me notice of my son Ossory's sickness, so that I must ask you leave to refer you to my Lord Longford for all things relating to this place.

Lord Cavendish to the Duchess of Ormond.

1680, August 3.—I had always so high an esteem and value for my Lord your son, that my affliction can hardly yield to any but that of your Grace and my Lord Duke, and therefore if anything could be said to moderate your grief upon so sad an occasion, I were very unfit to offer it. Only I presume as an eye-witness to acquaint you that never any loss had more sharers in it, nor was more universally lamented, and I should think the more immediately your Grace is concerned in it the more comfort you ought to receive from the great character my Lord has left behind him. I am sure whatever can contribute to your Grace's supporting so great a loss is wished by none more than Madam, etc.

Same to Ormond.

1680, August 3.—If anything could be said to moderate your Grace's grief upon so just an occasion, I should not pretend to offer it, but only presume to observe that if

afflictions can be lessened by the sharers in them, your Grace's may, for never any loss was so generally lamented. The sense I have of it in my own particular is not to be expressed, having ever had the highest value and respect imaginable for my Lord your son, and therefore hope your Grace will pardon me if among a crowd of others I presume to assure you of the unspeakable concern of, etc.

LADY CAVENDISH to ORMOND.

1680, August 3. Knowsley.—Though I have upon this sad occasion a very sensible trouble of my own, I must confess it is no small addition to it the affliction it must be to your Lordship. I am so unhappy as not to be able to wait upon you now, though my desires for it is very great. I have sent this messenger to bring me an account of your health and my mother's, for which my prayers are never failing. I shall by all the actions of my life desire and endeavour to express as I ought to your Lordship the most affectionate duty imaginable.

SAME to DUCHESS OF ORMOND.

1680, August 3. Knowsley.—My great sense not only in my own loss but the just grief and affliction it is to your Ladyship and my father is not easy for me to express. There is no consideration in the loss of so kind a brother but is very afflicting, though what I suffer upon your Ladyship's account I think is more to me: it would have been a great satisfaction to me if I could have waited upon you now, but it was impossible for me. I shall with much impatience expect the return of this bearer to have an account of your Ladyship's health and my father's, there being nothing of that concern to me, and for the long continuance of which my prayers shall be constant.

RICHARD MULYS to [HENRY GASCOIGNE.]

1680, August 3.—On Sunday morning about 1 or 2 we deposited my Lord's body in a vault in Westminster Abbey until his Grace's further pleasure be known. Pray deliver the enclosed to my Lord Duke. I expect my Lord James here this week; by my Lord Chamberlain's directions to-morrow I send a coach and six horses and mournings for him.

There is one Mr. Lauze who served my Lord as Gentleman of the Horse, and for whom his Lordship had a kindness; his care of my Lord in time of his sickness and his other merits hath disposed my Lord Chamberlain to recommend him to his Grace's favour for some military employment, being fitly qualified that way. And his Lordship desires you to move his Grace in it. Somebody hath told Mr. Lauze that a cornet's place is void in my Lord's troop.

SIR HANS HAMILTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 3.—So soon as I came home I sent for three or four of the Presbyterian Ministers who, I was confident, would deal freely with me in what I should say to them, and after some short discourse of the affairs of the Hill meetings in Scotland and of the influence that wild humour might have amongst the Presbyterians in this kingdom, and of the evil consequences it might be of to the Presbyterians here if it received the least countenance amongst any of that persuasion, they very freely and seriously protested that nothing was more abominable to them than the wicked and damnable principles those impious rabbles held, as being in the highest degree opposite to the laws of God and Nature. They also told me that they and the rest in this country had in their several congregations forewarned their hearers of the wickedness of those Hill-meeters and their principles, and that they would make it a great part of their business to prevent the people's being deluded by such wicked insinuations.

They also told me that they feared themselves to lie under the jealousies of the Government as persons not loyally principled to His Majesty and his laws, which they apprehend gives ground to believe several things represented to the Government against them—though mere mistakes or misinformations. And therefore they thought it might be convenient for them, four (being acquainted with the Lord Granard, and he now in England) to write a letter to his Lordship declaring their abhorrence of the transactions of the Hill-meeters, and of their rebellious principles, and that his lordship, if he shall think fit, may give His Majesty assurance of their sincere loyalty, which latter they have since writ to him, a copy whereof being sent to me, I have sent to your Grace by the bearer. They likewise told me and have so hinted in that letter that (if it will be approved of) they will in some short time (as soon as they can conveniently meet with others of their brethren) give a more full and ample testimony of their loyalty by an humble address to His Majesty, which they resolve to present to your Grace and (if by you approved of) beg your Grace's favour in transmitting it to His Majesty. To this I gave no other answer but that I would acquaint your Grace with it; and would let some of them know your Grace's pleasure in it. The bearer will acquaint your Grace what we hear more of Cameron's party than what I sent your Grace by my letter to Mr. Secretary Ellis. I do find that not above four Presbyterian Ministers went out of the counties of Down and Antrim to Scotland; how many went from Derry I know not.

SIR THOMAS WHARTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 6. Edlington.—I scarcely remember that ever I writ to your Grace in trouble before, nor should I now if

I did not more consider the public loss that the King and these kingdoms and myself in particular have had by the late death of your excellent son than anything as to himself by it; for I verily believe by what I have heard myself that never any person died more generally regretted than that eminent man has done, and I can freely say that the death of my only grandson (not many weeks since) that I loved well, and had reason to do it, being the hopefullest youth of his age that ever I yet saw, went not nearer to me than this has done. But God's declared will must be submitted to and should be with cheerfulness, and as to this of my poor Lord Ossory's being taken away in the height of unblemished honour and esteem by all great and worthy persons (probably in these parts of the world) it may be as to himself and your Grace in the greatness of his memory in after story in ages a considerable blessing and advantage. For what might have been the success of that employment designed him nobody knows, and I think those that loved and honoured him most suspected and feared, considering all things in this juncture of time and wants, and then if anything had happened contrary to wishes and interest, probably the fault would have been laid upon the Commander-in-Chief though never so unreasonable and unjust. Now this is all at an end, and he is come without any gainsaying to a glorious period. I wish and heartily pray that neither your Grace's nor my Lady Duchess's natural affections may anyways prejudice your healths, but that you may both live cheerfully to very great old ages for more public good.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 6. Dublin.—When I received the honor of your Grace's by Captain Richbell, I immediately sent to my Lord Ranelagh to desire his assistance upon the matter of those two letters which your Grace sent me, for I much doubted that he would be gone to sea. My letter came to him very seasonably, for he told me since that had not my letter come as it did he had certainly gone to sea that night. We had yesterday and this day a meeting at the Council table, and the Farmers being sent for declined at present their insisting upon any other particular in those letters of the King and of the Lords Commissioners of the Revenue than that of their interest which hath been kept from them above those two years. Upon debate thereof we held it reasonable that they should be allowed to draw out their interest (which is 500*l. per mensem*) for the time to come, but we could not be of the opinion that they should draw out in moneys that which is already past, it being a considerable sum, and not to be spared until such time as their dues were satisfied according to their contract, there being a great sum in arrear upon them by Sir John Champante's computations, and the rather because they had deducted by license of the Lord Lieutenant and Council 36,000*l.* per annum.

which much exceeded their interest and was not included in their contract. They were not satisfied therewith, and we could not see how it could be agreeable to our own security to allow them more. Thus much is signified to your Grace by a joint letter from the Lords of the Committee by to-morrow's post, upon the return whereof from your Grace Mr. Solicitor is to prepare a full account for your Grace, which your Grace may make use of as far as you shall think in the return to the Lords Commissioners of the Revenue. This I write in discharge of what your Grace was pleased to command me in that particular. The packet is not yet come in, and I could almost wish that it would never come. I am to-morrow for Blessington, where I shall attend your Grace's commands. Upon Tuesday I am to be at Dublin to conclude our transmission of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts.

SAME to SAME.

1680, August 7. Blessington.—This evening brought hither the dismal certainty of my Lord of Ossory's death. Did I not believe the steadiness of your Grace's mind to be above all the incidents of this world, I should much fear that the loss of that most noble person might shake you to some distrust of that Providence which hath ever governed you through the great and various difficulties of all your life. But your Grace knows very well that whatever conjectures we make to ourselves upon outward affairs, and whatever aggravations we may create to our own infelicities by the review of circumstances, they are all fallible and deceptive. There is a God above which rules the world and who disposeth all things according to the pleasure of His own will, and for the advantage of those that dare rely upon Him ; and especially of such who place their confidence in Him when their own imaginations cannot afford them the least prospect of any comfort. The good old patriarch when he lost (as he supposed) the son of his love by the fury of wild beasts, did not in the least foresee that this afflicting accident could in any way conduce to the preservation of himself or to the glory of his Maker, but your Grace knows what a great work God brought to pass by that sad and improbable medium. God hath His own secret ways in His proceedings, which are not visible to us, nor is He accountable to us for what He doth. He brought light out of darkness, good out of evil, and it is the top honour and glory of a Christian that he dares trust himself with God even at that time when He seems most bitterly his enemy. Pardon me, my Lord, that I presume to write thus to your Grace, who have ever showed yourself unto the world most eminently upon such occasions, to the great honour of that religion you profess, and have frequently withstood the shock of many desperate attempts against you, even when the life and fortune of yourself and of all yours have been at the stake. I cannot therefore be so vain as to think that your Grace, who have so great

and so good a spirit within yourself, can receive any vigour or support from anything that I can write upon this subject. It is only to put your Grace in remembrance of yourself to stir up those noble fires within you which this mighty affliction might labour to suppress or smother. The best man in the world is but a man still, while he is on this side of Heaven. Besides, my Lord, I am so great and so particular a sharer in the loss of that glorious person, that I am easily excusable while I write that to your Grace which I must endeavour to apply unto myself. He was my great patron and defender, the worthiest person and the best friend in the world; he was the terror of foreign nations and the glory of his own; he was indeed more than I dare speak or think upon this occasion, lest I wholly disappoint my present business and raise that tempest which I labour to allay.

Your Grace, I hope, will pardon me while I promise myself your leave to attend my Lady Duchess and my Lady Ossory upon this sad occasion. Really (my Lord) my heart bleeds within me when I consider their condition. The great God of Heaven and earth, that God which was never wanting to you in all your extremities, stand by you now and support you and yours under this heavy weight of pressing difficulties.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1680, August 7. Highnam.—From my very soul I condole with your Grace your irreparable loss—irreparable not only to your Grace but also to the King and kingdom, as well as myself. For no prince ever had a faithfuller servant or kingdom a braver champion, or so much an inferior so condescending a friend. I have of late signally tasted of his obligations, the relish whereof is still so fresh in my palate as to double my sense in this common calamity. But I will no longer harp on this harsh and unpleasant string, but for diversion's sake humbly offer to your Grace's consideration what follows, humbly craving as speedy a result as conveniently may be. Thus stands the state of the case. My Lord Poulett being dead hath left his uncle Fra. Poulett (who your Grace saw at Wells when you dined with that Bishop), Sir Jo. Sydenham, Sir Tho. Putt, Sir Tho. Carew, Mr. Strode and myself, his six executors and trustees of his whole estate; he hath also left two daughters by Col. Popham's daughter and a son and two daughters by this dowager (my Lord Pembroke's sister, and the whole estate (being within 200 of 5,000*l.* per an. and whereof 600*l.* per annum is old rent) thus settled; on his eldest daughter by his first wife, 10,000*l.*; on her sister, 6,000*l.*; and on the other two sisters, 4.000*l.* each; on his son his whole estate liable to these incumbrances, his son so marvellous infirm of the King's evil that his life is under great suspicion (unless his present ague helps to lengthen it); if he dies his own two sisters will but have their 4,000*l.* made up 6,000*l.*, the whole estate is to be divided between the two elder sisters (those

by Col. Popham's daughter), and the eldest of the two (much the healthier, much the handsomer, and much the more eligible) is to have besides her equal dividend of the rest of the estate, the house and furniture, demesne and manor, all the park at Henton, really worth 30,000*l*., added to her share, and if her sister dies, the whole. Now if your Grace can approve of the certainty of 10,000*l*. with these contingencies, my little Lord Ossory hath the refusal of her. About other proposals the trustees will be divided; in this we all centre: and till I have your Grace's answer we have put an embargo on our young lady, who, I assure you, is a most deserving young woman, improved by their Henton breeding to a miracle, She is very comely, very well shaped, very ingenious, and above all of a most excellent disposition. I shall limit myself to this scantling of account till I receive further encouragement from your Grace to enlarge on this subject. Whether or no your Grace conceives this worthy your consideration, let it obtain both your Grace's answer to and pardon for him that would more readily engage in your Grace's service than in any subjects living. Be pleased to let your Grace's commands to me be directed to be left with Mr. Jackson, my Lord Devonshire's servant at Newport House, who will certainly convey them to me whereever I am.

Richard Mulys to Henry Gascoigne.

1680, August 7.—On Wednesday last I received yours of 29th of the last month, which takes notice of your receiving mine that day of 24th with the account of my Lord's sickness; how justly my fears were then grounded time hath since shown; and I cannot yet get off the resentment which makes a deeper impression in me than in the ordinary course of the world such relations as master and servant does admit of; but to say truth I had a love for his person even to an excess; and my happiness was wrapt up in his, which I can say without vanity (and have a cloud of witnesses to make it appear) that all the actions of my life since I had that honour to be concerned in his affairs hath been one continual instance thereof.

In my Lord Arlington's family one of the servants belonging to his Lordship's chamber (Mr. Clarke), an ingenious young man, and very affectionate in time of my Lord's sickness, diligent and handy about him, and frequently in watching. since his Lordship's decease the young man sickened of a fever and was delirious not unlike to my Lord; yesterday they gave him the Sacrament, and in the night he departed this life, which fills people with discourse as if his Lordship's disease were contagious. I bless God the rest of us that were constantly about his person night and day found no other ill than what an extreme grief for him hath occasioned.

I just now received your letter of 1st August—your several despatches are delivered, as is that also from Sir Cha. Fielding.

My young Lord is this evening arrived here in good health, and for corpulence and stature is far beyond what I did expect. As he passed by Stanhope House in a hired mourning coach and six horses, the coach happened to overturn in the dirt and break, but I thank God without any further mischief. My Lord Chamberlain told me that he would be in town from Windsor to-morrow or on Monday to accompany my young Lord to Windsor. Until he arrives we have little to do here, but to entertain my young Lord with chat and keep him out of company. I hope his Grace will suddenly give some directions about him.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, August 7. Dublin.—I have, in obedience to your Grace's commands, as well as my memory would serve me, put down in the enclosed paper the discourse your Grace desired me to make to my Lord Arlington, and I think I have come pretty near the matter. If your Grace please to add anything to it or to omit any part of it, your Grace's commands may overtake me by the next packet at my arrival in London. if your Grace's letter for me be directed to Mr. Notts, at the Queen's Arms, in the Pell Mell, stationer. I carry a copy of it with me, so that your Grace if you find no cause for alteration need not return the enclosed to me. My Lord Ranelagh went to sea the last night, and though I go on board this night I doubt not but to be at London before him. Captain Richbell and the Farmers are not satisfied with the resolution the Council have taken upon His Majesty's and the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury's letter in their favour. They think themselves under shackles till they are rid of Mr. Ryder, which they are not able to effect, unless your Grace will permit them to have their arrears of their interest money, which will amount to above 13,000*l*. And how such a sum can be spared in the present exigencies of His Majesty's Revenue, I cannot foresee. I find Captain Richbell intends to wait upon your Grace at Kilkenny, and hopes by laying before your Grace a clear state of their accounts with His Majesty to prevail with your Grace to condescend in easing him and his partners in this particular.

COUNTESS OF LONGFORD to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, August 10. Dublin.—I have sent Bland on purpose to enquire after my Lady Duchess and my sister Ossory's health. I should have given my Lady Duchess the trouble of a scroll from me, but my great concern for my brother will not permit me to write on so melancholy a subject. The omission thereof I hope you will excuse to her Grace. I am extremely concerned that La Her: is fallen ill of so troublesome a distemper, though it shall not in the least hinder me from waiting on my Lady Duchess if it might be convenient, being not at all afraid of that disease, and shall humbly beg your Lordship's advice both

as to going and the time when it might be most proper. My Lord set sail for England on Saturday night and landed on Sunday noon at Holyhead.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, August 10. London.—This day the Lords of the Committee for the affairs of Ireland met and took into consideration several of the Bills transmitted hither from under the great seal of Ireland. That of annexing the Phœnix Park to the Crown is agreed to with some amendments, viz.: the word "Imperial" before "Crown" is left out, and the last proviso is altered, all grants of His Majesty being declared to be void for any part of the said park since the 29th of May, 1660.

The Bill for enabling Archbishops, Bishops, etc., to let leases for three lives is totally rejected.

The Bill for imposition upon coals is referred to Mr. Solicitor General to consider whether it is convenient that goods of English growth should have an imposition laid upon them when imported into Ireland, as likewise to add a clause for the better accounting for the said moneys in case the purport of the Act is agreed to.

The Bill for hindering Papists to sit in either House of Parliament is referred to Mr. Solicitor General to make agree with the Act made in the Parliament 30th of His Majesty.

All the Bills of the Revenue are referred to Mr. Solicitor General to make report to the Board of his opinion thereupon. Mr. Attorney General being at present out of town was the occasion of these references to Mr. Solicitor.

A letter from your Grace and the Council of Ireland with the enclosed examinations of Nathaniel Johnson was likewise read and remitted to his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale to inquire farther into the matters contained therein. As likewise another letter dated the 28th July, concerning the trial of the Earl of Tyrone, but the examinations enclosed being very long, were ordered to be read the next Council day. Another letter from your Grace and Council concerning Mr. Alderman Bence was likewise read and referred to the Lords of the Treasury, who are to advise with the King's Counsel learned in the law of the best means to comply with the contents of the said letter.

SIR JAMES BUTLER to ORMOND.

1680, August 10. London.—Having been at Windsor this morning to wait on the King about some matters relating to the forests, etc., whereof I am Deputy Justice, His Majesty (after that affair was over) asked me some things concerning my Lord James's growth, etc., which, when I had answered, His Majesty said he did not know that he could have a greater loss than the death of his father. I told His Majesty it was reported abroad in the town that he intended speedily to remove your Grace from that Government. His Majesty answered

that he had heard of this rumour from others before, but that it was as false as anything in the world and that they were his enemies that reported it, that your Grace should not be removed by him till God removed you, and wished with all his heart that you had been 20 years younger, that no family ever served the Crown better, and that the worst your enemies could say was that you had had a great store of money since His Majesty's restoration. But His Majesty said that he knew you lost more and disbursed for his father and himself than you got. I replied what your Grace had from His Majesty's bounty you spent in his service and put none of it to use; he answered he knew you were no banker. Upon my acquainting the Duke with the same, he said none but a madman would imagine such a thing. This I thought was fit for me to acquaint your Grace with.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 11. Arlington House.—I have not made haste to add anything to the melancholy letter I sent your Grace by St. Paul. What passed betwixt His Majesty and myself when I gave him your Grace's letter (inclosed in one to your son) stands in the enclosed paper in cipher, wherein I have made use of Mr. Ellis's hand. Last night I came hither and found my Lord James here according to my desire to the Bishop of Oxford. To-morrow early I carry him to Windsor to kiss the King and Queen's hands, and with a purpose to keep him by me until I have your Grace's orders, which, I confess, I wish may be to put him into Monsieur Faubert's Academy here in London rather than to send him back to Oxford, where he makes but little progress in his books, being little addicted to it, and goes rather backwards in his manners according to the education of the colleges; in the mean he is accompanied with Monsieur Drelincourt to teach him within doors, and one Monsieur Lauze to follow him abroad—a good and discreet man who was his father's gentleman of the horse and hath desired me to recommend him to your Grace for some military employment in Ireland, he having served with credit in the French army as an officer, I think, of horse, and this is the only man we add to the equipage he had at Oxford. I expect your Grace's directions upon this, and what I sent by St. Paul, that I may apply myself to serve the best I can.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, August 13. Whitehall.—I durst not venture to give your Grace the trouble of a letter of mine at a time that you could not be but very much oppressed by the grief your great loss must have given—which was the occasion of my deferring for some days to let you know that no man is more sensible than I am of the misfortune you have, and the public, by my Lord of Ossory's death, who is most generally lamented by all men, and by none more than etc.

EARL OF FEVERSHAM to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. Windsor.—Jéspere que vous me faites asses de justice pour estre persuadé de la sincere part que je preus a la perte que vous venes de faire, elle est trop generale et je puis dire trop particuliere pour moi pour n'en estre pas aussi touché qu'homme du monde, ayant perdu assurement, je puis dire, un des meilleurs amis que j'aye jamais eu, je ne vous importunerai pas plus longtemps sur un si triste subject, mais seulement pour vous supplier de me faire la grace de vouloir temoigner a madame la duchesse d'Ormond que si je ne me donne pas l'honneur de lui escrire sur une si malheurense occasion que c'est par le respect que j'ay pour elle, et pour ne lui pas donner le chagrin de lire une lettre sur un tel subject quoi qu'assurement homme du monde ne participe plus sincerement a sa douleur que je ne fai, vous voules bien me pardonner la liberté que je preus, et me faire la justice de croire que j'ay trop d'obligations a toute vostre famille pour ne me pas interesser a tout ce qui la regarde et a vous mylord en particulier.*

SAME to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. Windsor.—Si je ne me suis point donné l'honneur de vous escrire plustost sur la perte que vous venes de faire, et permettes moi de vous dire que nous avons tous fait et moi en particulier, je vous supplie tres humblement de croire que je n'est point manque de respect, assurement my lord ni que je ny sois aussi sensible qu'homme du monde, car je serois le ingrat de tous les hommes si je ni prenois la part que je dois apres tant d'obligations que je vous ai mylord et a toute vostre famille lesquelles assurement je n'oublierai jamais et me tiendrois bien heureux si en ma vie je rencoutrois quelque occasion a vous pouvoir temoigner avec quelle sincerité et respect je suis et serai toute ma vie, etc.*

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. Sheen.—Though I am not of the first to condole with your Grace upon so sensible a loss as has lately befallen your family, yet I am sure your Grace will easily believe me one of those that take the truest part in it, as I shall ever do in whatever can arrive to you of good or of bad in the world. The true lenitives for such a wound must be found out and applied by your own piety and prudence and not expected from the compliments or reasonings of your friends, how good soever upon such an occasion. At least I will confess myself of all men the most unfit to make such attempts upon your Grace, having never been able to succeed in them upon myself after an incurable wound I received last year in the same kind and which I will hope I may live sometimes to forget but never to remember without the most sensible trouble and grief. And to say truth after the best offices I have

*The spelling of the original has been followed in this transcript.

performed to others upon such occasions, I find nothing of effect in any remedy but what may be extracted from the course of time which, like a natural opium, helps us to forget such pains as nothing else can allay.

I have been for nine or ten months past so much out of all thoughts of business and so engaged in little attendances of my health or journeys designed either for that or diversion, that I have not thought fit to give your Grace any trouble by my letters when I found they could be neither of use nor entertainment to you. But I have not failed to give my brother at times several notices that I thought concerned you in particular and might be necessary for you to know, and though my brother's modesty or tenderness of troubling your Grace may possibly have kept them from you, yet I do not know whether you are to thank him for it or no, and wish you could prevail with him to tell you the particulars that some have so much endeavoured to make use of to your Grace's prejudice, that so you may judge how to treat them, either by justifying yourself where there has been no occasion, or preventing any hereafter if there has, for no man can hope not to lie open in some part or other to a scrupulous or envious inquisition. I confess I was t'other day surprised when for the first time I attended the Irish Committee to find such a scroll of exceptions endorsed upon all the Acts lately sent over that I could not but say to one of the Council, who gave them me to read, that I could not judge of the exceptions because I had not read the Acts, but if they were justly or fairly made, I thought the only thing the King had to do upon them was to change the Lord Lieutenant and the whole Privy Council of Ireland for transmitting over a parcel of Acts that could deserve such an arraignment. Three or four of the least moment were read over that day, but I know not whether any progress has been made further in them, nor am I apt to believe all things will be concerted towards the sitting of a Parliament there so soon as it seems your Grace had thought necessary for the affairs or wants of that kingdom. I know not whether the matter be great, because I am inclined to believe that the next session of Parliament here is like to determine one way or other the fate not only of this kingdom but of all our neighbours, whose posture cannot continue another year without some great change in the measures of Christendom, unless we should be in a condition of falling into them with another sort of weight than we have been of late or are at this time. For my own part I have for a good while esteemed myself wholly incapable of either advising or serving His Majesty in his affairs at home, and for that end had asked his leave four months since to make a journey this autumn into the southern parts of France for my health. But His Majesty and the Ministers about him have thought it fitter for me to make such a southern journey in some capacity of serving the Crown upon the measures they have lately

taken (too lately I fear) than to travel like a young gentleman t my age; and so have for three months past pressed me very earnestly to charge myself with an Extraordinary Embassage into Spain, which I consented to about a fortnight since, and is now public. I am neither tempted by the dignity of it though esteemed the greatest heretofore of that kind and now greater by the King's present resolution to have no other Ambassador abroad (though several persons of so much better quality than I) nor by the fortunes which others have made in that station. Those circumstances are balanced enough by the risk a man runs of being undone if payments fail from Court, and for such distempers this is a very sickly time. That which encourages me is the strong opinion His Majesty has that I am capable of doing him more service in that Court and in pursuit of his present alliances with them than any man else. And on the other side the desire I have rather to hear of at a distance than to see the distractions of my country so fatal to our neighbours and I fear in time to ourselves, when I have no hopes of being able to do anything towards their remedy. I give your Grace this account of myself rather to divert than to inform you, and because I might end it with the assurance that in whatever places or stations my humour or my fortune may lead me, your Grace will ever be sure to find in them a most faithful and obedient humble servant.

RICHARD MULYS to CAPT. GEORGE MATHEW.

1680, August 14.—Yesterday I received yours of 8th, and am sorry St. Paul was detained so long on this side by contrary winds; tho' ill news God knows flies apace; and I believe nothing in this world could have been more unwelcome to Kilkenny. My Lord Longford, I hear, is arrived to town this day and lodges in Suffolk Street.

Everybody's expectation is strong and their discourse positive as if the Parliament should sit in October next. In order thereunto several things are doing for making it a happy sessions, and talk is of eight or ten pardons that are taking out; some are so confident as to say the Duke withdraws into Flanders, and others will have my Lord Duke Lauderdale and Chief Justice Scroggs to go for their health sake into France, Lord Sunderland as Lord Lieutenant for Ireland; and a great many other disposals of persons and places are made in ordinary discourse, which I for my part pass by as idle talk.

On Wednesday last at Windsor their counsels changed as to the affairs of Tangier. And letters of the 10th of the last month from thence, which, I saw, speaks of Muly Hamett's being come thither from the K of Fez with proposals for a peace.

On Wednesday last my Lord James was received by the King at Windsor with great expressions of kindness, and 'tis

said the Queen and Duke dropt a tear at the sight of him. I wish his Lordship were with you in Ireland, being of humble opinion that no course in the world could be more proper for him at present nor do him so much good. I cannot yet hear how my noble Lord's places and honours are bestowed; that which I resent most is that I find not one of them, neither in possession nor reversion, is like to be conferred on my young Lord.

Enclosed you have the King's letter for my Lady Delvin. The charges thereof I have put to his Grace's account as you directed.

We are here at a loss not knowing whether my Lord's title of Earl of Ossory were by creation, and consequently we know not how to stile our young Lord.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, August 14.—My Lady the Countess of Clancarty came to us at a time when we were under the confusion which your's and the nation's invaluable loss lately occasioned. However, I have endeavoured to take such care for the settlement of my young Lord as I hope has given her Honor satisfaction. And I shall make it my study that she may never take up other apprehensions concerning the disposal of her great treasure than those she has entertained; nor retract her belief of the effect which your Excellency's commands have and ever shall have with me. I should fear that this representation might appear now unseasonably rude did I not know that no personal calamity can make your Excellence forgetful of the concernments of your friends.

As to what relates to the affair of your most hopeful grandson, I have already taken the liberty to give your Excellence an account of what has passed, and hope your commands will speedily arrive and put an end to the present uncertainties of counsels, which by no means tends to my young Lord's advantage. I beseech Almighty God to give your Excellence support and comfort in this great affliction which He has laid upon you, and convert your temporal crosses to the advantages of eternity.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, August 14. London.—This annexed Report from the Committee of Intelligence being put into my hand to be read the last Council, I according to order delivered it to my Lord President, but His Majesty not being present, the reading it was deferred till the next Council day, being Wednesday, at which His Majesty's presence is expected. It coming so into my hands and not yet read at the Board, I most humbly beg your Grace to keep it in your breast for the present, but it being of so particular concern to your Grace and some other of your friends and servants, I thought myself obliged by that duty and service which I shall always with the

greatest sincerity pay to your Grace to give your Grace this account and therewith to send the annexed copy of the said report. I shall not presume to make any comment upon it being acquainted with my Lord Granard's instructions from your Grace, but shall endeavour to give your Grace an account of what further progress is made therein.

[Encloses a Report of the Committee of Intelligence, as follows :—]

In pursuance of your Majesty's commands we have spoken with the Lord Viscount Granard, who attended us at the Council Chamber the 5th instant, at which time the Earl Sunderland produced unto us two papers which the said Lord Granard said he had received from the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and which we found contained a representation of the ill posture of affairs in that kingdom. The said Lord Granard did also tell us that there were great fears that in case of any invasion many discontented persons and particularly those who had lost and forfeited their estates would be ready to join with any foreign enemy ; that the army is in a very ill condition, two-thirds of the soldiers being, as he supposes, tenants and married persons who have small farms and other concerns. That there are upwards of 400 old and unserviceable soldiers in the army, and consequently not above two thousand effectual men fit for service. That there is no ammunition or stores in the kingdom. That the forts are all ruined and out of repair, and not one gun mounted, except at Kinsale, where a new fort is building. That it will require at least 100,000*l.* to repair the forts, mount the guns and provide stores, but that not above 40,000*l.* can be laid out in a year, it being to no purpose to provide stores till fit places be made to receive them.

And his Grace the Lord Lieutenant having in his abovesaid papers offered to your Majesty that in order to remedy these defects, at least some of them, a Parliament might be speedily called there, we do humbly represent to your Majesty that we have considered of this whole matter, and do offer it as our humble opinions, that in regard it is necessary in order to the sitting of a Parliament in Ireland that some bills be first transmitted back hither, that the said Bills be forthwith looked over and maturely considered of, till which be done we do not think ourselves enabled to give your Majesty our advice concerning calling a Parliament there ; but finding it also necessary that in the meantime all care may be taken to provide for the safety of the country and to remedy some of these defects complained of, we do farther offer to your Majesty that

1. Orders may be sent to the Lord Lieutenant frequently to remove all the troops and companies of the army from place to place, which we conceive will in a great measure prevent the abuse of putting tenants in the troops and companies, and remove those that are in.

2. That whereas we are given to understand that an hospital is building for old and unserviceable soldiers, and that one hundred are already provided for by having half pay, that the rest of the old and unserviceable men of the army should also be allowed half pay out of the deduction made for the hospital.

3. That to recruit the army in Ireland 1,000 men be forthwith raised in England and sent thither to be distributed in such manner as the Lord Lieutenant shall think fit.

4. That towards the repairing the forts, mounting guns and providing for stores, a suspension may be made for one year of the following payments upon the Irish Establishment, viz. :—

Lord Chancellor's Salary	1000 00 00
Sir Robert Hamilton's salary at Secretary to the Commissioners of Accounts	2000 00 00
5000*l.* per annum which was paid to the Duke of Ormond	5000 00 00
The salaries of three of the Commissioners for managing the Revenues	9000 00 00
Half the 20,000*l.* reserved to your Majesty on the Civil List	10000 00 00
Creation Money	0544 00 00
Half the Pensions	5200 00 00
Mr. Hayes, as Controller of the Revenue ..	0200 00 00
Sum Total	23044*l* 00 00

Earl of Cork to Ormond.

1680, August 15. Lismore.—If the universal sorrow which possesses all men that had the honour to know your incomparable son could for his loss lessen in any measure the grief that your Grace has for it, there would I am sure be subject enough for its mitigation; but since it is of a nature that needs higher helps, your Grace's piety will, I assure myself, persuade you to resort to His divine assistance for support under this affliction, a greater than which, unless it were the loss of my son, I have not myself undergone, who do heartily pray that by the continuance of the remainder of all the branches of your noble family your Grace may find those comforts and satisfactions which you may justly expect.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, August 17. London.—Your Grace's intimation to me by my Lord Arran I have received and obeyed, but if it had not come I had pursued the same method, having had an account from my Lord Chamberlain on Sunday last at Windsor of what his Lordship wrote to your Grace by his Majesty's commands on Saturday last. And indeed His Majesty's expressions to me upon the delivery of your Grace's letter were so affectionate and tender towards your Grace

that I have reason to believe he was in very good earnest and meant truly what he directed my Lord Arlington to write, from whence without further hesitation I concluded it both unnecessary and unreasonable to mention to his Lordship anything of that discourse your Grace gave me in common at parting.

My Lord Granard had so effectually pursued your Grace's commands in representing to His Majesty the state of that kingdom and the necessity of the meeting of the Parliament there to put it into a posture of defence, that by his Lordship's discourse and the arguments my Lord Chamberlain used afterwards to him he was convinced of the necessity of the Parliament's meeting, and accordingly gave order to my Lord Sunderland that the Committee for Irish Affairs should immediately take into their consideration the Bills sent over which had lain asleep by the private whispers and insinuations of Sir James Shaen and others. And yesterday being appointed for their meeting, my Lord Arlington came hither on purpose to attend the committee and promote the passing of the Bills. The first Bill taken into consideration was that for granting the 200.000*l*., against which most at the Board made objections, and Mr. Hyde proposed that Sir James Shaen might be called in to hear what objections he had to make against that Bill, he pretending that if any such supply was granted by Parliament, that he and his partners were by their contract entitled to the collection of it, and also averring that the poor condition of that kingdom was such that the kingdom could not bear such a charge, the collection of which would both break the farm and the country. To this my Lord Chamberlain replied it could not be imagined that my Lord Lieutenant and the Council there could be so far mistaken in their measures as upon so serious a deliberation to propose a thing so destructive to the kingdom, and it was a disparagement to their government to have the opinion of Sir James Shaen put in balance with the resolutions of the Council there, who were men of interest and fortune, and without doubt as it was their interest to preserve the kingdom, would propose nothing to the disadvantage of it or the King's service. Notwithstanding these arguments insisted on by my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary Jenkins, they were overruled, and Sir James Shaen was sent for and called in, who alleged the poverty of the kingdom was so great that in the collection of the Revenue their officers were necessitated to distrain the pots, dishes, kettles and blankets of the poor people, and he was sure the running cash in the kingdom was so small that there was hardly enough to answer the King's rents, so that if this supply was granted by Parliament the kingdom must either be ruined by the payment of it and the Revenue, or the present farm of the Revenue must break. Upon which he withdrawing, it was proposed that he should by Thursday morning

bring in his objections and reasons in writing and produce his contract that gave him and his partners the collection of the supply (the benefit whereof it seems he values at a sixth part of the whole). And my Lord Arlington acquainting their Lordships that my Lord Granard and I, who were members of the Council there, and might possibly be privy to the debates upon the Bills, he thought it was necessary that we should be desired to attend their Lordships on Thursday, which was accordingly ordered, and Mr. Gwyn has given us notice of it. This morning I waited upon my Lord President, who told me the several objections Sir James Shaen made, to which I gave his Lordship distinct answers, with which he seemed to be pretty well satisfied. He further told me that the great objection against the Bill for confirmation of the settlement was that if it passed my Lord Ranelagh and the Farmers would be entitled to a defalcation for the benefit they had by their covenant to concealed lands. I answered first my Lord Ranelagh had no pretension, the time of his contract that entitled him to the benefit of concealed lands being some years since expired, and as for the Farmers' pretension, it was but a shadow, they having no title till the lands were discovered, and the benefit that might come to them by the mesne profits of such lands when discovered being an *individum vagum* and uncertain, they could make no demand of a defalcation for it. His next observation was that we had not sufficiently appropriated the 200,000*l.* to the uses for which it was intended, which he said the committee were resolved to supply, by making the appropriation stronger; I told him it was our respect to the King that made us not save their Lordships that labour, and it being the first example of this kind that was ever offered at by Parliament in Ireland we were unwilling to make it too harsh to the King. His Lordship's next objection was against the sevenpence per pound allowed for the collection of the subsidies, which the Lords of the Committee were of opinion was a very exorbitant allowance, and therefore were resolved to reduce it to threepence per pound. I told his Lordship that from former experience we having found that where the allowance for collection was so small no man of substance would undertake the collection, and consequently His Majesty had been at great loss by the breaking or running away of the collectors, to obviate which inconvenience for the future it was thought expedient a reasonable encouragement should be given that men of substance and estate might undertake the collection who were capable of giving security for performance. These are all the objections (as I remember) his Lordship made, with my answers to which he seemed well satisfied. This afternoon I gave Sir James Shaen a visit, which I did on purpose to feel his pulse, and I find it beat very high, seeming much unsatisfied with your Grace's unkind usage of him, and discountenancing of him and his partners, notwithstanding

all the submissive applications he has made and tender of his service to your Grace from time to time these 20 years past, in which he can call my Lord Chamberlain and Colonel Fitzpatrick as witnesses of his sincerity to your Grace. And that after all he finds no other return from your Grace but neglect, and a proceeding by the Bills sent as if designed to ruin him and his partners, which they could no longer bear, and therefore for their own preservation he was necessitated to oppose the Bills and the sitting of the Parliament, being assured the Farm must break if the supply went on, it being impossible that kingdom could bear both. I told him his passion and mistakes had transported him too far, and I presumed the Lords of the Committee would not be satisfied with his positive assertions unless he backed them with good reasons and demonstrations, or at least unless he could propose a better expedient than a Parliament to put that kingdom into a better posture than now it was. Upon this he fell upon his mercurial notions and computations how the revenue might be improved to 300,000*l.* per annum, and magnified his own service to the King in the improvement of the revenue above 40,000*l.* per annum more than any man else thought it worth. He further told me that by the Bill for the additional revenue they were cut off from the double duty upon foreign goods imported, to which they had a legal right, as they were informed by the best counsel in England. Then I asked him whether they had by their contract a title to the collection of the 200,000*l.* He said they had not, but they had a title to collection of what additional duties of Excise and Customs should be granted by Parliament during their farm. But he had not the book of his grant by him to show me that covenant, which I suppose he will produce on Thursday. He also said that in the Bill for the 200,000*l.* there was an exception of the entertainment of the officers of the Civil and Military Lists, and of the college and hospital, but there was no notice taken of excepting the salaries of their commissioners, so that though they belonged to His Majesty's Revenue they were not thought worthy of any favour. For the rest of his dissatisfactions I refer your Grace to my Lord Arran. My Lord Granard went yesterday to Ham and desired me to acquaint your Grace that he had His Majesty's commands to let your Grace know that the forces designed from Ireland for Tangier are stopped, and that instead of their going to Tangier there will be sent from hence 600 of the new raised foot with their arms to supply the army there and recruit it instead of the antiquated men who are fitter for an hospital than an army, which he would have writ to your Grace by Saturday's packet but that he came from Windsor so late that the packet was gone from this end of the town. My Lord Chamberlain begs of your Grace to remember the falcon your Grace has long since promised him, for which he is contented to send his falconer to Chester.

Earl of Arlington to Ormond.

1680, August 17. Arlington House.—The grief your Grace expresses in yours of the 9th is no more than what was due to the loss of such a son and such a friend; I hope you believe I rate my share as I ought to do in it, but I hope withal the Christian and moral remedies you use for the digestion of it will prevail at last upon you, and that the sorrow the world expresses for the loss of him will in some measure alleviate yours, for it is certain a man never dies so well as when he is most lamented, and without flattery in this particular your son has the advantage of all the men small or great that have fallen within my knowledge and observation.

According as your Grace hath directed me I will send my young Lord of Ossory back to Oxford, tho' he goes with some repugnancy, and I myself have not less to send him, because I know the discipline of Faubert's Academy would have turned more to account with him than that of the college, and the exercise have done him more good, for his taille wants it as well as the strength of his constitution. His father's body lies in a vault in Westminster Abbey, to be transported into Ireland as your Grace shall direct. Your goodness to the mother is like yourself, and 'tis certain more of that kind cannot be done than she deserves, and yet she is happy to be in your hands.

Here enclosed I send your Grace two letters from the Prince of Orange, one for yourself, the other for my Lady of Ossory, and the terms wherein he expresses his grief to me for what we have lost deserve, methinks, you should see them, wherefore I here also enclose a copy of my letter from His Highness.

I leave it to your Grace's other correspondents to tell you what difficulties have offered themselves upon the reading the Money Bills, for the Parliament of Ireland. The Committee met yesterday upon them, and Thursday they are to meet again. The King is himself very desirous of a Parliament in that kingdom, but others are not.

Sir William Petty to Lady ———.

1680, August 21.—I have sent on the paper, but not for Mrs. Crook to print, but for Mr. Secretary to consider. The name of Ossory is a tender thing, he that sullies it by handling it with dirty thumbs won't be excused by saying he meant no harm. 'Twas writ between the time of the first credible news he was dead and the certainty of it; but since worn out in the author's pocket for fear it was not suitable to the subject. But since nobody appears, whereas I thought a hundred would, let this (after consideration) go out to draw them on.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, August 21. Whitehall.—I should long ere this have sent your Grace an accompt of the Bills transmitted, but that it was many weeks before my Lords of the Committee entered upon the consideration of them. I cannot say that any one Bill that hath been before their Lordships hath escaped some little animadversion now under a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor General; there hath no Bill yet been absolutely laid aside, but that enabling ecclesiastical persons to let leases for lives. The Act for granting 200,000*l.* to His Majesty is now under debate. Sir James Shaen was called upon to give in his reflections upon it in the behalf of the Farmers. A copy of what he gave in on Thursday last I take leave herewith to enclose. Whether the Committee will resolve to transmit them in the shape and under the name they now are is not determined. It is to be hoped the Bill will pass here, and on that side too, notwithstanding the objections against it. For besides the deference that in such cases is most justly due to your Grace, I do not well see how any man will dare to advise the King not to call a Parliament as soon as may be, since your Grace and the Government there have advised and prepared for it as the best (if not only) means to answer the necessities and to prevent the dangers of that kingdom. On Monday my Lords are to receive Sir James Shaen's expedients how to provide what is wanting without a Parliament; if they be in writing I shall not fail to transmit them to your Grace. The extracts of your letters to Mr. Secretary Coventry, the Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Danby, that your Grace did me the honour to transmit to me, I have read over carefully and afterwards communicated them to Mr. Hyde and Mr. Godolphin; they have given me very good light and help in some debates, and will do so particularly when my Lords do come to the Bills of Settlement. I most humbly thank your Grace for them.

VISCOUNT GRANARD to LORD [EARL of ARRAN].

1680, August 21. London.—The honour of your Lordship's I received, and all I can now say is matters here are at the same uncertainty as formerly, whether a Parliament or not is the debate in the Committee for Ireland. By my last to my Lord Lieutenant I gave his Grace a narrative of what had passed here till my Lord Longford's arrival, who has the pen of a ready writer and will ease his Grace of the trouble of reading my scribble. There is reported of several changes both in Court and country preparative to the sitting of the Parliament here, but since they are no more than conjectures I will not trouble your Lordship further with them.

Postscript.—Since my writing of this I have got Sir James Shaen's objections against a Parliament in Ireland, which he gave in to the Council on Wednesday last, which the Clerk

of the Council sent me. I have not time to get them copied, but you may expect them by the next post. I assure you they are insolent . . . . .

JOHN KNOX to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, August 21. Dublin.—I most heartily condole the great loss that your honour and indeed the kingdoms have had in the death of your truly noble brother. I wish the loss may be made up by some of his hopeful issue.

The Lord Mayor hath appointed the thirtieth of this month for perambulating the franchises of this city, and will be attended by the several Corporations, and I, being at this time Master of the Guild of Merchants, design to give them a small treat, which makes me presume to entreat the favour of your honour to send me an order for a buck, which not only myself but the Corporation will own as a favour. We shall next week have two presses going, the work goes on very well.

RICHARD MULYS to CAPTAIN GEORGE MATHEW.

1680, August 21. Whitehall, Saturday.—Yesterday I received the honour of yours of 11th and find both my Lord Arlington and Sir James Butler at this time at Windsor, my next must therefore answer your commands in the particular of my Lady's administration, and by that time I may also hope to send a list of the debt and credit as you mention.

On Thursday last my Lord James returned to Windsor with my Lord Chamberlain, with purpose as on Monday next to part thence to Oxford, according to his Grace's desires, and there to remain till his Grace's pleasure concerning the disposing of him for the time to come be known.

I have this day put the remaining part of my late Lord's family to board-wages, and warned them all to provide for themselves, as my Lord Arlington thought fit to direct; pursuant to the paper formerly sent, I have put the Diamond George and Garter, etc., into my Lord Chamberlain's custody, and have taken a note under his Lordship's hand of the receipt thereof, copy whereof shall be sent to you in my next.

If Sir Stephen Fox be not concerned for my Lady in the administration, it were not amiss that his Grace writ to him to concern himself in getting in such money as is in arrear and due to her from the several public funds; his dexterity that way, besides his present station, rendering him most capable in that particular. The Bishop of St. Asaph elect, Dr. Lloyd, who is at present minister of our parish of St. Martin's, was with my Lord in time of his sickness, and performed those actions of Christianity which belonged to his function much to the satisfaction of my noble Lord, as it was also highly pleasing to the Bishop to find his Lordship,

who had been so much upon the stage of the world in action and living in a Court, so fit to die. My Lord Chamberlain thought it necessary for his Grace to write to the Bishop acknowledging his Lordship's kindness and great concern for my Lord. It was indeed very extraordinary, being five or six days and some nights in watching and prayer with him. It is presumed a present of a piece of plate, to what value her Ladyship thinks fit, would be becoming, and also to have my Lord Arlington's servants where his Lordship died rewarded.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, August 21. London.—I am but just now returned from Windsor, whither I went yesterday to serve my Lord Chancellor, and it is so late that I fear I shall scarce have time to give your Grace so full an account of our Irish affairs as is necessary for your Grace to have. Upon my Lord Granard's representing (by your Grace's commands) to His Majesty the ill condition of that kingdom for want of money to provide stores, ammunition of all kinds, repair forts, etc., and that the calling of a Parliament would be necessary to furnish His Majesty with a supply for those ends, His Majesty commanded my Lord Granard to give in his memorial to my Lord Sunderland, which his Lordship accordingly did, being a copy of your Grace's instructions to him. Upon this the triumvirate met, calling to their assistance my Lord President, my Lord Essex, and my Lord Clarendon (being all members of the Committee for the Affairs of Ireland), but my Lord Arlington (though then in town) was not summoned, nor my Lord Chancellor, nor Mr. Secretary Jenkins, nor Sir William Temple (though all of them were members of the same Committee). At this consultation, having no mind that a Parliament should yet sit in Ireland, and being convinced that it was of absolute necessity some present provision should be made to rescue that kingdom out of that defenceless and naked condition it is now in, it was agreed that some part of the present payments which might best be spared might for a twelve months be suspended from the use it is designed in the establishment, and applied for the putting that kingdom in some posture of defence, and 25,000*l.* being the sum by them thought sufficient for that use, they agreed to propose it last Council day to the King; and that 10,000*l.* of the money reserved for His Majesty's use, half of the pensions being 5,200*l.*, the 5,000*l.* per annum, which was formerly reserved to your Grace, my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.* (because he is believed a very rich man and can spare it), 900*l.* of the fifteen which the Commissioners of Inspection have, concluding two Commissioners sufficient to manage that affair, my Lady Francis Kyately's 200*l.*, and some other small pensions which were not mentioned to me. This project being resolved on last Council day and a positive

order for it being directed to be drawn up by the Clerk of the Council to be by my Lord Sunderland sent this night to your Graces, I went yesterday to Windsor to lay plainly before His Majesty my Lord Chancellor's case, which was particular and distinct in the hardship of it from all the rest, and I had the good fortune to press it so home by the assistance of the Duke, that His Majesty this day has ordered my Lord Sunderland to stop the order till next Council day. And His Majesty promised that part of it which concerned my Lord Chancellor should not pass. But whether he will not be overruled in it by the aforementioned Lords, who are still positive in it unless an expedient can be proposed by Mr. Muschamp to supply my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.*, I dare not undertake. It is supposed this is a device to necessitate my Lord Chancellor of himself in discontent at this usage to quit the Seal and by this means to disoblige the King of that good opinion he has of him. But my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Coventry are of the opinion, if (notwithstanding my endeavours to serve him) this hardship should be put upon him, his Grace should by no means take notice of it, but cheerfully submit to it for the present, it being impossible this torrent should last. On Thursday last the Committee for Irish Affairs met to consider of the Bill of Supply, when Sir James Shaen delivered in a paper of his objections against it, containing three sheets of paper, a copy whereof procured by Mr. Secretary Jenkins (who is your Grace's most entire and zealous servant) my Lord Granard just now delivered to me, but I have had neither time to read it or to get it transcribed, but by the next packet your Grace shall have it. I moved both Mr. Hyde and my Lord Sunderland that a copy of it might be sent your Grace by the Committee, which they say they had ordered if they had thought it material. After they had read it Sir James Shaen was called in and asked two questions, 1st, whether he could shew any clause in his contract that did entitle him and his partners to the collection of the 200,000*l.*, which he averred the day the Committee last sat; the 2nd, by what clause in his contract they were entitled to a defalcation in case this Act passed. To the first he answered in the negative, and said it was a mistake, for he averred only he and his partners were entituled to the collection of the additional duties upon those branches of the Revenue which were already farmed to them. But their Lordships by this answer were convinced of his jugglery, for that Bill has never yet been in debate before them. And my Lord President remembered he then asked him how much he valued the collection of the 200,000*l.*, to which he replied at a sixth part. In answer to the second question he produced the general clause for defalcation in his grant, upon perusal of which they unanimously declared he was not entitled to any defalcation, nor could not upon that clause in his contract

legally demand it. Then my Lord Granard and I were called in and asked whether the Farmers in Ireland made any objections to that Bill, and whether they were consulted in it. We answered that we knew of neither. Then we were asked whether considering the arrears claimed by the late Farmers and my Lord Ranelagh, and the scarcity of money in the kingdom, the country was able to bear all those payments together with the rent due upon the present farm, and this supply altogether. We answered that when that sum was to be inserted in the Bill, your Grace and the Council had that matter in consideration, and concluded the kingdom was able to bear it. Then my Lord Chancellor asked what need was there for that clause of enlarging the periods of payments. We answered it was very necessary, because if upon experience those payments were found hard upon the people it might be in the power of your Grace and the Council to ease them by enlarging the times of payments. And as for the present condition of the kingdom we assured their Lordships it was much better now than any time since the King's restoration, for the rents of particular persons were not only well paid, but the rents of lands generally increased as well as the purchase of lands within these three or four years past, from whence we concluded the poverty of the kingdom was not such as Sir James Shaen represented it. Then my Lord President said we had been asked questions enough, and that they had no more to trouble us with. So we withdrew, and their Lordships rose without taking any resolution, referring the further debate till Monday next in the afternoon. My Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Jenkins, Mr. Coventry and Sir William Temple made very smart observations upon Sir James Shaen's paper, and were very kind in their regards to your Grace and the Board. And I doubt not but they will continue them on Monday next. I had a long discourse with His Majesty this morning upon this subject, and find His Majesty has no reverend opinion of Sir James Shaen's projects, with which it seems he has charmed my Lord of Essex and Mr. Hyde, though he could make no impression with them upon your Grace, for he has now the same propositions on foot he made by me to your Grace. My Lord Ranelagh came last night to town, and being this day in discourse with my Lord Granard, shewed as little inclination for the meeting of the Parliament there as Sir James Shaen has ; and perhaps by this means he hopes to make his court to the men in power before whom his appeal is like to be brought. I hear no news of the return which the Commissioners of his accounts are to make to the King and Council here of his balance, nor to whom it is directed if it be sent away from thence ; and this caution I must give your Grace, that I hear my Lord President will take it ill if it be not sent to him. I had almost forgot to tell your Grace that the Parliament is to meet here the 21st

of October, and a Proclamation ordered to that purpose. One great argument with our statists here is that it may prove of great inconvenience to have a Parliament sit here and in Ireland at the same time, whereas by the delay upon the Bills before them it is impossible a Parliament can meet there by the 21st of October, nor will not by Christmas according to the method now used. The argument against the 200,000*l.* is that it will come in too slowly to answer the pressing necessities of our defence, which requires a speedier supply. And yet the expedient as yet offered is but 25,000*l.* per annum. So that it is past my logic or politics to reconcile these contradictions. His Majesty told me this morning that he had directed Mr. Hyde to send your Grace some queres to have your resolution in.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 21. Blessinton.—The enclosed from Mr. Sher. I received but yesterday, and hold it my duty to transmit it to your Grace. What he saith of me I must absolutely disown, and look upon it only as his civility and compliment; what concerns your Grace therein may perhaps be worthy your Grace's consideration, whether you will think fit to take any notice thereof or to reserve it to yourself; however, I think it very reasonable that your Grace should know it. The other from my Lady Orrery will acquaint your Grace with her Ladyship's desires about the yacht, wherein if your Grace will be pleased to give your directions to Mr. Ellis, I presume he will remit them to me.

By a letter which I received from another hand out of England I am informed that exceptions are made by some of the great lords there unto the Bill which gives liberty for Bishops to make leases for three lives as tending to the prejudice of their successors. This certainly cannot be the reason thereof, if any such thing be, for it is very apparent and plainly evident that it is for the advantage of their successors, and is agreeable to most of the Church tenures in England. There can be no reason at the bottom but this: that the holding for lives makes the Bishop's tenants freeholders and enables them to vote in the elections for Members of Parliament, and perhaps it may be thought by some that this may prove a great strength to the Royal interest. God help us, when the greatest argument to have it done is made an argument against it. I pray God send us better times.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT GRANARD.

1680, August 23. Kilkenny.—Since yours of the 2nd instant I find the Bills have been under further consideration, and I shall patiently attend the result. Your Lordship has fully observed the particulars I recommended to you, only you have exceeded in the estimate you were pleased to make of my ability and interest, but whatever they are or shall be

they shall be always employed in the service of the Crown. I have presumed once more to move that what exceptions are or shall be taken to the Bills or any part of them may be sent over to be considered by those that drew them. I know that formally proceeding thus may be more than can be insisted on by us, but if a kingdom be in hazard I believe it ought not continue so upon formalities. I have nothing to add to what you were content to charge yourself withal or to this letter.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARLINGTON.

1680, August 23. Kilkenny.—I have deciphered the paper that came with your Lordship's of the 10th instant, but think it not necessary to trouble you with a return the same way. His Majesty's pleasure concerning Johnson shall be punctually obeyed upon his retaking; he hath made frivolous excuses for his double endeavour to escape. The King's pleasure concerning myself shall be cheerfully undertaken and your Lordship's advice followed. The Lord that wondered at my persisting to advise a Parliament here had more reason than perhaps he was aware of, for it is plain if I did consider my profit, my ease, my security, or my credit, and would put them in balance against some probability of serving my Master, I ought not to be so earnest for it; and since I may very possibly be mistaken and disappointed in my main purpose as the world goes, the least intimation of His Majesty's disapprobation will be argument enough to silence me; but if he shall think a disappointment well ventured for the advantages that may be obtained, which may be better revolved than expressed, then I must humbly beseech him that the Bills transmitted may not be blasted by whisperers or laid aside without his servants here being thought worthy the receiving some reasons for such a proceeding. How useful it may be that we should be consulted will appear by considering two or three Bills stuck at. That for enabling Bishops to make leases for lives was not by me calculated or considered as it may be of advantage to the Church (tho' I shall always own my reverence and affection to it), but of the Crown in elections to all future Parliaments, for the Bishops making their tenants freeholders and consequently electors, and the King making Bishops, he is always secure of so many well affected members. If Bishops be well enough chosen to understand their own interest, what reason can be given to lay aside such a Bill, I am to seek. The Bill for laying a greater imposition upon coals intended for pious uses I find is referred to the Solicitor to know whether it be usual to lay impositions upon commodities imported from England, when it is so notorious that nothing I can call to mind is landed out of England here, but pays duties, and from thence arises a great part of the Revenue, but if His Majesty shall command the exceptions taken to bills or part of Bills to be transmitted in writing he will the better judge of all.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, August 24.—I have received what your Grace honoured me with by the Earl of Longford. I have been since twice in this town from my solitude to attend the Committee for the Irish Bills. My Lord Longford will, I doubt not, give you a particular detail of that affair and what advance hath been since made, and what obstructions are at present and what more are likely to be interposed in it. They are mysteries beyond a country understanding, and are not likely to be revealed to me till October, when everybody probably will see farther than anybody upon good grounds doth at present. The house I spoke of is yet to be had, but I hope there will be no occasion for it. I shall shew it my Lord Longford when he pleaseth. Our news from Tangier is very bad, the Moors being before it with a considerable army; there is a good garrison in the place and more men are going. We are generally melancholy and I think with reason. I am returning back to my retreat at the Chase to converse with neighbours that have no more cunning than myself.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, August 24. London.—On Monday in the afternoon the Committee for the affairs of Ireland met, and (after some debate) their Lordships proceeded to the reading again the Bill of 200,000*l.*; the minutes of the Committee I have herewith enclosed, which was all that was done upon that subject, only some of the Lords reserved themselves to speak to the matter of the Bill and raising money in Ireland by way of Land Tax till another occasion. The debate I mentioned was concerning a paper brought by Mr. Hyde which had been read and approved by His Majesty, and was said to be recommended by him to the Committee; it contained heads of a letter to be writ from the Board to your Grace and Council of Ireland. The Bill being allowed to have the precedency and first read, the paper was again taken up, but according to the best of my memory was to this purpose. 1. That the Farmers of the Revenue of Ireland, being apprehensive of great inconveniences which would come to the Farm in case the Bills for money should pass, believed they must be forced to throw up the farm: therefore, to know 2. In what condition the kingdom of Ireland is in as to the present state of the Revenue and whether, if the Bills pass, the kingdom is so able to bear it that it may not be a great prejudice to the King's future Revenue there, so much that the Farmers may justly be entitled to defalcations, the King's affairs at present being in such a posture that it is not possible for him to admit of any.

3. That there should be transmitted to the Board a copy of the present Establishment of Ireland as now it stands, with the addition of the Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment; how the forces are at present paid that were sent from

thence to Tangier; what pensions are already stopt by order? Of what rates the ten ships are which are mentioned to be built in the Bill of 200,000*l.* their number of guns and men, how they are to be maintained when built, with an account of what it will yearly cost the King for their maintenance? How provision shall be made upon the Establishment for an addition of men intended to be sent over to increase the army of Ireland? What can be allowed out of the present Revenue towards repairing the forts, providing ammunition, stores, etc.? That the Concordatum money should be 6,000*l.* per annum. I humbly beg your Grace's pardon if I have misrepeated or omitted anything, having but once read it over.

Mr. Hublan, a Spanish merchant, brought a letter which he had received at that minute from a correspondent of his at Cadiz, which gave an account that the Moors had broke the truce, and that the Alcayd was before Tangier with ten thousand men, but it is here hoped the news may not be true, for the King hath no advice from his Governor there, though there are two expresses at present at Tangier, neither are there any other letters come to the Exchange of that subject.

Since my last to your Grace, I have advice of the death of a gentleman in the country (which though otherways is not disadvantageous to me), yet at this time I must esteem it very unfortunate, since it unavoidably occasions my going out of town to-morrow at a time wh n, if ever, I might be most capable of paying my service to your Grace in my small station. I fear my journey will take me up three weeks' time. In the meantime I have taken care to have the minutes of the Council and Committee transmitted duly to your Grace by my clerk. And though I could wish the Bills might receive greater dispatch, yet I doubt there will be no great progress made in them at present.

I find the letter to your Grace from my Lord of Sunderland, including the Report of Suspensions, was not sent by Saturday's post as was intended, nor is not to go to-night. the occasion of its stop is some alteration His Majesty intends to make in those suspensions, and particularly that part of it which relates to my Lord Chancellor of Ireland; for that part which concerns myself I have used very little intercession here, but lay myself entirely at your Grace's feet, and most humbly beg the favour that your Grace will be pleased to have me in your thoughts as one that faithfully is, etc.

Postscript.—It is now confidently reported that Bedloe is dead.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, August 24. London.—Mr. Secretary Jenkins having told me that he sent your Grace by Saturday's packet a copy of Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill for a supply

to His Majesty of 200,000*l.*, I have forborne sending one, though I had prepared a duplicate of it. On Sunday a little before His Majesty went to Council, my Lord Chamberlain had some discourse with His Majesty about our Parliament in Ireland, and convinced His Majesty so thoroughly of the conveniency to His Majesty's affairs and the satisfaction of that kingdom in providing for their own defence in it, that when the Council sat the King fell very warmly upon the debate of it, and told their Lordships he would rather depend upon the opinion and judgment of his Lord Lieutenant and Council there than trust to Sir James Shaen's projects, whom he knew by long experience to be a very notional and busy man, but he could not rely either upon his honesty or skill; and therefore recommended to the Lords of the Committee for Irish affairs to make all the despatch they could of the Bills sent over. This His Majesty was positive in, notwithstanding all was said against it by my Lord Essex and Mr. Hyde, who gave very large encomiums of Sir James Shaen. Yesterday their Lordships met in the afternoon, where the debate lasted for an hour and half whether the reading the Bill of Supply or the draught of a letter Mr. Hyde had prepared of some queres (concerning the Bills) to your Grace should have the preference, and his importunity being submitted to, and upon reading his draught it being found necessary that the Bills should be looked into before it would be proper to send the queres upon them, the Bill of Supply was then read; to which these following exceptions are taken:— 1. That every branch of the King's Revenue ought to be excepted from this tax as well as the lands of the college and hospital, otherwise that Bill gives with one hand to the King and then takes away with the other. 2. It is observed that this Bill too strictly appropriates and obliges the ships to be built to the defence and service of Ireland, as if it were designed to make that kingdom independent of this. And therefore the amendment of these two particulars in recommended to Mr. Attorney General. The third is that the Commissioners are to be named by the Parliament, and the subdivisions of the sums for each county made by the Parliament, which is conjectured by some of the Lords to be against Poynings' Act. The fourth, that it is a Land Tax, and not a Subsidy Bill, whereas a Subsidy Bill, which would excuse the poorer sorts, it is alleged would have been properer for Ireland, where poor people are so numerous. And lastly that this Bill differs from all other Bills of Supply that have been granted in Ireland, and therefore it was wished they had a copy of the last Bills of Subsidies granted there in the last Parliament, of the titles of which there is only mention made in the Book of Statutes. These (my Lord) are the several objections I have collected were made upon the debate yesterday, the result of which is that the Bill is neither approved of nor rejected, but laid by for the present till their

Lordships have better digested these exceptions. Before they rose the Bill for the additional duties, etc., was put into the hands of Sir George Downing (who is believed to be well skilled in trade) and Sir James, a party concerned in the Farm, who are on Saturday next to bring their exceptions in writing if they have any. By this slow method of proceeding your Grace may judge in what time all the Bills will be run through, and when the Bill for Confirmation is taken into consideration I hear Captain Thornhill has a petition ready in behalf of the deficient adventurers, and that the nominees have an agent here with another petition in the behalf against the Bill, by which your Grace may perceive that the train is laid to put off the meeting of the Parliament to as long a day as can be, if not to disappoint its meeting absolutely. For the King going to Newmarket upon the 13th of the next month it is not to be imagined any Committees will sit in his absence, the great Ministers being to attend His Majesty there, and then after his return the meeting of the Parliament here will postpone any thoughts of Ireland. I had forgot to acquaint your Grace that one exception to the Bill of Supply, that care was taken for building of ships in the first place, but their Lordships will have the providing of arms, stores, repairing of fortifications precede the building of the ships. The project for the suspension of those payments I mentioned to your Grace in my last will not (as I am informed) come to your Grace this packet, and when it is sent I hope my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.* will be no part of it. Mr. Gwyn (whom I find very affectionate to your Grace's service) hopes if there be room left for three Commissioners of Inspection, and that the naming of them who are to stand be left to your Grace, your Grace will oblige him by continuing him, since two upon the place may be sufficient to discharge that work, and he may be so useful to your Grace here as to deserve that indulgence from you. This day Mr. Nash was sent to me by Sir James Shaen to tell me that if he may yet be admitted to any share of your Grace's favour, he had rather be your Grace's servant than any man's living. Without doubt he has so possessed Mr. Hyde with that proposition he made to your Grace by me that Mr. Hyde's desire to value himself to the King upon so plausible a proposition for His Majesty's advantage is one of the motions that has engaged him to struggle against the meeting of the Parliament in Ireland with that warmth he does. If your Grace pleases to write to Mr. Coventry, Mr. Secretary Jenkins and Sir William Temple taking notice of their zeal to serve your Grace and the public, for they have very zealously endeavoured to stem this torrent against you. My Lord Granard presents his most humble duty to your Grace, and commands me to tell your Grace that while I am in England with him he has appointed me his secretary to your Grace, and therefore concludes himself absolved from giving your Grace the

trouble of his letters. However, he will never decline your Grace's service, wherein it shall be within his power to serve you.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 24. Blessinton.—I received from Mr. Ellis by your Grace's directions some minutes of the proceedings of the Committee for the affairs of Ireland upon some of those Bills which were transmitted by your Grace and Council. Amongst them I find that the Bill for enabling Bishops to set leases for lives is rejected. If I could wonder at anything in this age this would be to me matter of admiration, a great end of that Bill being designed for the service of the King and country, the former by the votes of the tenants at the elections for Parliament, the latter by the addition of freeholders to complete juries, of which there is great want in many parts of this kingdom. Besides, the gratification of the Bishops and clergy is that which constantly hath been done in all Parliaments, and that could not be done an easier way than this, it being no more than what is agreeable to the laws and practice in England, and convenient for succession and improvement, and must be of necessity be well pleasing both to tenant and landlord. I offer to your Grace's consideration whether it may not be worthy your Grace's trouble to engage my Lord Longford in your Grace's name to attend the Lords of the Committee about it, for amongst those many Bills which have been transmitted by your Grace I cannot recollect any one in the behalf of the Church in general but this. How then can we expect a hearty concurrence of the Bishops in other necessary Bills when they shall know that they are refused in this only one. I must ingeniously acknowledge to your Grace that I shall not be able with any confidence to depend upon them when they shall find my interest so little as not to serve them in such a modest degree. And when they shall see no provision made for the Church amongst many other Bills for secular affairs, they will have some reason to doubt that the Government is either careless of them or unconcerned for them. This was not usual in other Parliaments; the first Article of the Magna Charta (which was confirmed by very many Parliaments) was ever for the advantages and privileges of the Church. I received some account of this intended rejection by the last packet and writ to my Lord Longford about it before I received your Grace's paper. I humbly submit to your Grace whether you shall think fit to offer anything in this matter or no, for I am doubtful that some other Bills of more concern will find difficulty enough to pass, for I am advertised by this packet that some of this kingdom's pretended friends have already avouched to that Committee that if the King would retrench his 200,000*l.* and the pensions, it would do the business of this kingdom well enough without a Parliament. God help us. I pray God bless your Grace.

Postscript.—The Lord Ranelagh was not got to London when this packet came away, but I understand by my old correspondent that the fair lady met him at his landing.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, August 25. Carrick.—I received your Lordship's of the 17 at Kilkenny as I was ready to take coach to come hither to divert myself, which I have done but very ill, bringing with me an additional sorrow for the death of my sister Hamilton, of which I was assured as I was reading your letter, before I knew that she was under more than a slight distemper, but I thank God He has taught me to submit with cheerfulness to his good pleasure. My Lord Chamberlain's discourse on occasion of the Bills was like a Councillor in better times than we are fallen into. I have endeavoured to let the King and his Lordship understand my part in the affair, and that I am no further concerned whether there be a Parliament or no, or how the Bills shall be cast out or mended, than as I conceive they may tend to the security of the Crown and subject, so that Sir James Shaen is as much mistaken as ever he was if he thinks to anger me with exercising his false assertions and mysterious notions against those Bills, tho' since he believes he does, I am to take it for an argument of his formidable displeasure and guard myself the best I can; in the meantime if he were worth an expostulation I could be content he were put in mind of the private articles of his propositions transmitted to me by your Lordship about a year ago, and desired to declare how I have offended his mightiness since. If it be because his projects are too refined for my capacity to comprehend, or, as I think, for anybody to put in practice, his indignation is very unjust, and I shall die in my error, for I think him always fallible and very seldom intelligible. I shall be sorry if your Lordship and my Lord Granard have entered the lists against so sceptical a politician, and I hope His Majesty and his Council will not think it fit work for his Chief Governor and Council here to answer all the quirks and ravings that flow from him, and that they will believe that they, his Judges and learned Counsel, are neither natural fools or madmen.

I send your Lordship some remarks upon the pretensions made by the Farmers in virtue of the letters obtained by them from the King and Lords of the Treasury, also an Order given by me in their favour notwithstanding those remarks, and notwithstanding that I know my condescension will be interpreted by Sir James to be for fear of him. But I look at the King's service and will not be put out of my road either by his impertinent and saucy expressions or by his most flattering cajolings. I would not have him have the satisfaction they will give others to whom your Lordship may more properly shew them. I am called to dinner and so must break off.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, August 26 Immediately after the never sufficiently to be lamented loss of my Lord Ossory, my young Lord being sent for from me, I hold it my duty to break in upon your griefs and give an account of the disposal of that great and now more endeared treasure which had been deposited with me. My young Lord being this day sent back hither, I am concerned to send unto your Excellency an account thereof by the first opportunity and present my assurances as of all possible care of his person, so of my utmost endeavour for his improvement. But the methods thereof being to be suited to the time which your Excellency allots for his stay, I should be very glad of some light therein, that accordingly I might suit the instruction to the better advantage. The change that is made in my Lord's attendance is, I presume, according to your Excellency's order, so that it will be superfluous to render an account of it. I shall therefore only beg pardon for the rudeness of this second intrusion, and with my prayers that your comforts and supports may be answerable to your great affliction, remain, etc.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, August 28. London.—In my last by the last post I told your Grace how far we had gone in the Committee, and what difficulties we had met with, proceeding upon the Irish Bills. I think I mentioned therein that we were to meet again as on this day, and that Sir James Shaen was to have a copy of the Bill for Additional Duties and to bring in writing his exceptions to it, which accordingly he did, but not so perfect as he says in a little more time he can make it. We have directed him to make it complete against Tuesday afternoon. His objections seemed to us all friends, and foes to have great weight in them, and that in a word his Majesty would be a greater loser than gainer by the Bill. All I could say in behalf of it was that it was strange to me that the Council of Ireland should prepare and transmit a Bill of that nature to us without consulting the Farmers of the Revenue, if at least Sir James Shaen speaks their mind as well as his own, and concluded my proposition that the exceptions thus finished by Sir James Shaen might be transmitted with all speed to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which is promised accordingly. In my former I forgot to tell your Grace that Sir Robert Southwell, transferring his place of Clerk of the Council to Mr. Gwyn, had told me he had disposed him to transmit from time to time all things worth your knowledge which should occur, and that I asking the said Mr. Gwyn the other day whether he did so, he answered me he did, and would continue doing so, in which I gave him all possible encouragement, and promised to make his service known as valuable to your Grace as I could. Wherefore I beseech you as there is occasion for it to take notice thereof in such obliging

terms as may encourage his service herein, which cannot but be of great use to your Grace, and in this conjuncture particularly, when I am going as I shall do God willing the next week into the country to stay there until His Majesty's return from Newmarket.

COUNTESS of CLANCARTY to ORMOND.

1680, August 28. Yours from Carrick gave me the surprising news of my sister Hamilton's death, and along with it reflections that are very profitable to me. I had some troubles before upon my hands besides our common great one, for two packets together brought me news of my daughter Fingall and Betty's being ill of the fever that is common and mortal in England. The last of them speaks of my daughter's being amended, but Betty's being worse; but the last of all that came in brings me no news of them nor letters, but the enclosed from Justin, which I send you, that you may please to tell me what answer I may make to that part relating to yourself. He was, I perceive, in the ardour of his passion and grief when he writ it, which made him perhaps propose a thing improper for these times. As to myself I do pray and beseech God and employ all my endeavours that I may spare my sorrow and tears for my sins, where they can only be profitable, and since I cannot yet prevail to have any for my sins, they shall not be misplaced or misspent any other way if I can with all my endeavours hinder them, and for the rest I strive all I can by diversions to keep myself above all other troubles. It is said you have appointed my Lord of Ossory's funeral to be performed in this country. I do much apprehend the doing so may uphold and aggravate the grief of his friends, and make those best resigned to give ground, unless he could be so privately interred with his ancestors that few should know it till it were past, for that of being in their monument must needs be the only motive of that design; methinks the precedent of the private funerals of the late prince and princesses, the Duke of Gloster, the Princess Royal, the Queen of Bohemia and the Duchess might serve for models in this case, and I hope it may. I have of late lost half the ill sight I had by a mist I have before my eyes, so that I hardly can write or read but by guess. I am entering into a course of physic and bathing for that and the pain in my arms, if it may please God I shall mend by those remedies. I purpose to wait on you and my sister Ormond at Kilkenny, and if I could find it were any service to you both I would go as I am, blind and lame. I most humbly salute you both.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, August 29. Blessinton.—In my last I gave your Grace some account of a proposal that was made to the Lords of the Committee for the Affairs of Ireland; that the King's

20,000*l.* and the pensions being withdrawn the Revenue of this kingdom would be sufficient for its charge wtihout the trouble of a Parliament. It seems by Captain Stone's letter (here enclosed) that they have made some alterations upon that proposal, and have imposed the weight thereof upon other persons. I do not well understand what the meaning is of withdrawing 2,500*l.* per annum out of the Lord of Ormond's quit rents, but as to what concerns myself I am pretty well satisfied that some persons may have a design upon my employment, and they do not well know upon what pretence to have it taken from me, and therefore have chose this way as a means to make me decline it of myself. And indeed the contriver may thus far promise himself success, that I shall never attempt to hold it upon dishonourable terms; your Grace have known my inclinations in that particular before this time. However, I shall not write anything about it unto anyone until I shall know your Grace's sense upon the whole matter, who, I presume, have received a more particular account of that business than Captain Stone hath sent me. By the same packet I received two letters out of England, one from my Lord Longford, another from Mr. Secretary Jenkins (which I presume to enclose to your Grace), and your Grace will not find in either of them the least word of this matter. Neither did I receive any letter by that packet from Denny Muschamp, so that it seems this purpose was kept as a secret before it was resolved on. Indeed, Denny Muschamp did some weeks since write to me that if your Grace would not decline insisting on a Parliament, he doubted it would bring some great prejudice upon your Grace and upon your servants before we expected it. He found some great persons there so severely bent against it. This I shewed your Grace, but I could not imagine that prejudice could have been intended by any that declared themselves for His Majesty's advantage.

Sir Thomas Newcomen delivered me the honour of your Grace's of the 23 instant. And the Farmers of the Revenue called upon me here, and acquainted me with your Grace's agreement with them according to that warrant your Grace was pleased to send me. I wish it may do their work, but I doubt they are somewhat distrustful of it themselves.

Your Grace may be pleased that Mr. Secretary Gascoigne return me the enclosed letters.

Chief Justice Keating to Earl of Arran.

1680, August 30. Roscommon.—My loved and dear Lord, here it is that I had the honour of yours of the 16th than which nothing could be more welcome; believe me, my Lord, your thoughts of me in relation to yourself are not astray, for surely I shall persevere, blow high, blow low.

What would I give for the opportunity of one half hour with you at Kilkenny. Believe me my lord if you go not for

England, as I have formerly written and advised you should, you will live to acknowledge it an error. I find very many busy there and many playing the game who understand it not, and if any person of quality would appear there that may have audience, doubtless the bare reason of things would carry them thorough. If Sir Richard Stephens were at London, as he must be, and your lordship at Court, I am certain it would much mend the face of things. I beg your lordship's pardon, I am so tired in Court, where I write this, and where I have been since eight in the morning, and it is now eight at night that I know not what I write.

Sir Philip Lloyd to Ormond.

1680, August 31. Council Chamber.—When I was in waiting before, at my Lord Ossory's command I gave him such minutes as were worth transmitting to your Grace, since which I hope my brethren have taken care to do the same in their turns, but, I coming in again the next month, will presume to renew that trouble to your Grace. I do not doubt but your Grace hath had a full account of those debates that have passed here concerning the two money Bills to this day. This afternoon the Committee met about the additional duty Bill and read all Sir James Shaen's exceptions to it, which (methought) did weigh so far with their lordships as inclined them against the passing of it, but they ordered a letter to be written to your Grace to enclose a copy of them, for your Grace to acquaint the Council with, and to give such answer to as you shall think fit; this letter I presume will go by the next post. Next Thursday the Committee meets again about the 200,000*l.* Bill, in which some alterations have been made. I have sent notice of it to my Lord Chamberlain, who, I presume, will be present at that Committee, as he hath at every one, except this to-day, his lordship being at Windsor. I shall be proud to be honoured with your Grace's commands and obey them.

Primate Boyle to Ormond.

1680, August 31. Blessinton.—I last night received the honour of your Grace's of the 28th instant, with some enclosed observations upon the Bill for Revenue. I have, according to your Grace's directions, sent them this day to Mr. Solicitor.

There are doubtless many mistakes in the ground-work of that discourse, but that which upon the whole matter takes most with me is this:—The people of this kingdom (as of all others) will be unwilling to part with their moneys, but when they see a kind of necessity, or at least some great occasion for doing it; but when they shall find themselves supported by such popular arguments as these seem to be against their giving any money, and these objections received and countenanced in England, I doubt it may have that

effect which may in a great measure disappoint those expectations which your Grace might reasonably enough have promised yourself from the meeting of the Parliament, and if so what reflections will then be made upon your Grace is easily foreseen. Your Grace will be pleased to consider this, when you shall have those observations more authentically transmitted unto you.

I humbly acknowledge your Grace's great favour in that advice which you are pleased to send me as to my own particular. I shall wholly submit myself to your Grace's judgment, and shall expect what a little time may produce of change or alteration upon such a sudden determination as that seems to have been. I am told by Denny Muschamp that His Majesty hath been already pleased upon my Lord Longford's application to him to take it into his consideration, and to express himself very unpleasingly upon that order.

I fear the condition of Tangier may prove desperate if the Alcade hath already invested it with an army of 10,000 men, as is reported by some merchants who came thence very lately, thus my letters tell me out of England. I need make no paraphrase unto your Grace upon the condition of these times. I pray God amend them or prepare us all to undergo what in His displeasure He shall think fit to lay upon us. I heartily pray for your Grace's happiness. I am advertised that the whole body of Adventurers intend to petition against a Parliament here.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, August 31. London.—This afternoon the Committee for Irish Affairs sat and did not only receive Sir James Shaen's long paper of objections against the Bill for additional duties, but also read the Bill paragraph by paragraph in his presence and heard him to every paragraph. He does not only object against the duties themselves, but also against the manner of levying every one of them. The Committee have ordered your Grace a copy of his paper, which was too voluminous to be transcribed this night, but it will ready be to be sent by Saturday's packet. Their Lordships have appointed Thursday to conclude their resolutions upon the Bill for granting the 200,000*l.*, to which my Lord Essex resolves then to speak to that Bill. His objection against it is because it is a Land Tax, which he thinks will lie too heavy upon the poor, whereas they would have been eased if the supply had been by the way of subsidy according to the old method of England. Mr. Sheriff Bethell is said to have a discovery made to him of a new plot of the Papists designed to be executed this next month by massacre upon the Protestants. It is doubtful whether the King will be here to-morrow at Council. I do not hear that the state of my Lord Ranelagh's accounts is yet arrived here, and if it be not sent to my Lord President, his Lordship will take it in dudgeon.

Ormond to Primate Boyle.

1680, August 31. Kilkenny.—You will find by mine of Saturday last by the post that I thought it impossible but that my Lord Longford would have given yourself an account of what he writ so largely of to me, in what you are most, if not particularly concerned, and cannot imagine why his lordship should fancy that your Grace dwells here. By my last it appears that I do not differ in my opinion from your friends in England as to your Grace's conduct in case His Majesty should for other reasons be forced to comply with those lords that put him upon so insignificant and so unjust and mean an expedient, only I differ from my Lord of Longford where he advises that Mr. Muschamp should inform whence it may be more reasonably taken. I am much confirmed in my opinion that your Grace should not gratify your ill willers by giving up the Seal on this occasion (if the King should be prevailed upon in the matter) by the certainty of the Parliament's sitting so soon [ ] *two lines have been rendered illegible at this point by fire*, resign it with more honour at least I am sure [is] worth your Grace's consideration, and I could wish you would take one journey more hither, that we may advise together, after I have shewn your Grace all that I can collect from the intelligence I have or shall receive. As to a Parliament here I give over the thoughts of it, the rulers at Council being so much against it, and so angry with us for offering at supplying the King as to set on Sir James Shaen, whose talent is proper for troubling affairs and little else. I see by Captain Stone's letter he would fain ingratiate himself with you and magnify his own power, but I believe him to be the sole contriver of all. My Lord Ranelagh was come to London, but that night the post came away. I send your Grace with those you sent me, my Lord of Longford's to me, which you will be pleased to return by the first conveniency. [The Earl] of Cork has been ill of the gout and so it is uncertain when he will be able to take his journey for England.

Ormond to Henry Coventry.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—I have had a full account of the proceedings about the Irish Bills and Parliament, and must conclude that those who would not have one called here till that in England hath sat have gotten the victory. I was in hope that those who were against our Parliament might yet be esteemed my friends, however they might pity mine and this Council's weakness, and rest upon Sir James Shaen's probity and wisdom. I am sure those that were for it are my friends, and I hope still all the other are not my enemies. Tho' I am taught that a witness in some cases is the more credible for being of ill fame, yet till now I had not learnt that an undertaker in matters of this other nature was more to be relied upon for it. I desire still you will let my Lord

Longford see the place you mention, for till after October it is not certain I shall have no use of it.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—I was fain to send your Lordship's of the 21, as I take it to my Lord Primate, his Grace having had a worse account of his part in the suspension designed than that you gave him when that was projected. I suppose it was believed that my payments of 5,000*l.* a year did continue, but it falls out otherwise, and the blow falls beside me. My Lord Chamberlain having taken the pains to give me some account of the proceedings upon the Bills, I have made him such a return of my sense of the matter in general, and something I have said of Sir James Shaen's paper, to which I must refer you, if his Lordship be not gone to Euston: if he be, I have furnished Mr. Secretary Jenkins with an extract of it which will serve the turn. Whether my Lord be at London or no I desire your Lordship to find means to let him know about the 15th of this month a servant of mine shall be at Chester with the best hawk I yet have flying, and if she be put into a skilful hand, I hope she will please him; she is inward, that is she will follow the company, and yet she flies in a good place. Your Lordship says you mean to prevent the Michaelmas storms, if so we may expect you and my grandson together.

ORMOND to COLONEL EDWARD COOKE.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—It was the 27 of the last month before I received yours of the 7th at Carrick, and it was but time little enough to make me fit to make a return to the later part of yours; besides my wife was not with me, and I advise with her in all affairs that are domestic or that relate to our family, of which the youth you mention in your very obliging proposition is now the principal hope; and in the first place I desire you will give my very hearty thanks to those gentlemen that are in trust with you for concurring with you in the overture, to any part whereof I have no objection. I have a great value for the family, I take your word for the person, and I consider the alliance is in a part of England where I wish in such a way to refresh my ancient relation to many families there, so that if I hasten not to drive it on it is in consideration of the young lady, my desire being that she especially and whoever else shall come into my family may be happy in as many circumstances as is possible. The youth was but fifteen years of age in April last and if this be the lady my Lord Conway was said to pretend to, he must have been at least as much too old for her as my grandson is too young, and yet that must be enough to make it unreasonable she should stay for him till he shall be made fitter for the conversation and conduct of a wife. I have sent for him over to me, that I may myself make some

judgment of his improvement in three years' absence, being unwilling to depend upon the relation of others who may desire to mitigate my grief for the loss of the father by giving me too favourable a character of the son. When you have informed me of the age of the lady, and when I have seen the youth, I shall be better able to give you my sense with the certainty and freedom necessary betwixt friends upon such occasions; till then be pleased to receive my acknowledgements for the sense you express of the affliction I am in, and for your early endeavour to lessen it.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 1. Blessinton.—I have received the honour of your Grace's of the 30th of the last, and with it the enclosed from my Lord Longford, which according to your Grace's directions, I return herewith. Mr. Muschamp in his letters to me gives me not the least hint of proposing any such expedient as is intimated by my Lord Longford. I had rather lose my salary than to retrieve it upon such terms, and I hope he will not offer at any such thing; it were not only very unhandsome in reference to my present circumstances, but very unjust. And indeed it is hard for me to guess at any expedient that may set me right in the opinion of the world, but that the King would not allow it, because he judged it unreasonable to have it done.

I this day received the enclosed from Captain Stone. Your Grace will see what he now writes upon that matter. I presume to send it to your Grace because it seems to comply with your Grace's opinion that he endeavours to magnify himself and friends, while some of them are suggested to be the greatest contrivers; but one packet or two will let us see the full result of this matter, and then I shall be ready to attend your Grace's summons upon what occasion soever you shall be pleased to command me, but I am somewhat unwilling to appear over busy in this affair, lest I should be thought to be overconcerned, and to put a greater stress upon it than indeed I do.

I find by my Lord Longford's that he being demanded by the Council whether the Farmers in Ireland were consulted with about the Bill of Revenue, that neither his lordship nor my Lord Granard could affirm they were, but if I am not greatly mistaken all the money Bills were put into their hands and particularly into Captain Stone's, and they were heard to object what they pleased against them before they were transmitted by your Grace. But I am clearly of your Grace's opinion that since such considerable persons in England oppose our Parliament, that your Grace's indifferency in the matter will the soonest convince them of their mistake. While you contend earnestly for it, it will be supposed by some, at least alleged by your enemies, that you have some private interest of your own besides the King and kingdom's service, which

begets your importunity. Most men make judgment of affairs according to their own principles.

ORMOND to SIR JOHN TEMPLE.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—When you have read over your brother's letter to me and the copy of my answer to him, you will have most of what I am able to say at this time upon the sad subject of my son's death, and something on that of a Parliament here. It is long since it might be discovered that the inclinations against it would be too hard for those for it, much less wit and policy than has been employed would serve to obstruct it, and even to make me indifferent in the matter, but that the offer at it should procure me enemies and give them advantage is hard. The short and the only answer I think I shall give to Sir James Shaen's paper is that I can find nothing in it but what is either impertinent or untrue, but as it is, it has given some colour by what was determined before, and he loses no ground by exposing his extravagancies. I am very sensible of the part you take in the affliction fallen on me and my family, to which I have always found you a real and useful friend. I know you will continue it.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1680, September 1. Kilkenny.—If excellent letters from persons of all callings and conditions from the King down to the lowest of those I correspond with condoling with me the death of my son Ossory could have given me immediate and complete consolation, I should be at more ease than I yet feel myself. Your description of your own condition on the like occasion, and the only remedy you have had experience of others is the best state I can hope to be in, with this difference that as you are like to have a longer time to accomplish your cure by forgetfulness, so you are master of stronger faculties to support you than my age and constitution will afford me. It is true when we shall all be in the land where all things are forgotten I shall then rest equally with the best fortified, and thither my journey cannot be long. The province very wisely designed by His Majesty for you will present you with various, and, I think, new objects and diversions, and you will have wherewith to employ you in your charge and leisure besides for observations pleasing to you and profitable to your country, such as you have made in former negociations in other places, and these help to keep out private uncomfortable reflections. I cannot say but that the station I am in forces me to lay aside my particular concerns and the melancholy that belongs to them, but the thoughts that take their place as far as my prospect extends are but miserable comforters, and he who is freed from the sense of a fit of the gout by one of the stone, may be said to be as pleasantly diverted. If I consider the public and would guess

where and when the agitations it labours with will rest and fix, I am lost in an abyss and my thoughts can find no foundation, till I raise them up unto and leave them with the eternal overruling Providence. If I look upon my own part (as that will have a place, say, what we please) I find myself set up as a mark for envious competitors for my place and for such as know and do not like my principles to level at, and if I did consult only my own safety and ease, it is not clear to me where to find it with that honesty and honour I mean to carry with me to my grave. From these roots are produced those envious inquisitions, inquiries and their malicious results you have so kindly intimated to your brother, which I do not remember he has acquainted me with from you, either because he found I had them some other way, or because he was not willing to give me matter of vexation, but I mean to send him your letter to me and at least some part of this. The sentence you gave against the Chief Governor and Council in case the Bills transmitted prove so ridiculously faulty as the endorsements on them and Sir James Shaen's comments make them, is most just, but it must extend further and take in the Judges and the King's learned Counsel and the House of Commons, too, in case they shall give what will destroy them and so many thousand families. But to what or. to whose objections soever they have been or shall be exposed, I would have been glad it had not been thought a distinctive character of my friends to be for or against them; since it was I may have leave so to reckon. It might have been remembered that about January last we were commanded to make haste with Bills that they might be on that side by the end of May, and now it is become a crime that we have obeyed, and Sir James Shaen is set up to rummage his magazine of incomprehensible notions for objections. It is true, I hear Sir George Downing is added to him to allay the other's volatileness; when all is done the judgment you make is most rational, and since the calling of a Parliament here has been so long delayed, all this art need not have been used to persuade me that now it may be longer delayed. Sir, I heartily wish you all happiness in your journey to the end of it and in your return.

Ormond to Thomas Sheridan.

1680, September 1.—I desire your brother may receive my hearty thanks for the information he gives me by you and desire him on proper occasions (which it is left to him to judge of) to continue it. As to a Parliament or no Parliament here, it would be to me indifferent if I did not believe I could serve the King in it; nay, I should be against a Parliament if I consulted only my own present ease, profit or security. The labour will be most mine, I shall be answerable for miscarriages in it, and I shall pay more than any man out of my estate, since I must confess it is as great as any

man's ; but it is an ill sign when ministers of state concur in their wishes and endeavours with the most violent opposers of the prerogative and just rights of the Crown. As to the Government, I easily see the disquiet, envy and danger it brings upon me, and will do from pretenders to it and from such as wish me removed to make the easier way to the accomplishment of their designs against the monarchy, and nothing could persuade me to hold it at this time of my age, going on 70, but that I will never abandon my master or the most dangerous station he can put me into whilst I think myself able to serve him ; and whilst the Crown is so threatened this is my sense and resolution. I look upon Shaen as an instrument made use of to disappoint the King of the benefit he might long since have had by a Parliament, if my advice and earnest solicitation ever since I last landed here could have taken place ; and they have so far prevailed that now it is impossible to call a Parliament here before that in England will be sitting ; and then the agitations there will take up all men's thoughts, and arguments better than Sir James Shaen can furnish will be ready to be laid in the way, so that the issue of things there will be seen and must be patiently awaited.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. London.—On Thursday night I received the enclosed from my Lord Chamberlain, who engaged me to convey it to your Grace. He went yesterday morning to Euston, where he intends to continue till the King's return from Newmarket. Before his leaving Windsor he had some further discourse with the King about our Parliament there, for which he left him fully resolved and possessed with an aversion to Sir James Shaen's projects, which yet the ministers are as positive to promote, as your Grace will find before I have ended this letter, for I make choice of pursuing the series of things as they were transacted. On Thursday last at the Committee for Irish Affairs the first thing they had before them was the letter to your Grace with Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill for additional duties enclosed in it, both which are ordered to be sent your Grace by this packet. Sir James thinks he has given such undeniable reasons and arguments against that Bill as will never be answered by your Grace and the Council there, and most of the Lords here seem to be of his opinion. I have not seen his paper, and therefore can say nothing to it. In the next place they resumed the debate upon the Bill for granting 200,000*l.*, etc., when it was again proposed by my Lord Essex and Mr. Hyde that Sir James Shaen should be called in, and it being answered that he had been heard already to that Bill, and their Lordships being convinced then that the objections given in by him in writing against that Bill were too slight and not of weight enough to be sent by their

Lordships to your Grace, it was objected as a very extravagant expense of their time to hear him any more. Mr. Hyde then told their Lordships he had some new matter to offer foreign to that Bill, to which it was replied it would be time enough then to hear Sir James to that after their Lordships had come to a determination upon that Bill, which opinion prevailing they proceeded upon it, and after some debate they came to this resolution: That on Thursday next, or the next time His Majesty was present here in Council, this Bill should be reported to His Majesty with those amendments whereof I formerly gave your Grace an account as a fit Bill to be transmitted thither, when His Majesty thought fit to have a Parliament there. Then Sir James Shaen was called in, who out of a paper he had in his hand read a proposition much to the effect I sent your Grace from hence this time twelve month, vizt.:—That only by a better management of the Revenue there without intrenching upon the covenants and contracts with the Forths and the late Farmers, or with my Lord Ranelagh or his undertakers, or with the present Farmers, or without any supply from a Parliament, all the King's debts due to both the lists there should be paid, the present establishment should be paid, provision should be made for the ordnance, arms, ammunition, all sorts of military stores and magazines, repairing of forts, building of new forts, a marching train of artillery, building of ships of war for the security of trade: in fine, whatever else should be thought necessary or reasonable for the defence of that kingdom, money should be provided for it, and as good security as London could afford given for performance. But he professed he desired not himself to be an undertaker, and that he proposed this without any design of advantage to himself, but purely for His Majesty's service and the good of that kingdom. It was asked of him how this could possibly be practicable during his Farm, he and his partners having a grant of all the revenue of that kingdom for that time, and whether he intended to make so considerable a present to the King? Mr. Coventry observed to him that this proposition was an absolute contradiction to his former assertions of the poverty of the kingdom and want of cash there, for if the kingdom was not able to pay 50,000*l.* per annum for four years, and that there was not current cash enough in the kingdom to pay the growing revenue and the supply proposed by Parliament (as he had averred), how could his present proposition consist with his former assertions? To this Sir James answered that if their Lordships were pleased to refer the matter of his proposition to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and such of their Lordships as they thought fit, he did undertake to reconcile his present proposition to his objections against the Bills, and give demonstration that it was practicable. My Lord Arlington hereupon took occasion to tell him that he remembered the time when

my Lord Ranelagh's was magnified and cried up for a glorious proposition, which at first seemed very plausible for His Majesty's service, but upon the experiment has proved much otherwise, he being now found 100,000*l.* in debt to the King. Sir James made answer that he was able to prove that my Lord Ranelagh, etc., had received from the kingdom above 100,000*l.* more than he had paid, so that his appearing to be 100,000*l.* in debt to the King upon the balance of his account was the effect of his mismanagement, and no disappointment in the undertaking, the arrears due to the King from the kingdom having been sufficient to discharge his undertaking. Sir James being commanded to withdraw, their Lordships referred his proposition (as he desired it should be) to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, my Lord President and my Lord Essex, of whose approbation of it he makes not the least doubt, for I had some discourse with him yesterday about it. I confess his discourse is mysterious and unintelligible to me. He says when a child is born it must be maintained, and now that he is brought to bed of this brat he must take care to see it nursed; however, though he apprehends your Grace may not approve of his way of proceeding he professes he has no intention of thwarting your Grace, for whom he owns to have all the honour and duty imaginable. He swears he has entered into no engagement with any man living upon this proposal, and having this twenty years constantly courted your Grace with all humility, assiduity and integrity, though he never received any other returns but slights and contempt, he is yet still desirous to be esteemed your Grace's most humble servant. And if you will please to allow him any place in your esteem and friendship he will be governed in this proposition by your Grace's measures solely, and if your Grace will please by any person living in whom you can confide let him but know in what proportion you would have the sums applied to the particular uses of his undertaking, he will be entirely governed by your Grace's directions in it. He says in all propositions that he has ever acted in the revenue since the King's restoration, he never moved a step till he had first acquainted your Grace with it. And he has always first communicated to your Grace the improvements that were to be made of the revenue, which he presumes may be an undeniable argument of the sincerity of his devotion to your Grace; but he finds he has always been so unfortunate that your Grace would never believe him. He apprehends that the Bills sent over and the usage he has received lately there, notwithstanding the favourable letters in behalf of himself and partners from His Majesty and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; look like a designed ruin to himself and partners, for prevention of which he is necessitated to embark in this opposition to the Bills, against which he says he would never have objected if he were not convinced that those Acts will prove

destructive to the kingdom. These are the most material points he discoursed to me, which as near as my memory would serve me I have represented to your Grace in his own words. And having done that, I do not pretend to impose upon your Grace's faith, nor to infuse an opinion that he is as omnipotent to carry all his projects as he may fancy himself in this conjuncture, having gained some of your Grace's late friends, but more of your enemies to countenance his proposition. And now he has got it referred to those he desires it is not improbable but they will watch an opportunity to prepossess His Majesty with an opinion that it is very advantageous for his service to put his revenue there in this method, and when they have fixed him in that opinion it shall be referred to your Grace for your approbation, which if you do not give, they will then press for your removal from the Government because of your aversion to so advantageous a proposal, it being impossible for it to be carried on while your Grace is there. These I confess were my reflections (from the experience I had in my own case after my Lord Ranelagh had proposed his undertaking) to my Lord Chamberlain, who notwithstanding is of opinion that your Grace should persist still in your own way, and commanded me to give it to your Grace as his judgment. I had proceeded thus far when I received your Grace's of the 25th instant, which came very seasonably to me, because it will give me a fair opportunity of discoursing once more upon this subject to His Majesty as my Lord Chamberlain desired at parting. And I hope your Grace will pardon me if I shew his Majesty your letter, which I carry with me on purpose to Windsor this morning.

I find Colonel Vernon very uneasy in his mind upon the suit commenced against him in your Grace's name, which he concludes in the opinion of the world looks like a mark of unkindness towards him from your Grace, whose faithful servant he has ever been, and will be to his death, and therefore 'tis the more afflicting to him, because the suit for the trial of those lands may as legally be carried on in Mr. Butler's of Roscoe's name, as in your Grace's. Your Grace may please to remember I have often moved your Grace in this particular, and if for your satisfaction therein you will refer it to the two Lords Chief Justices there whether Mr. Butler may not have as much advantage in the law for the trial of his title to those lands, the suit being in his own name, the colonel will have great content, and think himself much obliged to your Grace's justice therein.

I had forgot to acquaint your Grace that though Sir James Shaen acknowedges your Grace's favour to him and his partners in the late order concerning the interest of their advance money, yet that order will give them little ease because they have contracted to pay Mr. Ryder his money, and if your Grace will not please to enable them to do it by letting them have their

whole arrear of their interest money they must all go to prison, and the expedient he proposes is that if your Grace will allow them to answer this job, which pinches them so severely, to make use of the arrear of their interest, which amounts to 13,000*l.*, they will be content that all their interest from this time forward shall be stopped to the end of their Farm. I submit it to your Grace's judgment whether it be not necessary that my Lord Arran were here in this conjuncture, for most of your Grace's friends and servants are of opinion he might be very useful to your Grace here. My Lord Granard will soon be gone, and I cannot stay long after him, for I must attend my law affairs the next term. And without doubt my Lord Arran's being here when the Parliament meets may be of importance, for he has good interest in my Lord Russell, who will be the leading man in the House of Commons, and his lordship can himself represent the true state of affairs there in the House of Lords.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Dublin.—I find nothing by this last packet about the retrenchment of my salary, but what I formerly gave your Grace an account of. By a letter from England I was advertised that the Committee did continue their inspection into our Bills, and that it was supposed they would yet return us some Bills to begin a Parliament, which I confess is now become my dread. They have taken off the authority and reputation of the Government by their objections against our transmission, and it is not now easily foreseen what may be the success of such a meeting. I this day came to Dublin in expectation of meeting my daughter Blessinton, and and I was not unwilling to shew myself in this place at this time that people might not apprehend me affrighted at the storm that threatens me. Here we have abundance of riff-raff news of the change of all the great places both in England and Ireland, but I find no ground for these reports, and therefore shall not trouble your Grace with the particulars.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

1680, September 4. Kilkenny.—When I took the liberty to inform my Lord Chamberlain of my intention to send for my grandson over to me I had so many letters of public concern to write and was so ill set for the exercise that I could not at the same time give your Lordship an account of it. What induces me to it is that I may myself get some acquaintance with the youth and be able to make some judgment of his temper and inclinations, and the best I can fit his future course to it. Besides I thought it some sort of expedient to reconcile the differing advices I have received concerning him from those that I am sure agree in their kindness to me and my family. The testimony your Lordship has given of

yours would require more and other acknowledgments than you may be willing to receive, but I beseech you to allow me to assure you that I shall ever have a thankful remembrance of it.

SIR JOHN TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Dublin.—I received lately from my Lord Primate by your Grace's direction a copy of Sir James Shaen's observations on the Bill that was transmitted from here for raising 200,000*l.*, which seem to be a great many, but are indeed but two, one that Ireland is very, very poor and not able to pay any tax besides the ordinary revenue, to prove which there are about 25 several heads ; and the other is that by this Bill the Farmers may be taxed for the rent that they pay the King, which is the most extravagant fancy that ever entered into any man's head. He concludes with an offer to propose something that may accomplish the ends designed without any Act of Parliament, which I suppose is intended to bring on some new project of his about the revenue. I find by a letter that I since received from your Grace, that you have resolved to make the best and shortest answer that can be to this paper, for it certainly neither requires nor deserves any other than that which your Grace designs to it. I cannot but be very much concerned at the usage your Grace meets with on the other side, whereby it is plain that nothing that you can do will be free from exception, though I thought the sending over this Bill had been one of the things that could not possibly have been objected against, especially at Court, where your Grace, I believe, is the first man that ever was found fault with for endeavouring to get the King too much money.

I find by my brother's letter that he mention[ed so]me things that he hath acquainted me with relating to your Grace, which you have had no notification of from me, whereof I can remember but two: one was concerning some there that aimed at the Government here, which was no more than your Grace I am sure very well knew, and had been for some time the common talk of the town before he writ it to me, and therefore I thought it to no purpose to tell you that, as news from him, which neither your Grace nor anybody else here was ignorant of ; the other was something a nicer matter for me to concern myself in, which he left me at liberty to make what use of to your Grace I should think fit, and was about reports that were raised there and wherewith some persons of the best quality he said were endeavoured to be possessed, as if matters were now managed here in the same manner as they were in my Lord Berkeley's and Sir Ellis Leighton's time; but in regard he gave me no particular instances, nor named any of the persons from whom he heard it, and that I knew the matter to be so far from truth, I doubted whether it would be fit for me to say anything to your Grace of so general

an advertisement, and if I have done amiss either in concealing it hitherto or in mentioning it now, I humbly beg your pardon for it, and am very sure that I have done neither out of any design of disservice to your Grace therein. Your Grace may be pleased to remember that not long since I made an humble suit to you for the reversion of the Chief Remembrancer's Office for my son, and your Grace was pleased to tell me that you had not recommended anything of that kind since Mr. Coventry's parting with his place, but that I might apply myself to my Lord Sunderland for it, which I have done, and do send to-night the King's letter for it to Mr. Ellis to be presented to your Grace. I return unto your Grace herewith Sir James Shaen's paper, together with my brother's letter.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, September 4. Kilkenny.—In the performance of the King's commands for the sending several recruits out of his army here to the garrison of Tangier, I have met with some difficulty from the absence of many officers, from the want of experience of others, and from the corruption and backwardness of some, of which I have and shall take such notice as that the King's pleasure on the like occasions for the time to come shall be more readily put in execution. And that it may be so it is not only necessary that those who have been wanting in their duty should be reproved and punished, but that such as have been ready and diligent should be encouraged by being commended, and as occasion offers advanced and rewarded. Amongst these latter the Lord Shannon, Governor of Cork, has with extraordinary care and prudence performed all that was required from him, and that with such evidence of his affection and zeal to the King's service that it may deserve His Majesty's taking particular notice thereof, either by letter immediately to himself, or by laying his commands on me to let him know his gracious acceptance of his performances, but that the letter contain nothing of any other subject.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Whitehall.—I shall endeavour to be as good as my word in sending your Grace Sir James Shaen's observations upon the Bill of Additional Duties, notwithstanding I know that the Clerk of the Council is ordered to send a copy of them to your Grace. The major part of my Lords were of opinion on Thursday and voted that the Bill of Supplies should be reported to His Majesty as fit to pass with those amendments that their Lordships had to offer. The rest of the time after this debate and vote was over was spent in hearing Sir James Shaen's project, how to do tantamount to all that the Bill for the 200,000*l.* pretends to do without any such Bill, but by a legal improvement of the present revenue. Tho' he was not brief, yet he was somewhat obscure. He had a paper in his hand for the help of his memory but

when he was desired to leave it behind him, he excused himself for the present, but when he comes next I suppose he will have a writing prepared. My Lords have yet done nothing upon the Bills of Settlement; the Report of the Supply Bill must be first made to the King, who will be in town on Thursday next.

EARL OF ARLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, September 4. Audley End.—When I wrote to your Grace on the 2nd telling you the resolution I had taken to send Mr. Mulys to Oxford to help the removal of my Lord of Ossory from thence, Mr. Ellis was in the country ignorant of your Grace's purpose concerning him. Returning home to London he hath taken the pains to follow me hither to be particularly instructed towards the journey designed him. All I could tell him was you had wished in your letter your grandson might make haste into Ireland before the storms of Michaelmas, that you had ordered he should conduct him thither and that I had ordered Mr. Mulys to carry money with him to Oxford to facilitate his remove from thence and to perform his journey into Ireland, which should be put into his hands, which trust he submits to, and promises to discharge with all possible care. In requital of which I hold myself obliged to let your Grace know he hath served my Lord deceased these three years past with much diligence, application and discretion; that he was so sensible of it in his life as to express it often to me and to desire me to join with him in getting some good turn for him of his Majesty, that might enable him to live comfortably the rest of his life. Now as to any employment about your grandson more than the conducting him safely to you, I will presume to tell you his talent lies not that way, viz.: neither to be his tutor nor his Governor. For this he must have a man not only well stiled for his behaviour, but his nature will want one that may execute that place with some authority and resolution, even to the displeasure of the young man, who to deal freely with your Grace will need it for some years yet. For the teacher he must have a plain preceptor who may teach him the Latin tongue under the authority of the Governor, and in a plainer method than he was put into in the University, the want of which perhaps is the principal cause of his backwardness therein. Now because it was my fortune once to enlarge myself in my discourse upon this subject to Mr. Ellis, I pray he may teach his tutor in a few words how my young Lord is to be taught, after which I leave him to your Grace's bounty and good will, which he deserves, and I am confident will submit to with all cheerfulness and duty.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 6. Kilkenny.—Your Lordship's of the 28 of August to my son Arran seems to import that some

Bills might be soon transmitted in order to the calling of a Parliament here, but what Bills is not mentioned. I know any return will serve for a meeting, but I hope it is not believed that any Bills will serve to procure supplies. I am sure I never gave encouragement to such a belief. It is all the reason in the world that care should be taken on that side that nothing should pass here prejudicial to the trade of England, but if it prove or be thought that Ireland's being above water hurts England. some invention must be found to sink it, for burn it will not till the world shall burn, to my certain knowledge and experience. What else to say to that point I know not till I know wherein those Bills encroach upon the English traffic. If a Parliament shall be called, Sir James Shaen's ridiculous paper countenanced as it is will be admirable topics for speeches against giving of money; and to be sure that they shall prevail, there must be joined to them a refusal of all laws that may secure interests and improve manufacture. Upon these terms I never did, never shall, advise the calling of a Parliament and am sorry your Lordship puts yourself to the pains to travail so earnestly in it. When the King and his Council on that side shall think fit to command it, I am ready to obey, and if my opinion of the success shall be required I shall give it faithfully, but cannot do it pertinently till I have had time to consider what shall be returned to us. It is no small discouragement to us to find that Sir James Shaen's arguments are so convincing that all the Lords at first sight without hearing anything on the other side conclude them to be unanswerable. Judgments were not used to be passed so in cases of less moment, and where men of less quality were concerned in more than ordinary interest, namely, in their credit and sobriety. For if the Bills we sent be liable to all the faults laid to their charge, it must be concluded we were not in our right wits when we sent them. Your Lordship and my Lord Granard may have recovered yours and therefore I desire you would hasten over to try if you can bring us to ours.

Rev. Peter Drelincourt to Ormond.

1680, September 7. Oxford.—Quelque rude que me soit la perte que je fais en étant separé de Monseigneur vôtre petit fils cependant je la reçois avec toute la soumission et le respect que je doibs aus ordres de vôtre grandeur, d'ont la sagesse et la bonté ne peuvent et ne veulent ordonner rien que très justement et qui ne soit pour le bien et pour l'avantage de mon cher Seigneur, ce que je doibs prefèrer au mien propre and a ma satisfaction particulière. Mais Monseigneur après touts les mauvais offices que la malice and l'interest m'a rendus aupres de vôtre grandeur, oseray-je prendre la liberté de dire qu'elque chose en ma faveur et de reduire à présent mon employ passé à trois chefs; le 1er qui regarde les etudes de my lord, le 2d sa conduite, et le 3e qui se raportera à sa depence.

Pour ses études son tuteur en a touiours été le maitre et le directeur, cela luy apartenant alors, et j'ay touiours travaillé de tout mon pouvoir et avec tout le zéle imaginable, à ayder et à pousser mon cher mylord dans le chemin que le dit tuteur luy a fait prendre, et personne ne contredit icy cette verité.

Quant à sa conduite Mr. nôtre bon Evêque a la conoissance duquel rien de ce qui concernoit mylord n'a été caché, sayt fort bien que M. vôtre petit fils a touiours gardé regulierement ses heures d'exercices aussy bien qu'aucun autre dans le Collége et que je ne l'ay jamais mené faire aucune visite, ou a aucun divertissement hors du Collége sans sa conoissanceand sa permission. Et je laisse a la justice de cet excellent prélat quelque sevére qu'elle soit a prononcer mon arrest sur ce sujet. Pour ce qui regarde la dépence vôtre grandeur a été amplement informée de sa nature et de la maniere d'ont elle s'est faite ainsy Monseigneur vôtre grandeur m'obligeroit infiniment, si elle vouloit me faire la grace de m'apprendre la cause particuliére de mon malheur. C'est assez monsiegneur que je perde mon cher seigneur sans faire en méme temps une autre perte que je ne puis porter, qui est celle de l'honneur de vôtre prétieuse bienveillance que j'estime par dessus tout ce que je possede au monde.*

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, September 7. London.—I waited upon His Majesty on Sunday last at Windsor, where I met with a fair opportunity of shewing to him your Grace's letter to me of the 25th of August, which he read every word and asked me what were the kind of proposition Sir James made to your Grace the last year, which I told His Majesty as well as I could remember; and this introduced a discourse of his last proposals, for which I do not find His Majesty has any inclination, for he did speak of him with no respect or reverence not only to me, but also in the afternoon to Mr. Secretary Jenkins. But Mr. Hyde (who is resolved to support him with all the credit he has with the King) seems to like his proposals better than a supply by a Parliament, and is of the opinion his methodizing the revenue will be more effectual to answer the King's service and less oppressive to the kingdom than the 200,000*l*. But what the proposition is, or the method Sir James has projected to manage the revenue by, he has not yet thought fit to declare. But I suppose by Friday next when the Council sits it will appear in its own colours, and then we shall know whether the Parliamentary or projecting way will be preferred. As to your Grace's own particular, His Majesty was pleased to repeat to me the very same assurances of his favour and kindness to your Grace, which some time since my Lord Chamberlain gave your Grace. And he added that he would do whatever was within his power for your Grace's and your family's support. I shall communicate to Sir Stephen Fox

* The orthography of the original has been followed in this transcript.

Mr. Secretary Jenkins and Sir Edw. Deering those observations your Grace sent me relating to the Farmers, for the rest are too much Sir James's friends to have things of that kind communicated to them.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, September 8.—Your grandson, my Lord Ossory, according to your command now attends upon you, and I hope will both return with all safety and also so appear before you as to be a comfort in some proportion answerable to your late cause of sorrow. I am exceedingly concerned that my Lord should at this critical time of his life lay such a foundation for knowledge as may hereafter stand him in stead to all the great and good purposes for which God and nature have designed him, and therefore hope that your Excellency will free him from the flatteries and divertisements of the Court, and pernicious infusions of servants, and engage him to industry and application of mind, which he will hardly retain amidst glittering and pleasurable diversions. I should have thought myself exceedingly happy if I could have served your Excellency and family in this great occasion, but since Providence has made another disposal, I shall labour not to be wanting in my endeavours in the behalf of your relation, my Lord Clancarty, who remains with me, from whose tractable disposition I have great encouragement to believe that all things will succeed and prosper with him. I add my prayers for the return of all comfort and blessing to your Excellency and family, Mr. Drelincourt being fearful that he may have been represented disadvantageously to your Excellency, and having desired me to express my thoughts of him, I humbly declare that tho' he may not have been a skilful manager nor happy in preserving authority in his station, yet I take him for a faithful, diligent and virtuous man, who has not willingly failed in the discharge of his trust.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD to ORMOND.

1680, September 9. Bretby.—Could I ever be capable of any omission either in my duty or respects to your Grace, I should never forgive myself, but sometimes the accidents that in this world befall us are of so high a nature that the naming them is a renewing of misfortune, and this consideration has kept me thus long from saying anything to your Grace on a subject that nothing but heaven can make me mention without murmuring, though I do not doubt but that your Grace, who in the many changes of this life has always expressed a fortitude of mind above the rest of men, will continue the same in this fiery trial and receive in it that assistance from above which is most passionately wished your Grace by, etc

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 11. Whitehall.—It is with all the humble thanks possible that I acknowledge the honour of two from your Grace, the one of the first, the other of the fourth current, with an extract of your Grace's letter to my Lord Chamberlain in relation to a Parliament and the Bill of Supplies that is now before my Lords of the Committee for Ireland. That extract had so much of demonstration in its that I thought it a right I was not to deny to your cause to show it and read it (as I have this day) to His Majesty and his R.H. His Majesty appeared to me to be fully convinced of the reason of it, and of the just resentment in it as to his carriage that embroils the affair. The Duke had leisure to enter (as he did) into a closer discussion of it, and of a great man's part that appears much, and yet would not be thought to have the same view with Sir James Shaen. Sir William Temple had been but a little before with the Duke, and had done your Grace a great deal of justice, as he does in all the Committees of Ireland that he appears in. The Duke told me he was very well pleased to find Sir William Temple so just to and zealous for your Grace. I must confess the perfecting and sending back these Bills should in all reason go on with better speed, and I am heartily troubled to see it. Sir James Shaen was on Thursday last to expose his project in the Treasury Chamber before the Lords of the Treasury, my Lord Chancellor, my Lord President, my Lord of Sunderland, my Lord of Essex, and myself. He had two or three papers that he began with. Then he broke off from reading them and discoursed his proposition, but he was not so successful either way as to be thoroughly understood. My Lords were forced to adjourn the debate till Monday, and he hath that time to consider how he may express himself more intelligibly. I could not get a copy of the papers he produced, nor will I take upon me to divine any more of his *project* than that it is a *management* he would be at. Some things he did ingenuously enough profess to conceal, at least to endeavour it, from my Lords. I should tire your Grace to no purpose if I should essay to repeat his discourse. The report that my Lords shall make of his project will be the best account that I can hope to give your Grace. I cannot imagine that his project should bring us to lay aside a certain supply and the calling of a Parliament, yet that is not only the consequence but the aim of his reasonings. One thing we must endeavour, that is, to get his Majesty to enjoin the Committee to be ready to report the Bills that are fit to make a session (as soon as a Parliament can be called) by that time His Majesty comes back from Newmarket, which will be ('tis thought) about three weeks hence. After that my Lords will have no moment free, the Parliament will be so near, which I beseech God to give His blessing upon. There are cabals already working to disturb it.

ORMOND to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680, September 11. Kilkenny.—I am tempted by the fair weather to take a journey to Dublin and intend to be there on Wednesday next. Tuesday night I mean to lie at Grangebeg, and if your Grace pleases to take you with me to Dublin if you please to meet me on the road Wednesday morning. In the meantime I send your Grace Sir James Shaen's exceptions to the Bill of Additional Revenue, but do confess I have not yet read them myself. I think it will be found in my papers and perhaps in the Council books that we were commanded to send such a Bill, and if I am not mistaken such a Bill was sent in the first transmission, and as I think upon Sir James Shaen's consent if not promotion. However, if it shall be wholly laid aside, I know not why it should grieve us, and consequently why we should contend for it, only it may be fit to show that our part was purely obedience, and that what we sent was not so irrational as seems to be thought. By several things in the transaction of that affair in England it seems to me that the having of no Parliament here is the thing aimed at, else it is not credible that Sir James Shaen's fortune, reputation, and talent can be so unknown as that any serious weight could be put upon his advises or offers. I know not therefore why there should not be a short history collected of all that is past concerning the Parliament in England and here which may contain the grounds of desiring one, namely, the security of the Government the Protestants and Protestant religion in time of plottings and contrivances by the Papists against them, which was only to be done by the providing of arms and ammunition, building and repairing of forts and garrisons, and by making laws to free both houses of Parliament from Papists, and the kingdom from Bishops and regulars, the most dangerous of them. Upon these heads much may be seasonably said from the Council here to that in England and to consider whether this may not be more fitly said is a great part of my errand to Dublin, though I will own my kindness to be such that I go likewise with some expectation to see my grandson there shortly and to bring him with me. I find Sir James Shaen has at last offered that he will propose a way to do all that was designed to be done with the 200,000*l.*, and this by legal ways without a Parliament; and to this extravagant offer so much count is given that His Majesty is desired to refer the project to the consideration of the Lords of the Treasury and my Lord President and my Lord of Essex, the issue whereof I suppose will be the taking the penalty of the act for sowing of flax, relief and double duty on imported commodities, of which the two first are impracticable, but with the highest discontent of the people of all sorts and the last illegal. Being I hope to see your Grace so soon, I know not why I trouble you or myself with all this stuff, but the letter may serve for a memorandum.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 12. London.—Sir James Shaen's proposals appear to find great favour with the King, accordingly the best policy for the Lord Lieutenant would be to temporise, as it would be injudicious to declare openly against Sir James's scheme for settling the Establishment, when His Majesty appears to be so fond of it; such opposition would supply a good pretext to Ormond's enemies for urging his dismissal from the Irish Government. The Lord Lieutenant has given the King fair warning, and he cannot be justly blamed if the latter is deceived a second time.

Mr. Nash has come to the writer with a message from Sir James Shaen to Ormond, desiring to be acquainted with the latter's wishes as to the persons to be placed on and left out of the Establishment, and the sums to be expended on arms, fortifications, etc. Lord Longford thinks it would be no harm if Ormond would favour him with his views on this proposal, even though nothing resulted from the negotiation.

As to his own return to Ireland, Lord Longford thinks it will not be too soon, except he can shortly settle a money matter with the East India Company. He has informed the Lord Chamberlain of the despatch of the hawk and thinks he will send his falconer to Chester without much delay. After a tribute to Lord Granard's good conduct in Ormond's business, he speaks of the petition from Dublin re Whitehaven coals. Sir J. Lowther's tenants in that place have been at the bottom of that petition, which has been scouted by the English Council.

[*Abstract.*]

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 14. Whitehall.—On Monday Sir James Shaen had a full hearing before His Majesty at the Treasury Chamber, the same Committee that I mentioned in my last being present. He had not the luck so to clear his points as to satisfy His Majesty, who, I perceive, makes the same judgment of the person as your Grace doth. His Majesty will hear him again to-morrow upon the same project, with the assistance of those of his Privy Council of Ireland that are here in town. To that end my Lords of Longford, Granard, Ranelagh, and Sir William Temple, as also Sir Robert Hamilton (whom His Majesty himself named to be joined with them, as having a good estate of his own and an inspection into the Revenue) have summons to attend the King in the Treasury Chamber. I humbly take leave to enclose herewith the papers that Sir James gave in on Monday; the Lords of the Council of Ireland have copies of them and will, I doubt not, take that account of them that they deserve. The Elector of Brandenburg having lately set out some ships (7 or 8) from the Port of Pillao that he hath upon the Baltic for a merchandizing voyage (as was

pretended) to the coast of Guinea; those ships being come to the height of Ostend took out of that very port a merchant ship of about 300 tons belonging to Spanish subjects. This alarms the Dutch and us lest the Elector should be acted to do this by some that design to disturb the public peace. His pretence upon Spain can be but for subsidies promised in the last war. His Majesty upon this complaint of the Spanish Ambassador hath sent orders to a man-of-war now at Plymouth to set out and cruise in order to meet the Prince of Parma to advertise him of this incident and to take him on board, if he please, to prevent him from falling into those hands. This I thought it my duty to advertise your Grace of, lest anything should happen upon the coasts or in the ports of that kingdom that might occasion to your Grace any trouble. Both these parties are His Majesty's friends, but we are in a strict tie of alliance with Spain; nay, we are under an obligation to the Crown not to suffer the peace to be broken upon His Majesty's seas, not, especially, in his chambers and ports.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, September 14. London.—Yesterday in the morning His Majesty spent three hours at least in the Treasury Chamber upon Sir James Shaen's project about the better management of the revenue of that kingdom, a copy whereof Mr. Secretary Jenkins has promised me to send your Grace, otherwise I had done it by this night's packet. His Majesty has not yet come to any resolution upon it, and upon Mr. Secretary Jenkins' motion copies of his four several papers were sent to my Lord Ranelagh, my Lord Fitzharding, my Lord Granard, myself, and Sir Robert Hamilton to consider of them, and we are ordered to attend His Majesty to-morrow in the afternoon by four of clock at the Treasury Chamber. Upon perusal of the papers I find so great uncertainty in them for want of filling up the blanks in the covenants from His Majesty to the contractors and in the covenants from the contractors to His Majesty that till these blanks are filled up no reasonable man can fairly object to them. And therefore when we are called in if any questions are asked us by the Lords of the Committee, we are resolved in the first place to desire that Sir James Shaen would withdraw himself out of the clouds by filling up his blanks and make his propositions plain and certain, and then we will furnish His Majesty with the best observations for his service that occur to us, and then we shall humbly offer to His Majesty that he would please to send the proposition when it is made plain, easy and certain to your Grace and the Council there, who have the assistance of the judges and his learned counsel, and not to lay the burden solely upon us, who are not furnished with law enough to judge of the Farmers' present contract nor how far this new proposal may interfere with it to His Majesty's

prejudice and disadvantage, which we presume carries so much reason with it that it will not be denied. In the mean time though the cheat is very visible, we must not offer at the discovery of it till we have fixed him by filling up of his blanks and obtained a full explanation of the covenants on both sides, and then we resolve to lay him open in his colours. The truth is he bids fair for my Lord Ranelagh's employment, which your Grace will easily imagine is no part of my concern. There will this night go to your Grace His Majesty's letter for making my Lord Drogheda of the Privy Council, which has been effected by my Lord Sunderland at the solicitation of Sir Robert Reading. The Duke has out of his friendship for your Grace and family so far interposed that His Majesty has consented my Lord Granard should be Lieut. General and my Lord Arran Marshal, and I suppose my Lord Arran has acquainted your Grace with the terms agreed on between their Lordships. The King and Duke make an end of their buckhunting this day with Mr. Secretary Coventry, and to-morrow the Duke dines with the artillery officers. The Prince Elector is dead and his son (the now Prince) is hastening from hence home to take possession of his principality. The Elector of Saxony is also dead, and by this means two Garters are void. Sir James Shaen is now for the meeting of a Parliament there (but without giving of money) to pass such Acts as may be for the good of the country.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1680, September 15. Highnam.—This answers your Grace of the first inst. as far as I am at present capable of it. In the first place it acknowledges the great sense of the obligation your Grace hath been pleased to lay on me in pardoning the great presumption I was guilty of in making so partial an overture for my niece [Poulett], but seriously if goodness and ingenuity with comeliness enough (in my eye) may pass for part of payment, her portion will not be inconsiderable ; as for the rest thereof my last gave so punctual an account that I need make no repetition. I considered my little Lord's age when first this motion came into my mind, for the honour I have so long had of being one of the domestics made me capable of shooting near the mark, nor can I at this time be punctual in giving an account of her age, only I am sure (notwithstanding that grave Lord's pretensions) there is little difference between them in that point, and that only in weeks, not a year, and I believe she the younger of the two; but of that more punctually in my next, for since your Grace's pen hath dropt so many encouraging circumstances, I shall neither despair of my niece's happiness nor be wanting in my endeavours to promote it. I dare be responsible for the endowments of her mind, that they will deserve my Lady's approving and improving, and that they are very capable of the latter. As for those of her body, every one's own eyes

are their judges; as for other circumstances my last spoke her part and as for your Grace's there will be no difficulty when it shall be ripe for that discourse, for you shall in all those particulars be your own carver. I shall transmit the substance of your Grace's letter to all my partners in the trust; all five are great adorers of your Grace's, and I confess I do not know any other proposition of this kind wherein there would have been so universal a concurrence. I can lay my hand on my heart and with a safe conscience say when I aimed in this proposal at the honour of my Lord Poulett's family, I equally considered the happiness of your Grace's, which if I did not believe very consistent with the other, I would as vigorously oppose as now I do zealously propose.

CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING to ORMOND.

1680, September 17. Galway.—On my arrival here late this night I met the honour of your Grace's letter of the 13th from Kilkenny with the copies of Sir James Shaen's volumes (for such they are) against the two money bills. They will require more time than I am or shall be master of whilst I stay here to read them over, and much more to understand them, though I am apt to believe the substance of them (if any they have) might have been fairly written in the title of the paper they now fill. I shall take little rest until I have finished here and waited on your Grace at Dublin. In the interim I presume most humbly to advise your Grace to deliver copies of these observations to Captain Stone in private and to desire his on them, which I am sure he will well faithfully and honestly give your Grace, and by that time I shall attend your Grace at Dublin.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, September 18. Whitehall.—The King having been pleased to grant me a pension of 3,000*l.* a year for seven years to begin after the determination of the Earl of Feversham's, I desire your Grace will give order for despatching the patent when the letter is brought to you, which I have sent to Mr. Solicitor to attend your Grace with. I cannot think it will meet with any difficulty, seeing it is the concern of one who will be ready upon all occasions to testify to you and to the world that he is with great truth, etc.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 18. Dublin.—I have your Lordship's of the 12th and at the same time received one of the 11th from Mr. Secretary Jenkins giving a better account, I believe, of Sir James Shaen's proceedings at the Committee than you could have from Sir James himself or his trumpet Mr. Nash. However, your Lordship mistakes my purpose if you think I set my rest upon baffling his proposition. On the contrary, I wish with all my heart I could believe it could be performed

for so long at least I should have a pleasant delusion. But I cannot give so much credit to it as to employ any of my time, much less give your Lordship the trouble of setting down answers to all his questions; it will be time enough to make the distributions for ships, arms, ammunition, and forts when the found shall appear. When your Lordship gives me caution how I vainly oppose a project so countenanced and delighted in by powerful men there you do not remember the disposition I am in relation to this Government, or you do not believe it to be really what I told you it was, but it is most certain I would not purchase my continuance in it at the price of a low compliance or of being silent when I think my Master is in danger to be prevailed upon to quit a solid and plain way of coming to his end for a chimerical project, and such I cannot but suspect that in hand will prove. Mr. Secretary Jenkins (to whom I am content your Lordship should show this letter) will have a copy of our joint letter to the Lords of the Council there upon Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill of Additional Duties. It is some part of our misfortune that serve His Majesty at such a distance that many times the commands we receive and the returns we make are forgotten by the interposition of some more important affair. Hence it is that the rise of that Bill is thought to have been from hence, whereas it was prepared in obedience to absolute and repeated commands, and as much against my declared opinion as it was possible for me to express, preserving the duty and submission I owe to the King's pleasure.

I desire your Lordship would assure Sir John Lowther that if I had known he had been the person concerned in the complaint of this city, he should have been the first man that should have been made acquainted with it, and that I am in all occasions most ready to manifest my value of him. I hope my Lord Granard may arrive here with James, which adding Lord to his present title.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1680, September 18. London.—According to the summons which I gave your Grace an account of in my last, we attended the King in the Treasury Chamber last Wednesday, where Sir James Shaen's proposal was in some measure debated, but there being many blanks in it and many doubtful expression, it was humbly desired that before a full opinion was commanded both those might be filled up and these explained, and some instances were given which showed the necessity of doing it, by which the King was let to see that the goodness of the proposition or otherwise depended wholly on those things. Some of the Lords seemed to be possessed with an opinion that this proposition would advance the revenue 48,000*l.* a year, and conceived that however the blanks were filled, or the other expressions explained, the main of the

proposal could not be thereby much changed, and therefore delivered an opinion concerning the substance of it, the particulars being to be matter of further debates. To this their Lordships were answered that the arrears the Farmers were in was no sign of so extraordinary a bargain, and that though it was believed that the revenue of that kingdom was an improving revenue, yet not so suddenly and in such proportions as this paper seemed to promise, nor was the proposition itself such as it seemed to be understood, the 288,000*l.* a year not being offered as a neat revenue above reprisals, but that poundage and allowances were to be deducted out of it, and that by this means it would be reduced at the best but to the terms it is at now; besides which the proposer would entitle himself to the 60,000*l.*, which the present Farmers are to pay the King at the end of their Farm (within two years) by three monthly payments, so that whatever might be the casual advantage the King would certainly lose so considerable a sum as 60,000*l.*, which they are bound to pay him within about two years. Upon the opening of these things, the result was that Sir James was commanded to perfect his proposition and withal to name his security against the next time he appeared, and those of the Lords who came with so strong an opinion for the proposal seemed to be left with an impression far otherwise, so that by what I can guess by what passed there, and by having spoken with some of the Lords since, this project must be quite another thing than it is before we receive further trouble by it.

This debate being over, the Lords asked some questions about the Bill for increasing the revenue, whether it were likely those additional duties would hinder the payment of those already in collection, as had been objected; to which they were told that thing had been well examined before the Bill was sent over and that no reasonable ground for such fears had appeared, besides that late experience had proved the contrary when a considerable monthly sum was raised without any such prejudice. But that which stuck with the King and Lords was an objection made against the Bill of Settlement by which the King gives up an undoubted right he has to about 6,000*l.* a year quit rents with the arrears and mean profits of all those lands which persons decreed to several quantities of land are in possession of above the quantities decreed without any colour of title, and it was conceived that it was too much to expect that the King at the time tha the passed many other acts of grace should withal discharge so great a right for the present, but of 200,000*l.*, which he might well expect for his other condescensions now in proposition.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, Sept. 18. London.—By Tuesday's packet I gave your Grace an account that my Lord Ranelagh, my Lord

Granard and myself, with Sir Cyril Wyche and Sir Robert Hamilton, were ordered to attend His Majesty by the next day at the Treasury Chamber, which we accordingly did; and Sir James Shaen being called in, the first question my Lord Chancellor asked was [was] what objections we had to make to Sir James Shaen's proposal which he thought we had [had] time to consider, having had the day before copies sent to each of us. My Lord Ranelagh (who by agreement between us was to manage the chief discourse on our side) said that till Sir James Shaen filled up his blanks, and explained what he meant by fees, poundage, and such other allowances, his proposition was so uncertain that neither we nor any other man living could tell what objections to make. My Lord Chancellor replied [that] if in a proposition of so great consequence to His Majesty, which carried the face of so just and considerable advantage, we had not other objections than Sir James filling up the blanks, he was of opinion that His Majesty ought [not] to hesitate one minute in closing with the proposition. To this my Lord Ranelagh said that this proposition was matter of calculation by comparing the present state of His Majesty's revenue, and by the supply of 200,000*l.* proposed by Parliament with the advantage Sir James Shaen offered in his proposal; and therefore till he filled up his blanks and explained his expressions we could not show His Majesty the difference between His Majesty's present affairs relating to his revenue and this new proposal. For as his blanks were filled up one way the proposal might be better for His Majesty, and as they might be filled up another way His Majesty might be a loser of at least 70,000*l.*, and to demonstrate this he desired Sir James to declare in what time of the year he designed his contract should determine. Sir James answered he intended it should end the first day of May, when my Lord Ranelagh observed to His Majesty that his contract ending in May he would hook in a whole year's hearth-money, which was near 30,000*l.*, and half a year's Crown rent and quit rent, which would amount to about 40,000*l.* more; and that by their means both the list would for half a year, viz., till Michaelmas, be left without any other provision for their payment than the product of the Customs and the casual revenue; and he further observed that those two quarters of the Customs were the worst in the whole year, and consequently this would beget a new arrear, and much disorder His Majesty's affairs. Then it was observed to us by my Lord of Essex and Mr. Hyde that for two years yet unexpired of the Farm there was an advance proposed to His Majesty of 48,000*l.*, making for the two years 96,000*l.* Upon this we asked Sir James whether he intended by this proposal to drown the 60,000*l.* he was to pay His Majesty three months after the determination of his present Farm; to which he answered that he did, resolving to pay all and to receive all. Upon this my Lord Ranelagh

observed to His Majesty that instead of Sir James Shaen paying His Majesty 96,000*l.* in those two years remaining undetermined of the present Farm, Sir James would receive in lieu of it 100,000*l.* For first he would pay himself 60,000*l.*, which was due to His Majesty three months after his Farm determined, then he reckoned for each of those years 12,000*l.* for interest (in his own projected establishment), which was 24,000*l.* more ; and by his own calculation of fees, poundage (both upon the receipts and issues) and other allowances, he might reckon upon 20,000*l.* more. To this plain demonstration, neither Sir James, nor my Lord Essex, nor Mr. Hyde had one word to reply

Next we were asked whether we thought His Majesty's revenue could bear and make good Sir James's proposal. To this my Lord Ranelagh replied that if there were not allowance made for the management, which the Farmers reckoned at 30,000*l.* per annum, it was his opinion His Majesty's revenue could not be made clear to him 288,000*l.* Then he observed to His Majesty that His Majesty's present rent did not amount to more than 240,000*l.* ; and yet Sir James and his partners could not pay that according to their contract, for they were now in so considerable an arrear that if His Majesty would please to take the advantage of the forfeiture upon their breach of covenant, he might justly do it, for they were considerably in arrear of this Farm rent; and to prove it he produced a certificate (which he received by the last packet) wherein there was a state of their rent due to the last of July, which by the days of grace was not payable till the last of August, by which certificate they were in arrear 49,000*l.*, out of which, allowance being made them for 15,000*l.* the money expended on Rincorran Fort, and 3,000*l.* more which was not placed to account, then their arrear last of July (besides what they owe for the last of August, for which they have time till the last of this month) will be 31,000*l.* In opposition to this Sir James produced a letter from his partners, with an answer from Sir John Champante to several particulars, concerning which they had appealed to your Grace, by which it appeared they ought to have had allowance for about 12,000*l.* To this my Lord Ranelagh replied that it was a state drawn for the month of June, and allowance was made them of all their demands ; but that certificate he produced was for the month of July, at the end of which, after all allowances they pretended to being made them, they owed His Majesty 31,000*l.* Then it was observed by some of their lordships that this debate was foreign to the affair in hand, and misspent His Majesty's time ; whereupon Mr. Hyde proposed Sir James should fill up the blanks in the proposal and explain all the doubtful expressions excepted to by us, and we having copies given us then to give our objections in writing, which was accordingly ordered.

Thus ended the debate upon Sir James's project, after which some of their Lordships discoursed upon the Bills sent over, and particularly of the Bill of Confirmation; upon which my Lord Chancellor and my Lord President observed to His Majesty that not only all cheats in false admeasurements and concealed lands were confirmed, but also His Majesty was debarred from the title he had to concealment of old Crown lands, so that for ought they knew His Majesty gave half a million value for 200,000*l.*, if the Bill were passed. And therefore their Lordships asked us whether we thought the Parliament would pass the Bill of 200,000*l.* without the Bill of Confirmation. I presumed upon this to tell His Majesty that when the subject gave a supply it was a usual method in Parliament for His Majesty to grant acts of grace; and therefore I doubted if the Bill of Supply was not accompanied by the Bill of Confirmation the passing of it would be more difficult. But my Lord Ranelagh was of a contrary opinion, though your Grace may remember when he was in Ireland he thought the Bill of Confirmation necessary. So upon the close their Lordships seemed inclined to believe that the Bill of Supply (to which most of them have a great mind) accompanied by those Bills for the advancement and security of the Protestant religion may be grateful to a Parliament there, and concluded the debate in that opinion to His Majesty.

I had almost forgot to acquaint your Grace that Sir William Temple (whom His Majesty commanded to attend that day) spoke with great warmth and to very good purpose in opposition to Sir James Shaen's project; and according to the best observations I was able to make most of their Lordships are sick of it. And after His Majesty had retired into the garden he did both to my Lord Granard and to Sir William Temple express his dislike of it. And yet Sir James keeps his mettle, swears his proposition shall take place, for it is a self subsisting proposition; and there shall be no Parliament in Ireland, for he both can and will do the King's business without one. I had also almost forgot to acquaint your Grace that we are now asked whether the levying the 200,000*l.* would prejudice the Farm in collection of the King's revenue. To this was answered that during the late Farm there was a tax of 30,000*l.* to make good the supply of the deficiency and the year's value, at the collection of which the late Farmers did not complain, and the condition of Ireland was so much inmproved since that it could bear a levy of 50,000*l.* per annum better now than it could then one of 30,000*l.*, which demonstration seemed to give satisfaction to their Lordships, though Sir James very untruely said that that tax broke the Forths. We also observed to His Majesty that Sir James Shaen proposed no security for his performance, to which Mr. Hyde replied it was not by a Farm but

by a management, in which case security was not necessary; and that by experience His Majesty found that his Customs here, which were under a manager, proved much more advantageous to His Majesty, and that the revenue was much better paid now than when it was under Farm, and His Majesty had 400,000*l.* security for it To which it was answered by us that in the case of the Customs the Commissioners who managed it had only to do with the receipts, but in this proposition of Sir James Shaen's he was to manage both receipts and the payments, and therefore security was necessary for the performance. Thus, my Lord, for the present I have done with Sir James's project, in which I have been the larger that your Grace might be acquainted with all that passed, which your Grace could not be without this prolixity. I am now to acquaint your Grace that Sir James being nettled at the opposition given him, in revenge is again setting on foot the suspension projected by him a month since, and which was laid aside upon my application to His Majesty in favour of my Lord Chancellor, and his malice transports him so far that because my Lord Granard has vigorously opposed him; he designs to have his entertainment as marshal among the suspensions; of which I have given notice to my Lord Chamberlain to prevent any surprise of this kind upon His Majesty.

Last night there arrived here, as I am told by a good hand, fourteen discoverers of the plots in Ireland, who were presently welcomed in town and treated by Mr. Oates his man at their lodging, who this morning conducted them to my Lord Shaftesbury. Burke and McNamara are of their number, but the names of the rest I have not yet. They came on foot all the way, and are in an ill condition without clothes or money. They complain they were forced to leave Ireland for fear of their lives, having been severely fallen on by people there, insomuch that they were fain to steal on shipboard in the night, and being without money the good Bishop of Meath (who is the only Protestant Bishop in that kingdom) sent them privately three pound, conjuring them not to let it be known, lest it might turn to his prejudice. They rail severely against your Grace and my Lord Primate, saying they had all the discouragements imaginable from you; and that when some of them acquainted your Grace that they intended for England, and desired some money of your Grace to defray the charge of their journey your Grace asked them what business they had in England, and said you had no money for them. Your Grace must expect that in a few days all the coffee-houses in London will ring with their discourses and that the fanatical party will make use of everything to reflect upon you. In the meantime I have given intimation of this to my Lord Chamberlain, that he may, as he finds occasion, acquaint His Majesty with it. Since the writing hereof my intelligencer tells me that

the Irish discoverers were at my Lord Shaftesbury's house, but he being not well they were not admitted to him, and that they resolve to lie close till Parliament meets.

Your Grace's of the 5th instant I have received, wherein your Grace tells me that in mine of the 28th of August to my Lord Arran I wrote that Bills might soon be sent over for a Parliament to meet there. I confess I have not time tc copy my letters, and consequently cannot own that I writ these; but if I were in my wits I could not suggest any such thing; for I have not yet observed any steps towards the calling of a Parliament there, though several Bills have been under consideration. And when I reflect on the encouragement has been given all along to Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bills, I must want sense when I believe those on thy side are desirous a Parliament should meet. I only gave my Lord Arran an account of matter of fact here, and told him what the King said to me and others.

Ormond to Earl of Longford.

1680, September 20. Dublin.—I have your Lordship's of the 14th and Mr. Secretary Jenkins' of the same date with the proposal of Sir James Shaen. I hope by the next to hear that you have seen further into the mystery than anybody here can do. You will soon discover whether my Lord of Ranelagh though seemingly most directly struck at the proposals be not yet in the bottom of it, as I confess I have suspected ever since Sir James became a purchaser of so many shares in the undertaking and ever since I received his project from your Lordship, which is a year ago and more. I write in very great haste, the post calling for my letters, but I must not, as I have heretofore, forget to tell you we cannot find entries of letters from the Council here directed to the President of the Council of England and so without order cannot innovate. Mr. Nash continues the freedom of his style and gives more and other kind of advice than is desired from him, from him, which, together with his menaces, are lost upon your Lordship's faithful servant.

Earl of Barrymore to Ormond.

1680, September 24. Castlelyons.—Being at the interment of Sir Philip Percival on Wednesday I met there with most of the gentry of the north side of the county of Cork and some of the county of Limerick, who desire me to acquaint your Grace of the frequent robberies almost overy night committed by one Gerald Fitzgerald and others (whose names I have here enclosed to your Grace), and the hazard their corn and such as live in thatched houses are exposed to should they attempt to set these rogues or otherwise be active in the bringing of them to justice, which will not be done without your Grace's special order to have some forces in

small parties appointed to do service on them, and countenance the country, and I do not doubt to get Fitzgerald set, so that your Grace will impower me so to do and to reward the person or persons that do that service as your Grace shall think fit, all which is humbly offered to your Grace's consideration.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 25. Whitehall.—I should have acknowledged the honour of your Grace's letter of the 11th current by the Tuesday post, but that I was in hopes to have sent you Sir James Shaen's blanks filled up by this night, having moved in Council (as I did on Wednesday) that he might be enjoined to bring them in. Their Lordships commanded the Clerk of the Council in waiting to call upon him, but I can yet hear of no return. I will be sure to lay before His Majesty (as soon as he returns, which I hope will be this day sennight your Grace's judgment upon the Bill of the Additional Revenue, together with the true reason of it's being made temporary, as also how currently it had passed the Farmers. I could not but suspect there must be much of fallacy in the strictures of Sir James Shaen upon it, for it is morally impossible that your Grace and the Council should so far mistake your measures as not to have charged one commodity that was capable of bearing the addition, and which is yet more strange that you should altogether be mistaken in the ways and measures for levying the duty, supposing that the commodities would bear it; but this is no wonder that we cannot get forward if Sir James Shaen must be heard and answered as long as his inventive faculty can furnish matter. Our master upon occasion of his readiness and confidence called to mind an expression of M. de Turenne's of somebody not unlike this gent. *c'est le plus honneste frippon qui est au monde.* The three Irish witnesses keep very close. They have not yet seen my Lord of Shaftesbury, who hath of late been indisposed, but now recovers. They say they have been forced to steal away out of Ireland for fear of their lives. I beseech God to preserve your Grace from all malice.

ORMOND to SIR CYRIL WYCHE.

1680, September 25. Kilkenny.—I have yours of the 18th and by the account it gives of the last meeting upon Sir James Shaen's proposals I conclude they and the consideration of a Parliament here are adjourned. Those who were unwilling there should be a Parliament could not have found a better expedient than to set up Sir James to object and propose, as appears by the event. If we that serve His Majesty here had neglected to represent the ill condition the kingdom is in when it is threatened with Popish plots and a French invasion, and if we had barely represented the danger and proposed nothing to prevent it, we had justly merited the censure of stupidity or treachery but having done both

I hope we shall escape any such reproach, tho' if the misfortune happen we shall feel our share of it. Now that objections and proposals (which can never be wanting) have taken place, I conceive it would be reasonable to let any improvement of the revenue and any contingent advantage be made use of to be applied towards the supply of our greatest defects. Of this nature I think was what I long since represented to my Lords of the Treasury of a double payment made by His Majesty of the smae sum, one in England and one here. The case you have by you and can best judge whether and when it may be fit to refresh their Lordships' memory in it.

ORMOND to EARL OF LONGFORD.

1680, September 27. Kilkenny.—Your Lordship's of the 18th got hither in six days, but that from Mr. Nash, of the same date, was stopped till yesterday by the hand to which it was directed. I send it you that you may see how much better he is informed of what passed at the Council than your Lordship, though you were upon the place and had a part in the action, whereby you may judge how safe it may be to give absolute credit to an intelligencer so easily misled. Perhaps your Lordship may think fit to extract some of the most notorious falsehoods to convince Mr. Nash that he is not to depend upon his idol for oracles. I look upon the proposals and an Irish Parliament as laid aside for some months. If my Lord Ranelagh should be at the bottom of the proposals, he has .a dexterous way of disguising it. When your Lordship arrives, we shall have leisure to discourse more at large, and then if my son Arran has kept your letter it will appear whether I mistook or you have forgot what you writ about the speedy sending of some bills.

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1680, September 28. Kilkenny.—Yours of the 19th comprehends a great deal in a little room; my return shall be as short as I can make it. The time draws on apace when ordinary capacities are like to know more than the highest can guess at, which revelation I shall attend with others of my form and with the best resolution I can put on. Nothing has exercised my thoughts in the affairs of Ireland so much as to find out some reason why some (especially one) have found it necessary to make use of such a tool as Sir James Shaen, for tho' he has no reputation to lose, yet to patronise him can be no addition to that of any man's either in point of probity or intellectuality; but I leave this with other mysteries to future explanation and apply myself to the kind and most obliging part of your letter where you tell me what in my conduct sticks with unbiassed men, who by the way cannot make good that character without hearing defences as well as charges before they give credit, which in this case

is sentence against the accused. First, that all or half the military places have been sold in any time of my government or any of them to my use or to the use of anybody else to my knowledge is absolutely false, and yet it is true that a custom has been introduced by other Governors and not by me to permit officers to sell their places to their best advantage, wherein whether they follow the example of England or whether they thought it best for the service or for what other reason they began the traffic I will not determine, but finding it thus I have in some (not in many) cases permitted it to go on—when one has bought I have allowed him to sell and where I found a loyal meriting officer antiquated and charged with children, I have given him leave to sell his command, but in all cases I have been as careful as I could to bring into the army none but such as either had served well or were like to do so. That in twenty year's peace many of the army should grow old and look rustily, and that under diversity of generals they should in that time contract some corruptions is the less strange that the army must be dispersed in few, and many times, in single companies all over the kingdom and that contrary to the état of all other armies this is not regimented; for their number all that can be done to keep it full can be but frequent and strict musters and often changing their quarters, which is constantly practised. But now I think of it I will with this send you the copy of some heads by way of instruction I gave my Lord Granard when he went into England. They were hastily drawn according to the time he allowed me and were further communicated than I intended, something towards the end of them might have been more smoothly expressed, if it had perhaps the opposition to a Parliament here had been less violent and fewer faults would have been found in our Bills, but I must now own the words were mine. I remember my old friend Tom Elliott valued himself much upon the absolute government of his wife, and yet lookers on thought she governed him; why may not some be as much mistaken in the case betwixt me and the person you mention? It is easy to say, but I defy any man to show where I have been imposed upon to do an unjust—nay, an unreasonable thing by my resignation to his or any man's sense. My faults and failings, which, God knows, are many, are all my own, and I want that—even that poor excuse for them. I will confess that in men's peculiar professions I defer much to their judgments and where they mislead me I will lay it as much at their doors as I can.

My grandson is now with me and to stay with me till the next spring. In that time I hope to get acquainted with him and provide a fit person to trust abroad with him, if any such comes into your memory or knowledge it would be the highest obligation to me and my family to get him for us. I shall think nothing too much to allow a man capable of such a trust,

and that probably would make as much of the youth as God has furnished materials for. A proposition was made to me about a month since of a wife for him in the West of England, and it is still in some faint motion.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680, September 28. Whitehall.—I have the honour of two letters from your Grace—the one of the 18th, the other of the 20th current to acknowledge; both coming yesterday to hand at one and the same time, together with the remarks of your Grace and the Council there upon Sir James Shaen's objections against the Bill of Additional Duties. Those remarks were read this morning in Council, and there was little said upon them in regard your Grace and the Council seemed not to be much concerned in the fate of that Bill, which (for aught I perceive) will be laid aside. Before these remarks were read, a letter of the Farmers in Ireland to Sir James Shaen had been read. The occasion was this: I had observed to my Lords that Sir James Shaen had not complied with their Lordships' order whereby he had been commanded to fill up the blanks of his project and to ascertain the time in which his bargain was to begin and end for that the filling of these blanks, and the fixing of the precise times upon which the contract should begin and end would very much guide my Lords of the Council of Ireland in the judgment they are to make of the project. Upon this motion one of the clerks answered that Sir James Shaen was attending at the door; being called in and asked for his project with the blanks filled, his answer was he had not yet done it, and for the time it should be his own time, that is, the King's he said, (for his advantage should be the King's advantage) and the contract should begin when it should please the King. After he had expatiated very much upon his reality and honest meaning in the project, he produced a letter from his fellow Farmers (or some of them) giving an account how far they were made privy to the Bill of Additional Duties when the Bill was first drawn up, and also how they had been called to the Council the other day and made acquainted with Sir James Shaen's objections against that Bill, that letter being read, the issue was that my Lord's monished Sir James to give obedience to their first order and to bring in his blanks filled up and his terms ascertained, to the ends my Lords of the Council of Ireland here may give their thoughts upon the project and be ready to do it against the King come home, which will be to-morrow sennight, or it may be a day or two later. The King hath within this three or four days declared himself at Newmarket that he thinks it very much for his service to have a Parliament called as soon as is possible in Ireland, and my Lord Chancellor hath this day represented to the Council that their Lordships should give to the Bills before them all the despatch possible, because the

very engrossing of the Bills will take up a great deal of time. Mr. Oates informed the Council this day that there are great numbers of Irish Papists about the town lately come, that there came 200 in one week and about 7 or 800 within these very few months. I know not whether there be any medium to examine the truth of this on that side, or whether it be worth the while to do it. We have Mr. Oates's word for it here.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, September 28. Blessington.—It is a very short account which was sent me by the last packet of Sir James Shaen's project; I should otherwise have given your Grace the trouble of it before this. They write only thus much to me on that occasion: that the Lord Ranelagh was the spokesman of the committee, that he desired Sir J. Shaen should fill up the blanks, and it was ordered so accordingly. Several observations were made upon the proposals which were not well relished by Sir James, who doubted not but in case there should be a Parliament in Ireland they would give no money, but of this I should hear more hereafter. My Lord Granard had left London and was gone to Cassiobury in his way to Ireland, and with him Sir Garnet Erwin, who had obtained a letter from the King to your Grace for the next troop of horse. I am advertised that the Lord President is no friend to Sir J. Shaen or to his proposal, but yet it is not doubted by some but that he will compass his business.

It is already discoursed by some what the King intends to speak to the Parliament at their meeting; first he will ask no money unless they will think fit to appropriate some to Tangier. Secondly, he will vindicate his brother from any knowledge of the Plot; thirdly, he will allow them to propose any laws for the security of the Protestant religion, and of property and against the French, but he will admit nothing upon the point of succession. If this will not take but that the Houses will be interposing in the last particular, the world may judge where the fault lies. Thus the speech is already prepared by the Court, and some cabals are already made in the city to discountenance it. Where it will end God knows.

The enclosed from my cousin Fitzpatrick came to me upon Saturday last at the evening, which I presume to send your Grace. If your Grace have any commands for me unto him, I shall take care to convey them according to his former directions. I know not whether he hath received mine or no, he says nothing of it in his letter, but by some passages therein I guess that he hath. He likewise enclosed the little note about the Sheriff of Queen's County, which I presume your Grace will be pleased to return me with his letter. I have likewise enclosed to your Grace for your diversion a copy of verses or rather a libel fathered upon my Lord

Rochester, but let the poet be whomsoever report makes him, he hath dealt very unkindly with a lady unto whom I have the honour of some relation.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, September 28. London.—Thinks joint letter of Lord Lieutenant and Irish Council re objections to Bill of Additional duties is rather a history of the origin and progress of that Bill than an answer to those objections. Sir James Shaen is very confident, asserting that they cannot be answered. Encloses a communication from Lord Chamberlain containing His Majesty's opinion that Ranelagh has routed Sir J. Shaen in the argument in the Treasury Chamber, but still, in the writer's judgment, Sir James Shaen appears certain of carrying his point. Explains the intent of his previous letter, which was written not to advocate any mean condescension, but to checkmate the enemy's design against the monarchy by not showing too violent an opposition to the new proposals. Secretary Jenkins moved the Council that Sir James Shaen should be called on to fill up his blanks without further delay. One of the clerks said he was outside the door. Being called in and queried as to the cause of the delay, he answered that some of the blanks couldn't be filled up without further information, and the time for the beginning and ending of his scheme would be as the King's advantage —his own likewise—demanded. He further produced a letter just received from his partners in the Farm, and pointed out contradictions between it and the joint letter already referred to.

Bourke has represented the necessitous condition of himself and the other discoverers to Shaftesbury, who recommends them to the Lord President, failing aid from whom he will succour them himself. Particulars of the straits they are reduced to mentioned together with an account of the help they have received. They allege that of the Irish Council only two—the Bishop of Meath and Col. Robert Fitzgerald—gave them any encouragement. [*Abstract.*]

ORMOND to SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

1680, October 1. Kilkenny.—In the making up of my letters the paper I intended to send you with my last was left behind, but possibly this will overtake it and perform what that promised. I have this morning received letters of the 25th of the last month, which coming from several hands that have various conversations and as differing conceptions, it is not possible to figure more discord of thoughts and expectations than possess men at this time. Discoverers of plots multiply upon us here as well as in England. Two or three I have upon my hands at this time which, whatever they prove, shall be transmitted to the Council of England as soon as they shall be fit for them. No

man next the King can be more concerned to find them out than myself, nor is any man more persuaded of the propension of many of the Irish to rebel. I know how easily they are seduced by the Popish clergy, and how ready they have been and will be on all occasions to seduce them, not well understanding when an opportunity is proper nor much caring how they venture their flocks upon bad terms for the Catholic cause and their particular interest, and therefore I dare not slight any information upon the incompetency of the informer or the improbabilities of the information having to do with people that seldom act by the rules of prudence or their own true interest. This addition of trouble comes upon you by my negligence, but it shall end here.

Sir John Temple to Ormond.

1680, October 2.—I have received the honour of your Grace's letter of the 29th of September with my brother's enclosed, as also your Grace's warrant for my Lord Sunderland's pension, whereupon I have drawn the fiant, and send it by this post to Mr. Ellis.

I think the best way for your Grace to be rid of the trouble that is given you by this new fellow that accuses so many Popish priests would be to send him to my Lord Chief Justice or some other of the Judges of the King's Bench to take his examination and issue out such warrants thereupon as they shall see cause, for that being the legal way cannot reasonably be found fault with, and it being their proper work, I see no reason why your Grace should take it upon yourself out of their hands unless the matter were very extraordinary.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, October 5. London.—Ormond is to be accused in Parliament of keeping back his knowledge of the Plot, and then of faintly prosecuting those accused by the discoverers. These latter are to be produced at the sitting of Parliament. The aim of Shaftesbury's party is to drive him from the Irish Government, and still further, to blacken his reputation, so depriving him of any chance of serving the Crown in any capacity. Longford beseeches him to send his son Arran to London to work up his interest among his friends, which he himself will endeavour as much as in him lies for the remainder of his stay there. Colonel Fitzpatrick is in town and has been very civilly received by Sunderland. It is deemed reasonable and politic to give him every fair encouragement in view of his change to the Protestant religion.

The writer has seen Sir James Shaen, who is very confident and bids defiance now to Lord Ranelagh, seeing that he has the blanks in his proposal filled up. Particulars are enclosed relative to this proposal—36,000*l.* appropriated annually for arms, repair of forts, building of ships, etc. Longford

does not understand item of 85,000*l.* running cash, but thinks the King will be the loser to that extent on the whole transaction. [*Abstract.*]

LAURENCE POWER to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680, October 6. Tanderagee.—There was lately a man who of his own accord came to me and told me if I could propose any way to secure him of a reward he would undertake to do very good service in betraying the Tories, and I told him the country made very good provision already for any that would either kill or betray any of them, especially Redmond or Loughlin ; but he replied that what the country promised was very uncertain and long a-getting, and if I could but assure him of anything he would undertake to betray all the Tories in the North. I told him if he would I'd give him ten pound of my own, and withal that your Grace would see him well rewarded, upon which promise and encouragement he told that Redmond and Loughlin were to go towards Longford, and that sixteen Tories out of the counties of Derry and Tyrone were to meet them, and that they were to rob a gentleman's house upon the borders of Connaught, and before they were to attack the house they were to lodge the night before in two troopers' houses that belong to my Lord Granard and live near Longford, which (to his certain knowledge) he said did assist Redmond in several robberies and received several stolen goods from him and was very certain they had a considerable sum of money in keeping for Redmond. He could neither tell me their names nor what countrymen they were. And, my Lord, last night this man and nine lusty fellows from this town are gone towards Longford. On Monday morning Redmond and Loughlin and four more (as the fellow told me) are gone upon this expedition, and he was very confident he and the nine that went with him should meet with them in these troopers' houses. I encouraged the fellow as well as I could and told him the ten pound I'd give him should not be reckoned upon the country's account and gave him some money in hand, and he told me further that if he missed of this design the Tories were resolved as soon as they came from Longford to attempt the robbing of the Widow Cope's house in this county and near the town of Armagh. It is a strong house and he said all the Tories appointed to meet there. They are to come in the evening in red coats and to surprise the gate leading into the house. He says they be a strong party and that Redmond has engaged several young fellows in this county to join with them, among whom this my informer is one. He promised to come to me the night before. Now, may it please your Grace, I do not know who to impart this affair unto, Sir Hans Hamilton being not in the country. Sir George Acheson is the most active and fittest for such an undertaking, and I am certain if your Grace will write to him he'll be very

diligent in it He took a great deal of pains to find out the horses that where stolen from Blessington and desired me to acquaint your Grace that Mr. Harrison of Lisburn seized two geldings. I writ to Mr. Harrison and sent two men to view the geldings—one of them is an iron grey, and the other sandy, which paces, but is very lame. Sir George met others in the mountains that are of little value, and therefore believes cannot belong to your grace. This account I thought fit to give your Grace. The Tories that are gone to Longford are all in gray coats lined with red, and they are to turn the red side out when they come to the gentleman's house.

ROBERT GORGES to LORD LANESBOROUGH.

1680, October 7. Kilbrew.—The Lord Ranelagh owing the Earl of Longford about fifteen hundred pounds gave him a list of pretended arrears due to His Majesty in the county of Meath to satisfy that debt. The Earl of Longford knowing my residence to be in that county communicated to me his list; primâ facie I made objections against several articles of it, well knowing that several sums charged to be in arrear by that list were already paid and as well knowing that other articles were never due. His Lordship well knew how unjustly that county as well as others had been harassed by the Lord Ranelagh's vain pretensions, and being tender of giving any further unnecessary trouble to the subject, gave me his list to enquire on the place the true state of those pretended debts, and I, well knowing the then approaching assize, where would be a concourse of persons of quality from all parts of the county, would give me full opportunity to answer his Lordship's desires, accepted the service, and there producing and reading the list in the presence of such as I knew were most knowing in concerns of that nature had objections made me almost against every article, and was particularly told by Mr. Pratt (who is now a Justice of Peace of that county, and a man that was employed for more than seven years past to collect the King's whole revenue in it) that he would not give twenty shillings for what was justly due to my Lord Ranelagh in that list; others said that, however, if that list came to his Lordship's usual ministers and they armed as formerly with the levying process of the Exchequer, what by terrifying the country, what by driving their stock, wasting their lands, and bribes they would receive from the poor people, especially in harvest time, that they would soon do more mischief to the country than the money contained in the list would repay. Others then present said that the Lord Ranelagh had other claims of the same kind on the county, and that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant was so tender of the country and so distrustful of the reality, that the lists were to be sent into the country and examined on the place before any further vexations should be given the subject, which is a course both just

and generous and agreeable to the precedents of former times, and had it been pursued when the Lord Ranelagh entered on his unhappy undertaking had, I am sure, saved this country more than double the money that was ever bonâ fide due to his Lordship, and without charge or trouble procured what was justly due to him. I know one of his collectors is now reputed to be worth 5,000*l.*, who before his employ was not worth five groats. I as well know that the multitude of other vermin employed by him got much more, not only the commissioners, but their collectors, nay, every vagabond rogue employed by them appeared armed in the country with the great thunderbolt, I mean the levying process of the Exchequer, which, as your Lordship well knows, not only extends to body, goods and lands, but even to lands, tenements and hereditaments from the date of the pretended debt, a punishment by law calculated for sedate times, and to be executed only on incorrigible offenders and indisputable debtors, and not to be intrusted in any hand by the Sheriff's who were usually persons of the best quality and repute in the county, and they not entrusted with this process till they gave good security, and that only for one year, under severe penalties as appears by several laws, Edw. II, III, 28; Edw. III, VII, 42; Edw. III, IX, 1, etc., but when this authority thus cautiously guarded by the law was without security or consideration put into the hands of vile persons and that for many years, your Lordship may easily conjecture what direful effects the conjunction of this authority with these persons must have on the subject's property; which power being derived in its first original from obscure and impure hands, like a polluted fountain the farther it ran the more pollution it contracted, till at last it fell into the rascality of the common people, and they usually executing it with the greater rigour on their captives that Turk-like (Christian comparisons the matter will not well bear) they might quicken and heighten the price of redemption to their own advantage, and whereas by all laws persons are to be heard before judged, condemned or executed, these miscreants having once invaded the just and ancient methods of His Majesty's Exchequer, inverted the common method of natural justice, beginning where all other laws end, with execution, that we never knew ourselves debtors till we found our herds and flocks in their hands or pounds; and the more crafty of them knowing that the punishment which by law was, as I said, imposed on contumacious and undoubted debtors, they knowing that this was applicable as they pleased, usually they would make the pretended debt lower than the price of a legal discharge, and thereby necessitate the subject to pay their unjust demand or to seek for a legal cure, where the remedy was more expensive than the disease. And if this hath been the usage of the county of Meath, a county so near the fountain of the Government and a county so well planted with English,

who are usually observed not hastily to forget or forgive oppressions of this kind, what does your Lordship expect was the usage of the more remote and barbarous parts of this kingdom, where it is said that the name of Ranelagh is as much abhorred as the name of St. Patrick is adored. St. Patrick they tell us turned all venomous corruption out of the kingdom, and Ranelagh hath brought all in, and did these remarks be thus justly due (as upon further inquiry it would be found) to this list, which the Lord Ranelagh is said to call his best list of debts in this county, I beseech your Lordship to consider what character is fit to be given to his next demand. We in the country say that his Lordship, his partners and creatures have shared the King's real debts amongst themselves, and now hope to pay His Majesty with pretended debts of their own making. But well knowing who God and the King hath set over us and his great concern amongst us. and that that concern must more suffer by arbitrary proceedings than any of ours we are in hopes, upon your Lordship's interposal, mischiefs of that nature may for the future be prevented, and that upon the place my Lord Ranelagh's future pretensions may be examined, the country's objections heard, and till then the great thunderbolt of the Exchequer restrained, which I believe is the desire of the whole kingdom as well as of the county of Meath and of yours, etc.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, October 9. London.—His account of what passed at the meeting in the Treasury Chamber was correct, notwithstanding anything in Nash's letter. Urges Ormond to look to himself, as the storm is coming on, even though it be at the sacrifice of temporising, and regrets Lord Cavendish's not being returned from France, for he would be of assistance in the approaching crisis. Sir James Butler is anxious as to the fate of a letter he wrote about a successor to the Bailiff of Westminster. Ol. Plunket, it has been decided, is to stand his trial in London, but Lord Tyrone's case is to be further debated. He would lose his privilege of trial by his peers if his trial was to take place in London. Thinks that Ranelagh is not at the bottom of Sir James Shaen's strivings, for the two are either utter enemies or else "the arrantest jugglers in Christendom." Has inspected, the house which Coventry has proposed as a residence for Ormond, but thinks it unsuitable on several grounds. [*Abstract.*]

Ormond to the Governor of Limerick.

1680, October 9. Kilkenny.—Having received information of a certain quantity of powder, some muskets and pistols coming from Holland and being landed without our licence in the river of Limerick, we have sent you a copy of the

examination of Thomas Fleming, mariner, upon that subject, taken by the sovereign of Kinsale, the second instant, and do hereby will and require you to secure one William Kearny, inhabitant of Limerick, who is deposed to have come over in the ship that brought the said powder and arms, and strictly examine him as to what he knows of the shipping, landing, and disposing or other particulars concerning the premises, and such examinations to transmit speedily to us, with what other advices you may have or can receive towards the fuller discovery of the matters above mentioned, and so we bid you heartily farewell.

JOHN ODELL to GERALD FITZGERALD.

1680, October 11.—My dearest cousin,—At my return home on Saturday I found my wife perplexed at stories told her, some that I should tempt Lyne and offer him land of inheritance as a bribe to swear the Plot, some again on the other hand that I have discovered to the conspirators the informations against them; some that I have said that there was nothing in David Fitzgerald information but magnified Nash's; others that I have reflected on his Grace and said that his Grace should say that Nash his information was a vain idle thing and no credit to be given to it. How inconsistent these are I leave you judge, yet I am persuaded their inventions are at work and are designing malice, or at least like the letter to terrify my wife to persuade me from my duty; but believe me, cousin, nothing less than poniard, poison, or what may deprive me of life shall deter or take me off my duty to His Sacred Majesty and my country and an exact obedience to his Grace's commands, who I am obliged to honour, and so much I hope if in your way and one arise for it, you will vouch; I confess to you as I did to my Lord Lieutenant that I have personal kindnesses to several that are impeached and particular prejudice to none, but all kindness and respect are to be forgot in things of this nature; you are now on the stage and may expect a like malice, but so we discharge our duties and endeavour the public peace and safety of the kingdom I presume we have both our ends. What Lyne will do I know not. I have not yet seen nor heard from him nor Massey, though I wrote to both yesterday; if he should continue obstinate and denies what he told me and what aid I gave my Lord Lieutenant, I desire you satisfy his Grace that I can prove he has told another Justice of the Peace and half-a-dozen besides as much as he told me. John Massey that goes with him brought him to me and was witness to all he said. It's true I did not examine him on oath. I durst not trust a thing of so high a nature to the conduct of my own reason, but prayed his Grace's commands whether or by whom examined or whether he should attend his Grace, but I hope you will sweeten him, and by your reason work him to perform his duty.

John Massey, Sir, has been active and discharged well his duty. I question whether either Nash, Lyne, or Stokes had appeared were it not for him; he let it not die as soon as he heard anything, but carried them first before my Lord Orrery, and after to Limerick, and bore their charges and Stokes till he brought him before me, and having not spared his person nor purse, it's the least he be repaid what he laid out, being not so well beforehand with the world as to lose it. What charges I have been at with them at Limerick or elsewhere I value not, so His Majesty be served and the country secured I have my reward, though I know no reason why the public or this particular county should not as well bear what charge I and Massey has been at as what you will be now at as we since they will have equall benefit, me and mine to Reedy and fireside. Doctor Lyne promiseth me this morning he will discharge himself faithfully. Your reason and temper will, if possible, encourage him. John Nash goes. If when David and he meet he will not speak to purpose, I advise he be sent back. John Massey tells me of a great meeting of about 5,000 foot and about 500 horse about Glanneragh. If so, the apprehension I told you of the several parties marching by night through the country was not vain. I advise you to my quarters at Mr. Long's at Kilkenny, because near the castle.

[*Endorsed:* "To my honoured friend and kinsman, Gerald Fitzgerald, High Sheriff, of the co. Limerick"].

Earl of Burlington to Ormond.

1680, October 12. London.—Since I waited upon your Grace I have been in a constant motion, but being now come to a place where I shall, I believe, fix for this winter, I think myself obliged to acknowledge the favours I received from your Grace when I waited upon you at Kilkenny and to assure your Grace that I shall be very happy if your commands will give me an occasion to show with how much readiness I should obey them.

The members of Parliament do in great numbers flock up and more are daily coming, so as 'tis believed it will be the fullest House of Commons that has been these many years. The Court is not without jealousies, and the private meeting that ('tis said) has been lately between the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Duke of Monmouth does not perhaps lessen it in some persons. They report great numbers of Irish to be lately come out of Ireland to this place, but I believe they are much multiplied by the fears of some and designs of others. My Lord of Castlehaven has lately printed memoirs of his own actings, which gives such offence to some that it will, I hear, occasion an answer. I have desired my nephew, Robert Fitzgerald, to wait upon your Grace about the commission you were pleased to promise me of the county of Cork, and since he had one for the county of Kildare, he may see mine (if your Grace approve of it) drawn accordingly

When the Parliament meets, if anything of importance shall happen (as I doubt many things will) your Grace shall receive notice thereof.

PRIMATE BOYLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1680, October 12. Blessington.—The Lord Bishop of Down by a letter from London hath given me intimation (and, I understand, by your Grace's favour and directions) that there is a petition prepared to be presented to the Parliament in England complaining that several of the Bishops of Ireland have more than one bishopric, by reason whereof the people are much neglected and the new plantations much discouraged, and that this petition is managed by a Dean of Ireland and two other gentlemen besides, and that this petition is at present in your Grace's hands. I must in the first place acknowledge your Grace's great favour and concern in the behalf of this poor Church, that you have been pleased to make some stop of that petition until you should first receive from hence account of the matter of fact, which, in short, I apprehend to be this as well as I can recollect at present :—

There are two sorts of unions of bishoprics in this kingdom ; some are perpetual and have been made so of a very long date, as Cork and Ross, Dublin and Glendelough, Kilkenny and Ossory, and, as I suppose, Down and Connor, with some few others. These have been so long and legally united that they are esteemed but as one bishopric. Other unions there are which are only temporary, and were united by the King's Letters Patents after His Majesty's Restoration, which, I suppose, was done principally upon these two considerations.

1. The small value of those bishoprics which were then united, which at that time (the country having been harassed by the late wars and rebellions) were incompetent if single and alone to support a bishop according to that condition which was requisite. A second reason might have been that the lands of the bishoprics were all in the possession of other persons who had seized them or farmed them from the usurper. And it was thought difficult to retrieve these and to bring them home again without some abilities in the new bishops to recover them who were then generally great sufferers, very poor and reduced to a low condition.

As to those of the former sort which had been perpetually united, His Majesty took no notice of them to interpose or alter them ; as to the latter, which are only temporary unions, the Lord Lieutenant hath upon the vacancy of the see represented to His Majesty the fitness of disuniting them if he found them improved to a sufficiency for a single person. And upon this account of our Lord Lieutenant's representation to His Majesty, the bishopric of Cloyne, which was united unto Cork, was upon the death of the last Bishop of Cork disunited, and is now made a bishopric of itself ; so likewise

the bishopric of Dromore, which was united unto that of Down, is now made a bishopric of itself. And I may reasonably suppose that the like course is intended in the future when they shall become void, if they shall be found a competency to maintain a bishop, for I partly know our Lord Lieutenant's intentions in that particular. But really, my Lord, some of those united bishoprics are so miserably poor that they will not well maintain a good curate. This, as I conceive, is the true state of that affair or very near it, but I dare not be positive as to particulars, being absent from my papers, which are now at Dublin; and my Lord Lieutenant (who seems most to be reflected on as Chief Governor of this kingdom) being now at Kilkenny at such a distance that I cannot wait upon his Grace to receive his commands therein within the time that I thought myself obliged by good manners to attend your Grace with this account.

What the persons are that present and prosecute this petition I am not otherwise advertised, but that one of them is a dean and the other two esquires and all of this kingdom. I am somewhat inclinable to believe that if the dean could have procured for himself a good bishopric here he had never complained of the Government, but this is not the first time that particular disappointments of that kind have raised up enemies to the Church and State also under the pretence of reformation.

It might admit of many conjectures why those gentlemen that pursue that petition being all of this kingdom did not first according to their duties apply themselves to the Lord Lieutenant and Government before they would carry over such a complaint into England, where they might have been sure to have obtained right in the behalf of the Church in general against any particular person whatsoever; they could not but know that the remedy was proper to be sought for here, and near at hand; they could not but believe that the Parliament of England, unto whom they designed to address themselves: would at the most but represent this complaint unto the King, that His Majesty might have the true state thereof examined in this kingdom. But some love to make a noise, though it be for nothing, and, when other attempts fail them, to endeavour to make themselves considerable by clamours. But it is not my business to reflect. All that I shall presume to trouble your Grace with upon this occasion is with my humble petition in the behalf of this poor Church, that your Grace will be pleased to favour and protect the bishops and clergy of this kingdom as far as you shall find us not altogether unworthy your countenance and defence.

Copy.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680, October 12th. Blessington.—I gave your Grace the trouble of some letters and prints about the beginning of this

month, but I cannot tell whether they came to your Grace's hands, for I have received none from your Grace since yours of the second instant. The enclosed from my cousin Fitzpatrick came lately to my hands. I suppose your Grace will not be unconcerned to do him all the kindnesses you can, notwithstanding the reflections which my Lord of Essex makes upon his conversion. If your Grace would be pleased to direct me how I should serve him by writing unto any friends in England or any other way, I shall do it with all my heart and shall run the hazard of any misinterpretation that can be put upon it.

I am not satisfied that the Sheriff of the Queen's County hath done any wrong in possessing Hoveden of part of his estate, if the case be as it is represented unto me; but I believe it may be judged a hard proceeding, and upon that account your Grace's refusal to continue him another year is certainly very prudential.

I herewith send your Grace a letter which I received by the last packet from the Bishop of Down, which is all that I ever heard upon that matter. I shall not trouble your Grace with any paraphrase upon the particulars of the letter, but leave it as it is to your Grace's letter judgment. I know not who those persons are who are the promotors of this petition, but I guess that the dean must be Dean Bladen, and one of the esquires Squire Coppinger, but I can make no guess at the third.

I would not willingly have returned any answer thereunto until I had received your Grace's sense upon it; but I considered that if I stayed to expect that my return would scarce reach London before the sitting of the Parliament, which perhaps would be thought too long a time for my Lord of Canterbury to keep the petition in his hands, and therefore I held it more convenient to write to his Grace by this night's packet, the copy whereof I herewith send your Grace. If your Grace will please to take so much notice of it yourself as to write your sense to my Lord of Canterbury upon it, it might not perhaps be an inconvenient or an unseasonable opportunity to begin a correspondence, and your Grace may make good use thereof for other occasions, for your Grace may perceive by the Bishop's letter that my Lord of Canterbury doth already resent the petitioners passing by the Government of this kingdom without their application. If your Grace finds anything amiss in my letter (which was hastily put upon me), and that you would have me change or alter anything therein, I have left myself latitude enough to correct anything I wrote therein. I have written likewise to the Bishop of Down and have presumed to tell him that I doubted not but your Grace would have a great respect and value for his kindness.

I herewith send your Grace another letter which I received from Mr. Power. I have writ him a general answer of

encouragement to that person that shall perform any acceptable service upon the Tories. If your Grace have any particular commands for me therein, I shall direct them to him. If I could have told whither to have wrote to my Lord Granard, I should have given his lordship the advertisement of his troopers, which Mr. Power sent me. I humbly desire your Grace that Mr. Power's name may be concealed.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, October 15. Chislington.—I have been so severely handled of late with this new fever that I was not in a capacity of presenting my humble duty to your Grace. It seized me at Newmarket when I underwent four fits, the three last bereaving me of my senses, but before the 5th (for it took me every second day only) I by the help of coaches reach Ampthill and found motion agreeable enough to me, so that after a day's rest I came hither. I would fain (if it please God) be able to get to London that (as the only service I am capable of doing your Grace) I might be accountable to you for our constant proceedings there. The passages in these parts of late have filled it with discourse, some extravagant healths at the Duke of Monmouth's being at Oxford giving just exceptions; one was a health to that bold Britain that should at next sessions of Parliament accuse the Duke of York of high treason. Only one Mr. Berkenhead refused it, and had like to have been quarrelled for his pains, but he proved too resolute to be frighted. Another (if the letters to Newmarket from Sir Jo. Worden to his father were true, as I understand here they were) was to the confusion of all Popish Dukes, all bishops and all colleges (because the University refused to compliment the Duke of Monmouth, though the Corporation did). When that was read to the Duke of York, Col. Worden told me the Duke replied, "Oh! they join me with the Church of England, and when they take that away I desire to be no longer duke." Great extravagancies were committed, because great drinking. My Lord Lovelace, they say, rode all about the town shouting with his cap waved he was for a Protestant Duke, no Papist, and God damn him, he was for the Protestant religion. Few of the gentlemen appeared, because my Lord Norreys refused, and the rather because a letter came down from Secretary Jenkins to the bishop and others to signify the King's approbation of those who gave no countenance nor entertainment to the Duke of Monmouth, who, as he rode along the strects, was followed by the rabble with shouts and acclamations that they hoped to see the crown shortly on his head.

Having nothing more important I presume to treat your Grace with these stories (though as by my scribble your Grace may perceive I am ill able to write, this being the very best I can). I shall no further importune your Grace concerning my niece Poulet, not having received a second letter, and on second examination inferring little hopes from that I had

in answer to my first. The truth is (all things considered) it was too rank a partiality to my niece for me to be guilty of that motion, considering my uncancellable obligations to your Grace.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE to ORMOND.

1680, October 16. Sheen.—I had lately the honour of two from your Grace of September 28, and October 1st, both which were too much for my satisfaction or information, unless you please to give me leave upon occasion to make use of them for your Grace's service and vindication, when I find it necessary. This I will presume upon, unless you forbid me, though (as I told you in my last) the thoughts of one or two persons being turned at present another way may possibly allay the dust that has been raised in this matter of late. For my own part wherever I meet it I shall deal with it just as I did last time it flew so much abroad, and am glad your Grace has furnished me in many particulars with better defences than I was before provided of.

'Tis most certain what your Grace observes that the darkness cannot be greater in our affairs here than it is at this time, and cannot be less with you there by so great a discord of thoughts as those transmitted you from hence by so many several hands. Those that know anything are concerned, I suppose, to keep it to themselves, and those that know most I doubt know very little, since they are yet certainly ignorant of what the last results of the Parliament will determine in. I know most are apt to guess at that, but for my part I will not till I see them together within those walls, which often gives another spirit to the house than was to be expected from that of the individuals before they went in, but day-break is now very nigh, and I shall with the utmost quiet I can attend it, and all it shall discover or produce when it comes. In the meantime I cannot omit taking notice of the commission your Grace is pleased to give me; whether I can acquit myself well of it or no, I should be extreme glad to obey you in a command where I find your Grace and your family so much concerned, and 'twere very easy for me to make you many offers of that kind, but hard to make one I am myself satisfied of, and any other is better let alone. After having run over all I have had in my head, I can yet think but of one so much as to name to you, and he is at present a great way off, and has given me some occasion of doubting whether he will engage in that charge or no. But his story is this. There is one Mr. Havers who has passed many years in Sir H. Capel's house as a companion, and seemed to ask nothing but an easy life, having something it seems of his own to support it. He is a man of virtue and of sense, but with great modesty. He is a scholar and has travelled, and has both Latin, French and Italian. I took so much notice of him as to have offered him being my secretary when I went ambassador into Holland in '74, and now again upon His Majesty's designing me for Spain, though he

be at present with Sir R. Southwell at Berlin, having gone with him as a companion in hopes only to make a summer's journey of it. He has excused himself to me upon this last offer, as he did upon the first, from his age (though I believe it is not fifty), and from his despair of acquitting himself well in such a new scene of business. I esteem him the more (though he fears I take it ill) and believe if he will undertake what your Grace proposes, he will be extreme fit for it and acquit himself to your satisfaction. That which makes me hope he may is that I know he was the greatest honourer in the world of your son; and of that and of the man, one Mr. Mulys, who, I think, served him, will be able to give you a better account than I. Besides, your Grace will make him a better condition than I should have been able, and he will not be so much a servant in it as he would have been with me. Sir R. Southwell is recalled and may be at home, probably in a month. If upon all this your Grace lay any further commands upon me, I shall obey them with great desires of succeeding.

Mayor and Corporation of Galway to Ormond.

1680, October 16.—Whereas there has been a difference betwixt Colonel Russell and the Corporation of Galway concerning the accounts relating to the money laid out by him for the use of the said Corporation, which of late has given your Grace some trouble, we being desirous fully to inform ourselves of the true state of that affair, that so your Grace may receive no further unnecessary trouble therein, we have in a very full Assembly of the Common Council of this Town met and carefully examined Colonel Russell's receipts and disbursements and the due interest arising thereupon, together with such allowances as are provided by the Charter, and consideration being had of his necessary expenses for the service of the town, we find that upon the balance of the account to the 25th of March last inclusive, there is due to Colonel Russell from the town, seventeen hundred one pounds fifteen shillings eight pence, towards the discharge of which there is the produce of the Revenue since that time yet unaccounted for. So that now there is a prospect that he may in a short time on his present security receive full satisfaction. The proceedings in this affair have received the approbation of a full Common Council and Tholsell of the town. All which we judge our duty to represent to your Grace and humbly remain your Grace's most obedient servants. [*Signed.*]

Soll. Cambie, Tho. Simcocks, John Amory Vic' 1643, Jo. Bullinbrooke, John Gerry, Rich Browne, Roo. Warner, Will. Hoskins, Pat. Meirs, Ri. Plummer, Tho. Revett, Tho. Andrewes, Mart. King, Theodore, Russell, Mayor, Rich. Coote, Ol. St. George, Ja. Vaughan, Warden, T. Crawley, Tho. Cartright. Wm. Fleming Robt. Shaw, Cl. Theol.

Examination of David Nash before Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council.

1680, October 16.—All that could be gotten out of David Nash and William Stokes and by the examination of John Massie concerning the discovery of a plot being concluded, there remained nothing for us to do, as we thought, but to see Donogh Lyne subscribe to his relation, who being brought by the Sheriff of the county of Limerick to that end, he, the said sheriff, privately told the Lord Lieutenant that if he thought fit once more to press Lyne to declare his knowledge of the plot, he believed he might be brought to do it, which he collected, as he said, from some words Lyne let fall to him this morning. Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant told Lyne in the presence of the Sheriff and those of the Council that are here, that before he signed the paper he would let him know the state he was in, as he, the Lord Lieutenant, understood it, which was that in the said paper he positively and directly contradicted what he had said and owned in the presence of two Justices of the Peace, and of several other persons of good credit, as all of them would depose, and what trouble such a way of proceeding might bring upon him he desired him to consider. To this effect the Lord Lieutenant spoke to him, and it seemed to work so upon him that, being before so much indisposed that he was twice let blood since he came to this town, and was allowed to sit whilst he was under examination, and that he fainted and groaned pitifully and desired some sack to refresh him, he seemed to recollect himself and intend to speak something plain and positive, but after all this he fell into large uncertain, incoherent speeches, out of which all that could be gathered was that he knew nothing of the plot but what he had from Nash, that he believed Nash intended when he came hither to justify his first information, and desired that Nash might be brought in that he might speak to him in the presence of us all. Nash was accordingly brought in, and Lyne in a confused discourse seemed to persuade him to make good his first information upon oath, and among other arguments to induce him to it, said he, Nash, is damned already for what he has done, and having but one soul to lose, he had as good go on, or words to that effect, and that if he, the said Lyne, had sworn as Nash had done he would never retract, tho' he should hang half the men in Ireland thereby. Notwithstanding all Lyne's persuasions and his last argument, Nash was obstinate and would stick to his last information. Much heat and passion and much nonsense passed betwixt them; at length Lyne being very faint through his indisposition and vehement agitation, both which were very visible, desired he might retire, and that he and Nash might be permitted to discourse together in private. This was allowed, and the Sheriff having conducted them to their quarter, and, as he said, left them alone, after some

time of private conference betwixt them, the Sheriff was called in and told by Lyne that Nash was now ready to declare great matters, and desired he, the said Nash, might be brought before the Lord Lieutenant. The Sheriff (as he had reason) believed that what he, the said Nash, was ready to declare would be something in confirmation of his first information, as also who it was that had prevailed upon him to retract it in his last narrative, but when he came to speak all he said was that both the information formerly given by him upon oath and his last narrative subscribed by him were true. Being told how impossible it was that such direct and palpable contradictions could be true, all he said was that many circumstances in his first information were true, but whatever he had said and sworn in his information taken upon oath of a plot was totally false. That it was true there was a meeting of the gentlemen mentioned in his first information, but it was a meeting only of merriment, and not to lay any plot, but what he said of the frequent dispatches sent by him to Captain O'Sullivan to Bere Haven about the plot was utterly false, and he said in manifestation thereof that he would be content to be hanged and quartered if it could be proved that ever he, the said Nash, was at Bere Haven in his life. When he was told how infamous and perjured a part he had acted either in accusing innocent persons or retracting the truth of his sworn information to save the guilty, he answered that fear of his life and promise of reward had made him first accuse them, and he had been so threatened that he was induced to say anything that might save his life. Being asked by the Sheriff who had threatened him, he answered that he, the Sheriff, had himself that morning threatened him if he did not confirm his first information given upon oath. Whereupon the Sheriff, who is a gentleman of good quality and fortune, falling upon his knees, did with bitter execrations of himself deny that ever he had threatened him, the said Nash, but that on the contrary he had always advised him not to wound his conscience either by accusing the innocent or sparing the guilty. True it was, as the said Sheriff acknowledged, that Nash asking him this morning when they should return home, he, the Sheriff, answered "You have brought great trouble and charge upon the State here, and upon many of your neighbours, and for aught I know in England, and you have two small peccadillos crimes to answer for, namely, treason and perjury, so that you are not like to return with me, and how the Lord Lieutenant will dispose of you or proceed against you I know not," and this Nash owned was all the Sheriff had said to him, and that he understood it to be a threat.

Endorsed :—Substance of what passed at Kilkenny, the 16 of October, concerning the discovery of a plot by David Nash, in the presence of

The Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Arran, Sir Charles Meredith, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir

JONN. DAVYS, Secretary of State, SIR WM. FLOWER, Lieutenant Colonel of His Majesty's Regiment of Guards, and MR. GER. FITZGERALD, High Sheriff of the County of Limerick.

EARL OF LONGFORD to EARL OF ARRAN.

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friend and has 330 622 827 434 586 466 506 and will be of it soon. The Parliament men flock to town apace and with great trains of servants. My Lord Chancellor came off yesterday at Council with flying colours against Coppinger, and the King shewed great kindness to him. Adieu.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, October 17. Kilkenny.—In obedience to the directions from the Lords of the Council in their letter of the 6th of this month, I have sent over Oliver Plunket, the pretended Popish Primate of Ireland, in the custody of George Wakefield, the messenger, with orders to attend your lordship with

him to be disposed of as His Majesty and the Lords of the Council shall direct. By letters of the 16th of this month subscribed by me and as many of the Council as were then here, we gave an account of what was done here in the discovery pretended to be made of by David Nash, to which I have nothing yet more to add, but that Donogh Lyne being brought to sign his information, yet by the interposition of a long and hot dispute betwixt him and Nash, his signing was forgotten, but that I have sent to the Sheriff, in whose custody he went hence, and is to remain, till he give good security for his forthcoming to get his hand to his narrative.

GEORGE STAMER to ORMOND.

1680, October 18. Clare Castle.—In obedience to your Grace's commands laid on me when I waited last on your Grace at Kilkenny I do send this account that there are now some rogues in this county who daily commit robberies, stealths and several other outrageous actions, whose names are fflann Naylan. Roger Slattery and Teige Donoghoe with their associates and accomplices, who have on Saturday last at a place called Dromcarrin within this county seized upon three servants belonging to one Mr. Mark Blood, an English gentleman, and no farther distance from this place than three miles, and then dismissed those servants after they had kept them a pretty while, to whom they gave commands on pain of their lives for to carry a message to their master, which was that he should immediately send them a contribution or else they would burn his house and kill a dozen of his cows, and for confirmation of that message sent a skeane as an infallible token, and soon after having no answer from Mr. Blood, did kill four head of his cattle. Those persons have several indictments against them before the Judges of Assizes and are notorious rogues. I therefore humbly pray your Grace for to issue your Grace's Proclamation of Rebellion against them, in hopes they may be brought under the law. I do further pray your Grace for to command six file of foot, a serjeant, and a drum, to be sent to Clare town, and likewise a squadron of horse to the town of Ennis with their proportion of powder, ball and match, where they shall find good quarters, and thereafter I doubt not with God's assistance and your Grace's help for to keep the country in better order than now it stands in, it being my duty in regard the Earl of Thomond hath appointed me his representative as to the Governorship, which may happen in your Grace's memory, my Lord having at Kilkenny there certified so much to your Grace and gave me the honour of kissing your Grace's hands and in hopes of your Grace's further commands concludeth.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, October 23. Dublin.—I send your Grace all the news I had this last packet, and you will find my Lord

Longford has taken a great deal of pains to write that in cipher, which is in almost every newsletter. I had just now, it being of 9 at night, your letters to the King and Duke. I shall punctually observe your commands when I get to London. My sister will be ready to go to sea on Monday, and I intend to go with her, for the dogger carries over the titular Primate, and have no desire to be in the same bottom with him. I send you Mr. Keightly's letter, and one from His Majesty in his favour. I hope you will oblige his lady in it. I was desired by Mr. Whitfield to let you know that Sir John Poyntz is dead, he had his information from Doctor Dainton, who thinks the estate, if any is left, will fall to you.

——— to Lord Lanesborough.

1680, October 23.—This town was never fuller of company, nor those of expectations, how matters will go this sessions. The House of Commons have yet only got their Speaker Williams, of Chester, approved of by His Majesty, these three days taken up in swearing the members of every county, as its first letter lies in the alphabet, and have despatched that prelude to their sitting no farther yet than the letter Duke But the Lords, who make quicker work with swearing, had a Bill brought in by my Lord Halifax against Popery this day, the severest imaginable, which consists, as I am told, in that none being a Papist shall be capable to inherit any lands as heir to anybody, but the next of blood that's a Protestant shall have it, and in case such Protestant be found to take any composition for such estate, then the informer against him shall have the whole estate. No Papist widow can have a jointure, no Papist practice the law, physic, or any trade, if he's not a stranger, and many more things of this nature, as I am informed. 'Tis thought this will pass, for nobody said a word against it but my Lord Privy Seal, who was laughed at and sat down again.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, October 23. London.—On Thursday the Parliament met, and the Commons being sent for up to the Lords, His Majesty there entertained them with the enclosed gracious speech, which as gracious as it is does not please, because there is a limitation that restrains them from meddling with the succession. I have had this morning discourse with several of the members of different passions, and they unanimously tell me that as soon as they are qualified for business by taking the oaths and test (about which work they will spend at least this whole day), the Duke will be impeached. On Thursday as soon as they returned from the House of Lords, my Lord Russell proposed Mr. Williams, (the Recorder of Chester), for their Speaker, to which the House unanimously agreed without the naming of anyone

else, though Mr. Powell and others were candidates. The Duke by reason of contrary winds could not set sail before yesterday, whence it is conjectured that he cannot possibly be at the end of his voyage before Tuesday night, and I fear that night's packet will carry him ill news. I had this day again some discourse with the Bishop of Rochester about the Bailiff of Westminster's place; in the disposition of which his lordship finds now new difficulty, for it being a judicial as well as ministerial office, he is informed that the Statute passed in Edward the Sixth's time will forfeit any right your Grace can pretend to in the disposition of it, and he fears it may also endanger his and the Chapter's power of disposition too, in regard your Grace had reserved any annuity to yourself of 100*l.* out of the profits of it, for which your Grace has sued Mr. Stroud and obtained a judgment which is now suspended by the writ of error he has brought, so that there will need no other proof of your Grace's making profit of that employment. And though Mr. Stroud's consenting to pay your Grace the hundred pound per annum will also incapacitate him also from ever executing it again, yet his lordship having taken advice of counsel, he is not without hope that the acts of others will not forfeit the right of the Dean and Chapter, but his counsel tell him that this statute does absolutely make void your Grace's grant to Mr. Ellis or anyone else by reason of the former contract your Grace made with Stroud. I am not a proper judge whether this be law or no, but by his lordship's proceedings I perceive all the advantages the law can give him he is resolved to take in affair. For his lordship told me that upon Mr. Ellis's application to him he called a Chapter, and there it was resolved that two of their number should attend their council and advise what was fit for them to do in the case. His lordship further told me that he found Stroud was resolved to bring his case before the Parliament, and avers that when he objected to the clause in his grant, of which now advantage is taken against him, and represented to your Grace the hardship upon him by that clause, he giving Mr. Montague 1,500*l.* for it, besides the 100*l.* per annum to your Grace, your Grace was then pleased to assure him upon your honour that there should never be any advantage taken of it against him, so that he is resolved to be very clamorous in his reflections upon your Grace's breach of promise. For the rest I must refer your Grace to my Lord Arran.

Col. E Vernon to Earl of Arran.

1680, October 23. London.—I have your lordship's of the 13th instant; I assure your lordship I have considered my notes and find I wrote four leaves to your lordship more than you received, and being as others were sent out of the country by the By Bag that post the remiscarried. I suppose for the profit of the postage. Your lordship is certainly in

the right that things are in an ill posture, when such inconsiderable persons as myself may be thought useful. I am very well pleased in serving any of quality that will accept of it, and by that condemn themselves for their former actinsg.

Yesternight the Speaker surprised me and used me with great kindnesses as my old acquaintance once under my charge in the King's service, and constantly my counsel in the Statute and his Grace's upon all occasions at Stafford against the offenders of the forest, and when offered to be retained hath denied it and valued himself as the Duke's counsel. I know him very well, and yet believe nothing can come to his knowledge in relation to his Grace or family but I shall know it ; and if he be managed the right may be made serviceable to the Crown. I know he was faithful. Some of his factious friends think my Lord Russell and the rest mistaken in naming him Speaker, fearing he may be shaken. And he was their bold Speaker in their most factious engagements. I believe they will attack the Duke, but I am pretty certain they are not resolved of the way or time, most of the country gentlemen being yet of an opinion to try the Lords first to know what really there is against the Duke, who left this place against their opinion (had he not been commanded), though they believed he would have been committed to the Tower, and his enemies would have endeavoured to have kept him there by differences between the Houses that would have forced a prorogation or dissolution. I think your lordship would be very useful here to your family, but will not advise it, though I believe there is no present danger of any attempt upon your father, though his enemies are bringing the sham plot (as they call it) of Ireland to be interwoven from the beginning with that of England in order to reflect upon the Government.

The Duke of Monmouth and the Duchess of Portsmouth hath had several meetings, and it's said her Grace stated upon terms to have the Duke's agents removed. Our grandees aver they have the Lord D. Lord Treasurer resolutions to tell what he knows, and by that his agents prevail with many to think of a banishment for him, and laws to protect the like pardons. Lord Shaftesbury observed that since the trial of Sir George Wakeman the Plot was looked upon as a predicted plot, but that sham was believed, and moved for a committee to prosecute, which was ordered.

As to my farm in Kilkenny I have ever had and still have a resolution to build me a retirement there. And I was first disappointed by not having money to do it, and since by my not coming over. My desires are to wait upon Lord Arran as much as may be, if Lord Arran have any thoughts of it himself, I know my inclinations are to serve him, and will, and I doubt not but he will receive me if I want a lodging.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, October 23. London.—I question not but your Grace will by this post receive many of these tokens, yet my duty obliges me not to trust to others' diligence. When the King came to that endearing expression of his tenderness of the Protestant religion, the echo was a unanimous hum of applause. Since which the Lords have only read many Bills and named their committees. The Commons have chose Mr. Williams, Recorder of Chester, for their Speaker and presented him, and the King by the Chancellor approved of him, which part he acted with great eloquence. Since which they have only sworn their members, and not yet quite done that. It is thought they will begin where they left. The great Q. is whether the first debate shall affect the Duke of York (who was overruled by the Earls of Essex and Halifax to retire (with his sick Duchess) to Scotland by sea the day before the Parliament met, or the Earl of Danby; tho' many are for the trial of the five Tower Lords, that the bottom of the Plot may be discovered. Resolutions are too uncertain for any man to infer from yesterday what will be done to-morrow. This morning, notwithstanding the King's proclamation to separate all Papists from this city, Mr. Dangerfield seized a priest in the Court of Request, who Dr. Oates knew and called by his name at first sight.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, October 14. London.—My coming lately to town hath made me not so capable of giving your Grace so good an account of our affairs here as otherwise I might have done in these times of news and expectation, but notwithstanding I cannot let slip any occasion of paying my most humble thanks to your Grace for your many favours and particularly that intended me by your Grace upon the last order of suspension designed in Ireland. We have at present very little to do in the Council Chamber, all men's eyes and care being upon the progress of the Parliament, and by this day se'nnight I suppose it will more visibly appear what way they intend to steer. I know your Grace will hear from other hands that his Highness began his voyage towards Scotland on Wednesday morning, but the wind sits so against him that he is still in the river, not being able to make any farther progress. On the Saturday before there was a great debate at the Council Board concerning his going, and the Clerks ordered to withdraw, but it is reported that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Sunderland and eight more were for the Duke's withdrawing, but the Lord Worcester, Lord Clarendon, B. London, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Sec. Jenkins, Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Seymour were against it. His Majesty then determined the matter, and the Duke prepared for his voyage.

I have herewith enclosed His Majesty's speech at the opening of the Parliament; all that hath hitherto been done

being only the choosing Mr. Williams, of Chester, Speaker, who was proposed by the Lord Russell and chosen *nemine contradicente* and yesterday approved by His Majesty, besides the particular Members of both Houses taking the oaths at Whitehall. There seems a general intention of complying with the Parliament, so that from thence all things are expected.

ORMOND to THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1680, October 25. Kilkenny.—I have seen a letter from the Bishop of Down to my Lord Primate giving notice of a petition intended by a dean of this kingdom and two gentlemen to be presented to the Parliament complaining of the prejudicial conjunction of more bishoprics than one in one person. I have also seen a copy of my Lord Primate's letter to your Grace upon that subject, to which for the present I can add nothing but my humble thanks to your Grace for your favourable opinion of us that serve His Majesty in this kingdom, which I am sure you will continue till you find us unworthy of it. When I find so much liberty taken in England to censure or rather calumniate the Government, I should wonder if we that derive our authority from it here should scape, and therefore I shall bear my share with patience and not without some satisfaction in the clearness of my conscience and in the reality of my intention to serve the Crown and Church, how weakly soever I shall be able to perform those duties. All that I shall add is to beseech your Grace to be a little watchful that the dean who promotes the petition may not thereby or by any other means (for if I be not mistaken in the man he will stick at none) get into a bishopric or obtain the promise of one.

VISCOUNT LANESBOROUGH to ORMOND.

1680, October 25. Dublin.—I send your Grace the copy of an address said to be made by the Lord Chancellor of England in the name of several Lords of the Council to His Majesty concerning His Royal Highness, whereat I confess I was surprised. It came by the last Friday's packet to some person here whose name the party who gave it me but this morning could not tell me. The packet which came in last night brought me this other paper, which I think it my duty to send your Grace, whose indisposition the news whereof came in this morning, troubles me very much. I beseech God to send you your health and to preserve you in it. The titular Primate went off last night with the Dogger, and Mr. Turner tells me Peter Talbot is past recovery. My Lady Ossory goes on board the yacht at Dunleary this afternoon. If I thought your Grace would make any stay at Grangebeg I would attend you there.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, October 26. London.—Though we have had no Council since my last, yet the proceedings of both Houses

gives me occasion of giving your Grace this account of our proceedings here. This day appeared in the House of Lords one who was formerly Secretary to the late Ambassador of Portingal, by religion a Jew, who gave an account of a discovery he had made in May last to the Earl of Clarendon of a considerable sum of money proffered to him by his master to kill the Earl of Shaftesbury, Oates, Bedloe, and Mr. Arnold. My Lord Clarendon denies that he named any person to him, but owns that there was some general discourse about that time which he had with him; there being likewise something said about the affairs of Ireland, their Lordships ordered that there should be a power given to Mr. Hethrington, Murphy and Mr. FitzGerald to bring over what witnesses they think necessary to lay open the plot of the Papists in Ireland, and likewise that orders should be sent to your Grace for the speedy sending over Oliver Plunket under a safe custody and with great care. In the House of Commons this day, Mr. Dangerfield gave an account of the affair between himself, Mrs. Cellier and Sir Rob. Peyton, in which he mentions some particulars which more immediately reflect upon my Lord Peterborough and my Lord Privy Seal than he before spoke of, and particularly that the last was consenting and advising in the whole carrying on of the business; upon which Sir Rob. Peyton was ordered to withdraw and the House made a vote *nemine contradicente* that all care should be used to hinder the growth of Popery and to prevent a Popish successor to the Crown, and the farther consideration of the two Lords is put off till to-morrow. This, may it please your Grace, is the beginning of our affairs, but the end of them is not easily to be foretold.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, October 26. London.—I have not these three last packets received any letters from your Grace, nor the two last from my Lord Arran, who I understand by Mr. Ellis and Colonel Vernon in probability is upon his way hither. What I foretold your Grace in my last has this day proved true, the storm rising now very high against the Duke. For Mr. Dangerfield being this day before the Commons has not only accused him (as I am told), not only of the plot in general, but also of employing him to kill the King, telling that it was a work proper for his hand and bidding him to be of courage in the execution of it, assuring him that when the work was done he should be well rewarded for it, giving him in the meantime twenty guineas. He said he was brought to the Duke thrice by my Lord Peterborough. That the first time was to make discovery of the Presbyterian Plot, and that afterwards the Duke proposed to him the killing of the King, and that after my Lord Peterborough should encourage him to go on with it courageously, saying the Duke would be King within a

little time, and would reward him far above what he could possibly suffer by it. As to the Sham Plot (as some call it), he accused my Lord Privy Seal of being privy to it, and of having intercourse with my Lady Powys about it. After he had made his narrative, the House of Commons voted that they would take into their consideration the suppression of Popery and the prevention of a Popish successor.

In the House of Lords one Berry, a Portuguese Jew, gave information that he had money given him by the last Portugal Ambassador (whose servant he was) to kill my Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe, and said he had formerly confessed so much upon oath to my Lord Clarendon, while his lordship was chairman of the committee, which it seems his lordship did not impart to the committee. I am told there was this day some mention made of the Irish Plot in the House of Commons, but no day appointed for calling the witnesses before them. I had almost forgotten to acquaint your Grace that Mr. Dangerfield accused Sir Robert Peyton for having an hand in the Sham Plot, and instanced in so many circumstances that notwithstanding all that Sir Robert could say for himself he was ordered to withdraw, and it is believed that he will be expelled the House. The enclosed is for my Lady Duchess from our new convert. I suppose your Grace will receive from Mr. Ellis an account of what discourse he had this morning with Mr. David Fitzgerald. Sir James Butler was this day with me and tells me that that statute of Edward the Sixth which the Bishop of Rochester insisted upon the other day to me will not affect your Grace, but it is evident your Grace will have as much hardship put upon you in that affair as can be contrived.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, October 27. Nantwich.—We landed this morning about eleven at Dapool, and there I left my sister Ossory, after I had borrowed a coach for her to go to Liverpool ferry. We had yesterday for about six hours so violent a storm, the wind at S.E., that it split both main sail and fore sail, and all we hoped for was to make the Isle of Man, but it pleased God the wind grew both calmer and fairer for us, so that all the company got well and safe on shore. I have got no more news at Chester than what I found in the newsletter, only a gentleman that left London on Monday last told me that my Lord Ranelagh is in a very desperate condition, for the doctor had given him three preparations of mercury one after the other, and none of them wrought with him. I am afraid I shall not get to London before Saturday night, for the pursuivant is gone but three or four hours before me post (with his prisoner) eight horses in company. Tho' I was not sick at sea, yet I am very giddy now, therefore I hope you will pardon the blots of this letter.

DONOUGH LEYNE to CAPT. DRURY WRAY.

1680, October 29.—I send you my narrative touching the proceedings in relation to the late discoveries. I send you also a copy of my letter to Sir John Davies. I shall desire you not to publish either for fear it might prevent the commission desired, which will make out the irregularities of Odell. There are other witnesses to prove every particular of this accusation, so far as you are concerned, to the full of very credible persons. [Encloses the following letter] and narrative.

DONOUGH LEYNE to SIR JOHN DAVYS.

I have since my coming home from Kilkenny (according to order) subscribed to my examination delivered before His Grace the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and have also been examined before the High Sheriff of the county of Limerick, John Mansfield, and John Croker, esquires, wherein I have not for some reasons so fully explained myself as I ought to have done. The reason I have not so fully done it before the Justices was the apprehension of fear that possessed and still do possess my thoughts, occasioned by the threats of particular persons to do me great mischiefs, but these fears being now somewhat removed, and having withal fully recollected myself, I humbly desire the honour to sue to his Grace and the Council for a commission to just and indifferent persons to take my further examination, and the examinations of such other persons as I shall name unto them, with full power by their warrant to compel them to appear before them to give in their evidence touching such matters as may relate to my examination for proof thereof, wherein I shall declare the truth more at large in every particular and more fully unravel the matter, not differing from what I have before delivered. This I most humbly crave in regard of my weakness and inability to travel far to deliver before that high and honourable presence what I have further to say in discharge of my conscience before God and my allegiance to His Majesty. I most humbly beg your honour's favour and pardon herein.

(Copia vera.)

"NARRATIVE" of DONOUGH LEYNE.

That I was present when David Nash's information was taken, that he was therein surprised in many circumstances by John Odell and John Massie, directing him by leading questions, particularly in the mentioning of persons' names they would have included therein to make it agree in some sort with David FitzGerald's information, and that in relation specially to the Lord of Brittas, Sir John FitzGerald and others, they would also have the Lord of Clare together with the Knight of the Glin and Thomas Browne of the Hospital therein named.

That the said Odell tempted me with the offer of 300*l.* and also with the promise of procuring me an annual

pension, giving many good treats in his own house to draw me in to witness and swear to the said information, and at other times, when he found me unwilling, threatening me with imprisonment and other corporal punishment if I did not.

That for my further encouragement the said John Massie, being one of the said Odell's chief instruments to promote this design, assured me that John Bourke of Cahirmoyle's Estate, and Eustace White's should be equally divided between the said D. Nash, John Massie and myself as our rewards for this service, and that he was moreover to have a troop of horse himself.

That when William Stokes was drawn in to be a discoverer he had large promises made unto him, and first coming in brogues, he had a pair of shoes bought for him and was promised to be furnished with a horse and boots soon after, and being arrested for debt after his coming to Limerick, he was released, and being afterwards brought upon his examination, I myself with others were employed to prepare him with plenty of wine, and being then somewhat intoxicated was then called upon his examination, and Nash's information being read unto him, he was urged to specify three or four of the persons (therein mentioned to have been parties in the plot) or that his intelligence had been insignificant, which he could not be persuaded to; nevertheless what was writ down as to other matters he was prevailed with to swear and subscribe to, being drunk, as aforesaid.

That John Massie carried me along with him to one John Nash, living upon Tirenuhillie, and there was then a proffer of 5*l.* and a cow made unto him to witness the said D Nash's information, and that the said John Nash made answer that for 5*l.* he would swear anything.

That John Odell went to the prison where D. Nash was, and (in my own presence) pressed very earnestly to impeach or concern the Earl of Orrery in his information, and that he would undertake he should have back his cows or cow for cow in their room.

That John Odell disgusting that his Grace had not answered some letters of his concerning the plot, said since thereby he perceived his Grace had slighted the business, he wished he had ne'er meddled in it, but within three hours after he told me that had seven of the best in Limerick to back him.

That being by order of the Lord Lieutenant since my coming from Kilkenny bound over to appear before his Grace and Council at four days' notice, Odell notwithstanding sent a warrant for me signed by himself and another justice, and when I came before him he would compel me to disown the allegations against him, otherwise he would send me to prison, and when I told him he could not lawfully so do, being the King's evidence, he then said he had as much power there as his Grace had in Kilkenny.

Signed] Don. Legus.

That John Odell sent a warrant for me, and being before him, he told me that he heard that I had been tampering with some of the impeached persons, whereupon he threatened to send me to jail if I did not swear to employ my utmost endeavours to promote the discovery of the plot, and thereafter to reveal unto them whatever should be spoken unto me by any of the said persons impeached, until I were called upon to give my evidence before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which I confess I did and performed, except what was contained in my testament left behind me with my confessor.

That the said John Odell did not only publish Nash's information, but also shewed the said information to such witnesses as he would have sworn, to direct them what they should swear to, and did also shew and read the examination of one to the other, and did accuse his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of saying that these discoveries of Nash seemed probable, but that those of FitzGerald he never gave credit to, taking him to be a sort of a wild hare-brained fellow; the examination of William Stokes he delivered to John Massie, who gave a copy thereof to one of the supposed conspirators. As to what related to Wm. Stokes in my examination, it was no more but that he told me he had been riding about to discover how the subjects stood affected to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and how to the Duke of Monmouth, upon the dangerous sickness that seized His Majesty some years since. These violent proceedings so much terrified me that I did at the beginning and since seem somewhat to countenance and feed them with some expectations of giving testimony to what they would be at, when I should be brought before his Grace, to the end that in due season a full discovery might be made of the sinister practices that were in hand for taking away the lives of His Majesty's loyal subjects.

[Earl of Arlington] to Ormond.

1680, October 30. Whitehall.—At my arrival here from the country I wrote to your Grace which was my last, and shall continue doing so as any occasion offers, but dare not charge myself with the burthen of sending you the common news, presuming you have it from hands which transmit it exactly and regularly to you. I had from Mr. Ellis his directions how to negociate the Marquis de Grana's money, which together with the original bill of exchange I have put into Sir Stephen Fox's hands, who will be best able to bring that matter to pass.

Since I have received one of your Grace's of the 14th by Sir Richard Stephens, who shewing me at the same time some of yours to himself, I knew what value I ought to put upon the gentleman as there is occasion of using him in your

concerns and under that notion have presented him to kiss the King's hand, and for my first entrance with him have directed him to find out what and where the grounds lie of the great exceptions against your Grace amongst Parliament men, of which he hath given me already some account, and I presume by this post will do it to yourself; the same diligence I use amongst other of your friends and as occasion shall serve will give my Lord of Arran notice of all that comes to my knowledge, who, I hear, is arrived and hath been to seek me, but yet I have not seen him at three this afternoon. I likewise hear my Lady of Ossory is come as far as Knowsley.

Since my arrival here my Lady Mary Cavendish hath handed to my acquaintance one Mr. Charlton, with a lame leg, known, as he says, to your Grace, and professing to be much your servant. He is very conversant with the most shining and eminent Parliament men, so I have likewise recommended your public concerns there to him, wherein he promises to do you the best service he can. His business to me was that having been conversant this summer with my cousin, Simon Bennet, the rich man of Buckinghamshire, and particularly in transacting the marriage betwixt a kinsman likewise of mine and Simon Bennet's eldest daughter, in which I have likewise concerned myself some years past, this Mr. Charlton hath become acquainted with my proposition the last year for my young lord of Ossory, to which I suppose your Grace is not a stranger, in which he offers me his service and tells me the mother who rules the roost in the house likes it very well, as likewise now at last, after many years difficulty, the marrying of the eldest daugter to my cousin Bennet, who is in remainder the heir to the estate, which is above 6,000*l.* per annum, with at least 100,000*l.* pounds in ready money. The land she seems to wish may go with the eldest daughter, and the money with the youngest, who is much the handsomer. Now if your Grace approve of my entertaining further this matter, you must be pleased to own so much to me in a letter I may produce to authorise me to treat it, and a little kind mention of Mr. Charlton therein may be of good use for that and other matters. After I had written thus far I met with my Lord of Arran, to whom I shewed what I have here written and told him all I know of matters here.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1680, October 30.—I can add little to the enclosed votes, only that hourly come in new discoverers and new discoveries, so that now it is determined the prosecution of the Plot and trial of the Five Lords shall be next undertaken. Dangerfield hath been severe against the Duke of York before the Committee, affirming that he gave him great encouragement to go on vigorously to kill the King, and gave him out of his own pocket twenty guineas, and that my Lord Peterboro told him the

Duke loved a brisk man and would reward him, and that Mrs. Cellier had sent him to my Lord Anglesey to know when it would be seasonable to broach the Presbyterian sham plot. They of the Committee give us expectation of strange things to come forth and of strange actors in them. Here also all votes will be printed, and then with less difficulty we shall be able to treat our friends with them. My own distemper so continues that it forfeits me also to a lappassit of writing legible. Whilst I am able I will put my best leg foremost, but I am told I must hasten into the country for air and exercise as the most natural physic for me. In the meantime I will continue my inquisitiveness, that I may be the better able to render myself the more useful to your Grace.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, October 30. London.—Last night my Lord Arran arrived here very seasonably for your Grace's service, for it has surprised your Grace's enemies, and I am confident given a check to some of their designs against you. But Mathew Barry's slowness in not preparing the narrative of the proceedings upon the plot there has for the present in some measure disarmed him. Therefore I beseech your Grace to send it away with all expedition attested by my Lord Bishop of Meath and Sir John Davys, for that will be an evident vindication of the Government there in their proceedings upon the discovery of the plot, and will be a conviction of the witnesses' falsehood, if they should vary from the truth of what they affirmed there. I had the good fortune to be present in the King's Bedchamber when my Lord Arran kissed His Majesty's hand. His reception of my lord was as obliging and kind as ever I saw him give to any. And after he had read your Grace's letter he retired with my Lord Arran into an inner room and there discoursed with him (after he had shut and locked the door himself) near half an hour, an account whereof I doubt not but my Lord gives your Grace himself by this night's packet. Now his lordship is come my heart is at some ease, and I shall now be soon at liberty to apply myself to my journey towards Ireland, and shall by Tuesday's packet give your Grace an account of the certain day I intend to be at Holyhead. Mr. Mulys tells me he sends your Grace every post the journals of both Houses, which saves me the labour of giving your Grace the daily proceedings of each House. All the new members herd together, insomuch that very few of the old, except my Lord Russell, Colonel Titus, Sir Francis Winnington, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Harbord, and Mr. Colt, will be listened unto. Colonel Vernon at my instigation, instead of going for Ireland, came up hither to serve your Grace (for in this conjuncture I thought it necessary to muster up all our forces), and therefore while he is engaged in your Grace's service here it will be very severe in your Grace to permit

him to be a sufferer upon your Grace's account in Butler of Ruskoe's suit, about which Mr. Solicitor has his direction to apply to your Grace. Mr. Sampson in his information to the Committee of the Lords has loaded my Lord Chancellor, having told their Lordships that when he was first in your Grace's closet to give your Grace information against my Lord Tyrone, my Lord Chancellor being the only man then attending your Grace, he in his information mentioned the Duke as head of the Plot in Ireland, upon which he says my Lord Primate took him by the hand, led him to the window, and advised him not to mention the Duke, saying it would be his ruin if he did it. This information amongst other things was given by way of discourse, which the Lords directed him to put into a narrative in writing and sign to it, and I suppose he has this day given it in to their Lordships.

Some of your Grace's friends here wish that since Sir Francis Wythens has fallen under the severe displeasure of the House of Commons he might be prevailed upon to quit his Deputy Steward's place of Westminster and resign it to some friend of his, because they apprehend the Commons will take it ill of your Grace to continue him in that employment after so severe a mark of their displeasure against him. But if this can be fairly effected it must be done at his suit to your Grace, concerning which I will discourse with Sir James Butler. Sir Hen. Ingoldsby has a great mind to be called upon by the Lords to give an account of his observations in Ireland since the discovery of the Plot, in which I presume my Lord Arran's arrival has somewhat abated his mettle, though he said he was glad my Lord Arran was come over to be a witness of what he had to say. Sir James Butler the other day was desired by Justice Warcup to set his hand to a warrant pursuant to the order of the Lords for the searching for Irishmen, at which he seemed to hesitate, saying there were hands enough to the warrant, and it would be an hard thing to put it upon him, because he being of that country himself had many relations there, and it would expose him much to the censure of his countrymen to have an hand in the seizing of them and committing them to prison. Upon which Mr. Warcup told him, "Well, say you nothing of it, and I will not," which Sir James looked upon as a friendly and very civil act. But within an hour after Sir James heard that complaint was made to the Lords that he had refused to sign the warrant in obedience to their order. Mr. Plunkett with his six attendants came to town last night. There is no account yet come of the Duke's arrival in Scotland, but it is concluded he got safe there, because the weather and wind has been fair these ten days past.

Sir James Butler to Ormond.

1680, October 30. Lincoln's Inn.—I did not think fit to acquaint your Grace with the death of Sir John Poyntz

(which happened lately in the Temple, where he lodged) till I had informed myself how he had disposed of his estate, conceiving your Grace to be his heir at law. I find in April last he made his will, by which he left his seat and estate in the county of Gloucester to one Mr. Poyntz Porter, of Warwickshire, his brother by the mother's side, in fee paying his debts. And in case he should refuse it upon those terms, then he devised it to your Grace upon the same condition. But about ten hours before his death, being in a very weak and senseless condition, he was persuaded by one Hawkins, a farmer that lives in the Old Bayly, and others that came along with him, to seal a deed which they brought engrossed and prepared for that purpose, whereby he sold his estate to the said Hawkins and another for the consideration of 5*s*., upon trust to pay all his debts and 2,000*l*. to his lady in lieu of her jointure by the sale thereof. The debts are computed to amount to about 16,000*l*., and I am informed the estate is worth more. This account I conceived was my duty to give your Grace, not knowing but that you might have a desire to purchase it, in regard it has been an ancient seat long in that family, so near related to your Grace. If your Grace be so inclinable I think the best way is to take in the first mortgage of Sir James Smith, an Alderman of London, which is near 7,000*l*., and to pay off the rest at leisure. When your Grace shall please to signify your pleasure herein, it shall be obeyed.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, October 30. London.—Meeting with the votes of the House as I travelled on the road, I thought it necessary to make what haste I could, and I lost no time, for I got here yesternight, and this morning I waited upon His Majesty, who received me with great kindness, and gave me leave to have a pretty long discourse with him in private, the whole will be too long for me to put in cipher, besides you have heard much to that purpose before from Lord Chamberlain, Lord Longford, and Lord Granard, what is new and what I shall communicate to none here is matie 373: sa 679: i 31: de 206: di 207: 800; 678: the great 330: s 40: knave 65: 425: 84: 770: 33: 57: 84: di 26: vi 770: s 33: 57: on 84: in 377: the 734: world 810: and that wwy 508: 734: there 39: be 279: sea 718: 734: 796: should be able to 725: re 636: moove 468: 769: ye 566: y 734: s 45: h 40: o 54: u 36: e 42: d 431: per 204: e 585: you 33: 841: and his c 49: r 39: o 36: in 42: n 59: ambition 118: ta 735: ther 312: 734: 63. This and much more of this kind I had in charge to say to you, which I have not time to put in cipher, having been late at Court. From Whitehall, after I had paid my respects to my Lord Sunderland, I went to the House, and being told by the Clerk of the Parliament that I might sit without a

writ after taking the test, I sat in my place; but somebody informing that I had not brought a writ, I was forced to withdraw, and a writ is ordered to be given me when they sit again, which will not be before Wednesday next. All the Lords of your acquaintance inquired very kindly after you, and are very glad that I am here to inform them better than they find they have been hitherto of the state of affairs in that kingdom, amongst them my Lord Faulkenbridge and Lord Carlisle: they both took me aside to discourse with them. I am very sorry that I brought not some narrative along with me, for it would have been of great use to us, and my Lord Chamberlain is of that opinion, too, and that I should have delivered an account first and not let your adversaries begin, for my Lord Lovelace told the Committee for Examinations that he knew a person of great quality and estate in the kingdom of Ireland who would inform them, he being lately come over, of the miscarriages of the Government since the discovery of the Plot. Who this person should be I cannot guess, but some think it is Cap. Nicholls. Sampson has lately informed against my Lord Chancellor that when your Grace and he were together examining him about the plot, he was going to swear something against the Duke, but my Lord Chancellor held him by the hand and told him if he said anything of that he would be undone. This he would have sworn before the Committee, but he is ordered to put it in writing against Wednesday, and then I believe I shall be added to that Committee, but I find he has a great many of your friends that are his enemies and will not stick to him, but I will do him all the right I am able when any opportunity offers. Mr. Hyde and I are to come to an eclaircissement at his desire. What he says shall be imparted to you.

My sister Cavendish tells me, and I suppose she informs you likewise, that the report about my nephew is very warm now here. When the Bishop of Oxford comes to town, I will appear more if necessary in the matter.

Ormond to Earl of Burlington.

1680, October 31. Dublin.—Tho' I received your lordship's of the 12th at Kilkenny, yet it was just upon my remove to the station I am fixt to, so long as it shall please God and the King. My cousin Fitzgerald met me in my way hither, and says he will pursue your lordship's affair as soon as he comes to town, it shall meet with no delay on my part nor any other of your affairs proper to my province. Overtures of discovery of the Plot in this kingdom have of late multiplied upon us; they are chargeable to us; how profitable they will prove to the public in the work they have undertaken I cannot judge. It is most rationally to be believed that there was and is a concurrence betwixt the disaffected of both kingdoms to subvert Government and religion, and I would as gladly find it out and prevent it as

any man; my freehold, and that a better than the King of France or the Papists would allow me if either of them were masters, being at stake. The information against the Earl of Tyrone taken by the good Bishop of Dromore and other Justices of Peace, will prove nothing, nor will he have much cause to brag of his convert, for I suspect he is not the man he calls himself, but takes a name or function that belongs not to him. I am just now told by a gentleman newly landed that at his leaving Whitehall the 24th of this month, the report was warm that my Lord Primate and I are to be impeached; his particular informer averring that he had heard the articles read, but was sworn to secrecy, but in general they consisted of concealing or faint prosecution of the discovery of the Plot in Ireland, and another says for corresponding with France. If they had gone further and charged me with conspiring with the Great Turk or Mogul I doubt not but witnesses might be found to prove it, but I can never suspect either the justice or prudence of four or five hundred English gentlemen so much as to be greatly alarmed at it.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680, November 1.—The Dean of Limerick returns hence with his degree, according to your Excellency's recommendation. He will be able to give so full an account of all the concernments of this place that I shall not need to give you the trouble of a narrative. The best relation which your Excellency can have from hence will be from my Lord Ossory, who, I hope, is so tractable and obedient as may speak him to have resided some time in a place of rule and order. He is now in an age whereof every moment should be well husbanded, his future sufficiency depending in a great degree on the foundations which are now laid. The times look black enough and it will be necessary for him by courage and counsel to be able to defend himself and the public and tread the steps which your Excellency has led thro' a false and tumultuous world. Your little kinsman, my Lord Clancarty, is very persuasible and good natured, so that I hope by God's blessing I may give a desirable account of him. The like expectation I have of Mr. Burch. My Lord Courcy is almost a grown man, and will speedily be ready for the advantages of travel, but he entirely refers himself to your Excellency's disposal, and will, I hope, render himself capable of your Excellency's favour. I beseech Almighty God to give health and blessing to your Excellency.

ORMOND to EARL OF CONWAY.

1680, November 1. Dublin.—I am humbly to thank you for the intimation you gave my Lord Primate, wherein I am concerned with his Grace. I have very ill fortune if I come

to be suspected for correspondence or kindness towards France. I have heretofore suffered for want of that complacency I am now charged with, as is very well known, and to none better than to my Lord of Shaftesbury. By the Irish Papists I have suffered more than any man could do that 'scaped with life and is restored to a fortune, having been scandalized, persecuted and betrayed by them at home and abroad, and that now I should grow fond or become reconciled to either of those interests is so incredible (if I am allowed to be a rational creature) that I should think fifty witnesses ought not to be believed in the case unless they bring other proofs than oaths, which are so cheap a commodity in this climate.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, November 2. London.—The bearer, Sir Robert Hamilton, who goes post from hence to-morrow, carries with him a reference to your Grace from His Majesty, who is so much concerned for him that he spoke to me last night to recommend it particularly to you to show him favour in it. I am informed from many good hands that he has been very just and serviceable to you upon all occasions in this conjuncture, therefore if the matter is feasible he deserves your favour. Mr. Hyde has been to see me since my last to you on purpose to discourse with me upon the matter I formerly hinted to you, and I spoke my mind very freely to him and set off Sir James in his colours, and told him that you wondered how so understanding a man as he is should be governed as you were informed he was by such a mountebank as Shaen, and that if his desire was to put by the sitting of our Parliament he might have found out a better way than putting him upon it, that he might have writ his mind to you, and it is likely if his reasons were good you might agree with him. He made the greatest professions of kindness to you and your family imaginable, and protested that he was not at all governed by Shaen in that or any other matter, nor would by him or anybody else ever be persuaded to do you an unkindness, saying these very words that he should be a very ungrateful rascal if he did, but that he then thought Sir James's proposal was a good one, and that it was not convenient to have a Parliament sitting there and here at the same time, but upon the whole that it was always intended the matter should be left entirely to you, but owned he was much to blame that he did not write to you, but he depended upon your thinking him so entirely yours that he thought you would dispense with that formality. I seemed to be very well pleased with his answer, and assured him I believed you would be so too, but I am afraid that before this session is over I shall be forced for your vindication to insist upon that of putting off our Parliament, for I find the main business if not the only one

they will lay to your charge will be the ill posture you are in to make a defence against an invasion, for which the supply expected from a Parliament was propounded by you as a remedy.

Monsieur de Lorche, who was General of the Horse to my brother, I am afraid does not go away well satisfied, and really in the opinion of all people that know him he is a very honest and useful man in such an employment. My Lord Chamberlain, as well as I, are of opinion that he should have had many of the things belonging to the stables that are taken from him. They may be valued, and I believe a hundred pound will be the most they will be esteemed at. It is much wondered at by many people in town that my brother's body has not yet received the ceremony of Christian burial, it may be done so privately as nobody may know it, and that will not hinder your intentions of removing him when you think fit. I am sure till that is done my sister ought not to come hither.

Mrs. Hublethorne has got a reference to you about her pension; she is very poor. Fitzpatrick, who is an ensign in the army, has a colours at Tangier, so that his in Ireland you may be pleased to dispose of to Beverly if you think fit. Sir Robert will be with you very near as soon as the post, so that I may be excused from writing this night by the post. I suppose you will hear of the death of my Lord Ogle, and the birth of a son to my Lord Russell, who is now the governing man in the House of Commons; he professeth great kindness to you.

HENRY JONES, BISHOP OF MEATH, to [FRANCIS AND DEBORAH] ANNESLEY.

1680, November 2. Dublin.—Dear son and daughter Annesley, I received your last and rejoice thereby to find all your welfares. My former to you was directed as from Dublin, being then at Osbaston, and that day setting forth hitherward, so as I could not write so positive concerning things here at that time. Coming hither I find it not convenient to take my measures alone without the advice of one or both of you being here on the place, which I suppose may be this term, to which I refer the consideration when and how to be ordered with best advantage.

Hanlon's paper I received in yours which was read in Council this day, my orders are to assure him of pardon on the terms formerly proposed, his declaring himself and assuring the Government of his reality in first bringing in or cutting off some of the principal Tories such as are proclaimed or notoriously known to be such, after which the pardon shall be for him and his friends, they undertaking what they promise of freeing the country of Tories, etc. They speak of a petition to the Lord Lieutenant to that purpose, which I desire may be prepared and signed by them. All

this must be carried on with secrecy, otherwise they may not be in condition to act against the Tories, who are not yet suspicious of them. I observed that Hanlon's paper which you last sent and is before mentioned was dated the last of September, which yet came not to my hand until yesterday. The reason of the delay I would understand, and the reason of my inquiry in it is that I doubted Hanlon's interpreting his having sent that his paper so long since and nothing answered by me to his satisfaction to have been neglect in me, and that therefore he had changed the hand from me to the Bishop of Clogher to appear for him, concerning which there was a like paper as that from you sent from him to the Bishop of Clogher, and yesterday shewed to my Lord Lieutenant by the Lord Primate. In other things I refer to the enclosed, and desiring God's blessing on you and yours, rest, etc.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 2. London.—There is an account come from Scotland of the Duke's safe arrival on Tuesday last, and it is believed his reception was very great because His Majesty's letter directed it should be so. But while he is there entertained as a Prince of his birth, your Grace will find by the votes this day of the House of Commons (which Mr. Mulys tells me he constantly sends your Grace) how he is otherwise treated here. Matters are now brought to a crisis, and from the resolutions taken upon this day's proceedings it may easily be concluded whether the Parliament be long lived.

Yesterday there was held at my Lord Burlington's house a Committee for the Irish Affairs, where were present besides my Lord Burlington, my Lord Shaftesbury, my Lord Essex and my Lord Faulconberg, and (as I am told) Mr. Fitzgerald, Sampson and Bourke were with them, but what was done there I cannot learn. My Lord Arran wants very much the narrative which Mr. Barry's laziness disappointed him of at his embarking, for the Committee of the Lords drive on the examination of the Plot in Ireland in which your Grace's enemies hope to pinch you. And that narrative would prevent that mischief by giving the true state of proceedings there, therefore I beseech your Grace if it be not already sent to hasten it to my Lord Arran. My Lord has in hands the abstract of your Grace's letters to Mr. Secretary Coventry, my Lord Danby, and my Lord Essex about the meeting of the Parliament there, to justify your Grace in the constant representations you have made of the necessity of putting that kingdom in a posture of defence to oppose foreign invaders and intestine rebellion, which will answer the clamour is made against your Grace for the defenceless condition the kingdom is now in. I intend on Monday next at furthest to begin my journey towards Ireland and resolve to be at Beaumaris by this day fortnight. And therefore

beg the favour of your Grace that the yacht may meet me there at that time. I am told your Grace may peruse the enclosed to Mrs. Preston. The person whom my Lord Lovelace moved should be brought to their Lordships to give them an account of the extravagant proceedings in Ireland since the discovery of the plot is Sir Henry Ingoldsby, who is to be introduced to-morrow morning. And upon this occasion your Grace will judge how necessary the narrative would have been to have satisfied their Lordships of your proceedings there and to have contradicted any unjust reflections Sir Henry Ingoldsby may make. Sir Robert Hamilton has expressed so much zeal and duty for your Grace since his being here that in justice to him I cannot but recommend to your Grace a concern of his, which is now referred to your Grace. But His Majesty's pleasure in it would have been more absolutely signified to your Grace had not his respect to your Grace chose this more dutiful method of bringing his affair before your Grace, from whose favour he will never appeal in any concern of his.

COLONEL EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, November 2. London.—Yesterday was a day of as great exaltation to the Bedford as dejection to the New-Castle family, my Lord Russell having a son born, and the Duke his only son, my Lord Ogle, died: his death assigned to this new disease, one greatly lamented by all people, being a marvellous brisk forwardly young man. Daily dining with him at his brother Albemarle's at Newmarket made me known to him. His widow adds to her own vast estate 5,000*l.* per annum jointure out of his father's. It is not too early to wish, tho' it be to propose, my Lord Ossory his successor. I am sure my small endeavours should be racked to the utmost to contribute to it. These two days votes I enclose. This day' my Lord Russell started the Q[uestion] about the Bill of excluding the Duke personally from the succession. Tom Thinne seconded. It met with more opposition than the proposers expected, first Mr. Hyde, then Mr. Garroway, then Mr. Seymour, Sir Richard Grimes, Mr. Finch, etc., but neither art nor eloquence could serve to stem the tide, but when the Q[uestion] came to be put it had but only Harry Goring's single No. The Lords have not sat of late, but do to-morrow. The other House have renewed an old resolution of Queen Elizabeth's time; that in defence of the King's person, the Government, and Protestant religion they will stand by him, and that if any mischief shall befall His Majesty's person, they will revenge it on the Papists. I see there is such an antipathy against Popery that every one strives to appear with the greatest indignation against. Those who opposed the Duke's Bill would have compounded and willingly have consented to a Bill against a Popish successor, provided the Duke might not be named, but all expedients were poison not antidotes.

If my child (Gustavus Fleetwood), for so I account him, should misbehave himself, I beg your Grace's mercy for him for his father's sake and his who intercedes for him.

Postscript.—London, Nov. 2, '80.—I bless God I am much recovered from my distemper, yet it hath not wholly left me, so that I am in a condition of obeying your Grace's commands had I the honour to receive them.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, November 3. London.—The affairs of the Parliament so take up the time at present that there is very little done in the Council Chamber, but the great question concerning the succession was this day debated in the House of Commons, and in conclusion a vote passed for the bringing a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession of the Crown, and it is expected that to-morrow morning the Bill will be brought into that House. In the House of Lords there is great expectation of one who is represented to be a person that hath borne considerable employments in the kingdom of Ireland, who is to-morrow to appear before the Committee of Examinations, and there give evidence of the Plot in Ireland, with some pretended discouragements that the witnesses have met with upon revealing the same. I should be sorry to prejudice any man with a false judgment, but it is believed that the person is Sir Harry Ingoldsby. This day their Lordships sent for the copies of the examinations in the Clerk of the Council's hand relating to Oliver Plunket, which were accordingly sent them, the originals being formerly with your Grace. I had yesterday the honour first to kiss my Lord of Arran's hands upon his coming to town, and humbly beg the continuance of your Grace's good opinion, which I shall always with greatest industry and sincerity endeavour to deserve.

SAME to SAME.

1680, November 6. London.—I know your Grace will have an account of what passes in the House of Lords from better hands and a particular of the examinations that have been concerning the plot in Ireland, which hath lately taken up most of their Lordship's time, and this day in Council upon an address from their Lordships, there is ordered a letter to your Grace for the sending hither in custody the Lord Brittas, Colonel Lacy, St. John Fitzgerald and Lt. Bradley, and that Sir Tho. Southwell be summoned to attend their Lordships. Mr. Attorney General was also ordered to have money in his hands from the Treasury to defray the charges of the witnesses that shall come out of Ireland. After which His Majesty pricked the sheriffs, which was the chief business of this day at Council. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster have not yet removed Mr. Stroude from his place of bayliffe, or returned their answer concerning it to His Majesty, which the King taking notice of appointed my Lord Chamberlain

to speak with the Bishop of Rochester to-morrow about it. The House of Commons this day read the Bill against the Duke of York the second time, and on Monday morning next the House is to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider the Bill.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, November 6. London.—Thursday and this day were taken up by the House of Lords in examining the witnesses concerning the Irish Plot. Murphy was the first examined and was the only witness that reflected upon you. One part was that the titular Primate Plunkett told him he received money from you, which question being asked Plunkett he utterly denied and said he had less encouragement from you than the two former Chief Governors, Lord Berkeley and Essex, which I observed Lord Essex did not like. Another thing was that one Father Ronan Maginn would have made a discovery to you, as the said Maginn told him, but you, instead of hearkening of him, got him sent beyond sea, where he died. He brought the King into the Plot with you. He complained also of your usage in relation to Smith and Baker. David Fitzgerald gave great satisfaction to the House and was heard with more attention than anybody except Plunkett, who went beyond our expectation. Fitzgerald appealed to me for to give a character of him, that he might not pass in the world for the other David Fitzgerald, in which I satisfied him and gave him a fair character as I did the contrary of the other Fitzgerald, also Egan. He said something more than he did in his examination before you, which was that a cabal as the confederates told him, was held in relation to the Plot at Dublin, and was told that Col. Fitzpatrick, Sir Edward Scott, Col. Dempsey, Col. Talbot, Peter Talbot, Primate Plunkett and others that he has forgot were amongst them. Upon which we expected that Fitzpatrick would have been secured, and I expected that after all the witnesses were heard, my Lord Shaftesbury would have branched it against you upon that very deposition of Murphy, who, because the House could not understand what he said was allowed to swear a written examination, which he had got a schoolmaster in Southwark to write for him, but it ended in a motion that a conference should be desired with the Commons upon the business of the Irish Plot on Monday next. I must observe to you, and will do it to the House before they send for to have that conference, that though the Committee appointed for these matters have all the papers, examinations and letters transmitted to you, and the Board either to the Secretaries or the Council, they have not read one of them, as their clerk told me this afternoon, but depend upon the witnesses' new examinations. Burke, Macnamara, and Sampson have sworn bloodily against my Lord Anglesey,

but especially Macnamara. By the next post you shall have copies of all their depositions. Sampson swears that my Lord Chancellor hindered him from making discoveries against the Duke by taking him aside, and telling him that he would be undone if he did. This I hinted in my last, but was not sure of it until I heard him swear it this day. Most of them took occasion to appeal to me in their examinations, when if they had thought of looking over the papers transmitted, they might have satisfied themselves. Murphy, Burke and Sampson have all complained against Sir John Davys, whom I advise should come over speedily. My Lord Chancellor nor he have not so great an enemy as my Lord Burlington. I hope you will send him with all things necessary. I will not trouble you farther in this, because I intend to write to himself. My Lord Brittas, Colonel Lacy and Sir John Fitzgerald are ordered to be sent for in custody, and Sir Thomas Southwell because he has a very good estate is only summoned to appear. I trouble not with the journals of either House, those I suppose you have from other hands.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, November 6. Dublin.—I have yours of the 30th of the last, written, as you say, in haste, for the material part I could not perfectly read, nor can I comprehend of whom it is that 373 gives so extraordinary a character. The rest, I think, I guess at with the help of what is out of cipher. If you make use any more of that way of writing, you must take more leisure and care that your figures be plain. I confess the cipher is the worst I ever saw to be written or read. Our narrative goes on but slowly; yesterday I quickened the committee, and they were as well instructed in the method as the Council could do it. What your brother gave in the last Parliament was so far very well done, and sure it may be found if well sought for by the clerk. Here we cannot find it. My Lord Chief Justice Keating says he sent soon after you something he judged might be of use. The two Lords you mention and many more can remember that whilst the foundation of all that is excepted against was laying and the designs brought to conclusions of war and peace, I had no share in the Councils, but had liberty to bowl and play at cards. I believe if you had been prepared for it you might with the King's leave have offered such an account as my Lord Chamberlain would have been glad had been brought in. But tho' proceedings are very quick at the first meeting of the Parliament, yet I cannot doubt but that where anything reflects on men of quality and some repute in the world they will have time to be heard, and tho' an affirmative on oath can hardly be disproved by negative testimony, yet in some cases it may and has been.

If Captain Nichols be my Lord Lovelace's person of great quality and estate tho' it should be sworn the contrary may

be easily proved, I cannot swear that there passed no such thing as Mr. Sampson avers betwixt my Lord Chancellor and him, but I can safely swear I never heard it or of it before, nor did I ever hear the Duke mentioned in all the examinations concerning my Lord Tyrone. I am sure if I had, it had been set down for all the respect I owe His R. H. I knew very well how many there were that envied the place I held that did not like my principles or love my person, and therefore I have carried myself with all the caution I could devise and especially in the matter of the Plot, from the time it was discovered in England and inquired into here. It was my interest as well as my duty to find it out, and if notwithstanding all my pains and industry I cannot make it so plain as I desired and others expected, it will be hard to blame me for it, my life being threatened and all my fortune concerned in the subsistence of the Government and peace of the kingdom under the laws in force. These for the present are only topics for discourse upon occasion, till particulars are brought in question. I long to know what can be said in the eclaircissement. Your mother and son are at Chappell Izard, the boy has a cold. Vernon's affair need not bring him over this term. The enclosed to the Queen is to let Her Majesty know what kind of man my Lord of Fingall is and how unreasonable his calumnies against his wife are. From the first three years of her marriage her father and friends were for a separation, but she always refused their advice, a circumstance I did not mention in my letter, but may be added by you, but before you deliver the letter you are to be directed by my niece Fingall.

Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1680, November 6. London.—I understand (for I have never been able to stir out of doors since I came hither) that my Lord Arran is arrived, if so had your Grace no other correspondent you would be sure to know more from both Court and Parliament than I can write from my confinement to my chamber. So that to spare your Grace's unprofitable pains (not my own, who really glory in any opportunity that may lay me at your Grace's feet) I shall desist giving your Grace any further trouble till either some account of importance occurs to me to provoke me or your Grace's commands enlarge me. If your Grace can invent any sort of service to employ me in as far as my small stock of strength will extend, all pains and care will be delightful to me that may convince your Grace, etc.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, November 6. London.—My Lord Arran has writ your Grace so full an account of his discourse with 418 by Sir Robert Hamilton, and he has also by the enclosed so exactly stated the proceedings in the House of Lords upon

our Irish Plot, that he has left very little for me to add upon either subject. The truth of it is he has in this little time of his being here so bestirred himself, and is believed by all so well to understand the affairs of Ireland, and so able to justify your Grace in your conduct there, that your enemies have been necessitated by their apprehension of it to take new measures and change the method they had designed to run you down by. For since he took his place in the House of Lords there has not been one public flirt at your Grace, whereas before it was every day's entertainment. And now that nothing appears (after all the strict scrutiny has been made) material against you, the matter of the whole examinations of our Irish discovery is at a free conference to be imparted on Monday to the House of Commons, and notwithstanding all this time has been spent in examinations, not one paper of those sent by your Grace and the Council has been perused by the committee, though they were by order of the King and Council lodged with their Lordships, I think, ever since the second day after the Parliament met. And lest the same method may be observed by the Committee of the House of Commons to whom of course this matter may be referred, by my Lord Arran's directions I have now copies writing out of all those papers which are necessary for your Grace's justification, which shall be dispersed amongst your Grace's friends in the House of Commons to be made use of as occasion serves. I have this day advanced so far towards my journey for Ireland as to send away all my things but my clothes upon my back. But it will be Thursday before I shall leave this place, because my Lady Donegal has for some reasons, which I shall acquaint your Grace when I have the honour to kiss your hands, desires me to stay till then, and if she proves as kind as I hope she will it will be worth my staying a few days And besides I shall have the satisfaction of knowing in a great measure how our Irish matters will affect the House of Commons. David Fitzgerald, I doubt, has occasioned a new trouble to Col. Fitzpatrick, having informed the House of Lords that he was told at Limerick, when the Plot was in agitation there, there was a meeting in Dublin in order to it by Col. Talbot, Col. Fitzpatrick, Sir Edward Scott, Col. Dempsey, Peter Talbot and Plunkett. But he added that he did not say this of his own knowledge and could tell it only by hearsay. Plunket has deceived all men living, for he told his tale with modesty and confidence enough and without any manner of hesitation or consternation, and when he was asked in the presence of Mr. Murphy whether he had not told him that your Grace had given him money, he denied it positively, and said he was so far from receiving money or any kindness from your Grace that he had received far less kindness and civility from your Grace than from the two precedent Governors, my Lord Berkeley and my Lord of Essex, who had both given him money and been very kind and civil to him, and

it was very unlikely he should tell Murphy your Grace had given him money if it had been so, because he knew him to be his professed enemy for depriving him of his parish, in which he lived scandalously and corresponded with the Tories. In fine he told his story with such plainness and simplicity that he left an impression with the Lords to his advantage. When Murphy told their Lordships that my Lord Lieutenant (meaning your Grace) had concealed the discovery of the plot Ronan Magin had made to your Grace from all but the King, by whose order your Grace sent him into France, where he since died, and consequently prevented his discovery; the King told some Lords who were near him he did believe your Grace would be in no plot but with him. Murphy, Burke, Sampson, and Macnamara have all laid load upon Sir Jo. Davys for browbeating and discountenancing them in their examinations. But the last has clawed of my Lord Privy Seal for writing two letters to my Lord Tyrone (which he saw), from the Duke, encouraging him to go on vigorously with the matter in hand, and he added that my Lord Anglesey had so great credit amongst the Papists that they prayed for him at Mass, and he heard his parish priest often pray for him. There is also also some reflection upon my Lord Chief Justice Keating, Sir Richard Reynell, and Sir William Davys, but whether it will be so far improved against them as that they will be sent for I, who am now without doors, cannot tell. In my last I told your Grace what Sampson has said against my Lord Chancellor, but in one circumstance was misinformed, for the discourse which Sampson affirms upon his oath to have had with him concerning the Duke it seems was not in your Grace's closet. By the votes or journals which Mr. Mulys sends your Grace you will be informed how far the House of Commons have proceeded in the Bill against the Duke, and how likely Presbytery is to come in play again. This day Col. Legge told me that he shall soon surrender his government of Portsmouth to the Duke of Albemarle.

Ormond to the Earl of Sunderland.

1680, November 7. Dublin Castle.—I have received the directions of the Lords of the Committee of the 27th October for the sending over the Earl of Tyrone and Plunkett, the pretended titular Primate of Ireland. The latter I find by letters of the 30th October was arrived there, and the Earl of Tyrone shall be sent as required as soon as the papers commanded at the same time to be transmitted shall be copied, tho' I believe there is nothing concerning the accusation against his Lordship and the proceedings thereupon but has been sent either to Mr. Coventry whilst he was Secretary of State or to your Lordship since, and it appears by your several letters to me not only that they were received by you, but that they were communicated to the Lords of the Council; nor hath

this method been observed in that case alone, but whatever else hath come to my knowledge by way of discovery ever since we had first notice of the Popish Plot, hath constantly been made known by me to the Privy Council here, and from thence sent to your Lordship or to Mr. Coventry, wherein we have not omitted to transmit the slightest informations given to us, because that, tho' they might appear to us frivolous and insignificant, yet we did not know how far they might give light to or receive strength from what was informed in England. So that whatever may in any degree concern the Plot and came to our knowledge I suppose is to be found among your Lordship's or Mr. Coventry's papers, and possibly in the office of the clerks of the Council, which I do not mention to save pains here (for we are upon collecting and putting together a methodical deduction of all that hath come to our knowledge and been done by us in relation to the Plot), but that in case there should be present use of any of those examinations or other papers sent from us it may be known where they may be found. The very last information given us, which took rise from one David Nash, hath been sent your Lordship with all that has or could yet be done by us upon it. How far further we may thereupon be led to more discoveries I cannot tell, till one called D. Leryne shall be brought hither or further examined in the country, if he be no ways able to travel as he pretends.

ORMOND to COL. JOHN FITZPATRICK.

1680, November 7. Dublin.—This is the first letter I have gone about to write to you since we parted, nor have I had any from you but one in behalf of Groninx, the Dutchman, who is now planted at Carrick, and has set up his looms, but is fallen into some trouble by attempting to transport wool under the notion of Caddowes, upon which nicety there will be a dispute betwixt the Farmers and him. The question will be whether raw or manufactured. I have long wished you of our Church and as long wondered you were not, being master of so much reason; but my business is not to flatter you or reproach all others that remain in the other communion. If you were a good witness in my concerns you could acquit me of being a Papist or Popishly affected, if there were any certain mark set upon Popishly affected, that is that I was not so when you left me, and since there has no great temptation appeared to change me. The account you have given of my coming into the Government is truer than in one particular I wish it were, for if my Lord of Danby would have permitted me to serve my master, as many would have appeared for the King as for my Lord Treasurer, which was not always the distribution. I am extremely prepared to improve the friendship you say I may have with my Lord Sunderland, wherein you cannot oblige me more than to be as instrumental as you can.

Ormond to Col. Edward Cooke.

1680, November 7. Dublin.—I have received four or five of your letters and have made no return to them, which I confess to be a fault, and such as would discourage a less affectionate correspondent. To the letter that seemed to dismiss your first overture I have nothing to say but that I was in the disposition I told you to entertain it, and shall still have respect to the family. I have since been put upon another proposition of the like nature, but till we shall be further entered into it I forbear to explain myself. Then you are like to be of my council. Your last but that of the 2nd of this month gave me much apprehension of indisposition, neither your style or character being such as was usual; I hope you will gather strength every day, but rather than you should not, I would be content to lose the satisfaction of your letters for a time. I am told of twenty crimes at least I am to be charged with, and that Sir Henry Ingoldsby is to make good many of them. I know not how pertinently he may swear, but I never heard him say anything to the purpose in my life. Your kinsman Gustavus is a very diligent good young man, and if I may have a little time and opportunity I mean to let him see I have that opinion of him. I wish you good health with all my heart. If you stay in town I am sure my son Arran will be glad to compare notes with you. I pray let me know what you have heard of my grandson's being engaged to a wench in the way of marriage at Oxford. The report has been raised without the least colour, by whom or for what end I cannot imagine.

Ormond to the Earl of Arran.

1680, November 7. Dublin.—The packet bringing letters of the 2nd instant is just now come, but in it I find no letter from you; perhaps you had nothing to say but what you knew I should have from other hands. My Lord Longford regrets much the want of a narrative, as apprehending that Sir H. Ingoldsby's informations will be swallowed without examination; for my part I know not what he can say, if nobody help his invention, that can reflect on anybody here. However, I hope this packet may carry an account of the most material things that have been informed of and proceeded upon in relation to the Plot, namely, all that concerns my Lord of Tyrone and the titular Primate, and their trials will, I suppose, be first gone upon, they being sent for. What remains shall soon follow. I send you the copy of my letter to my Lord Sunderland which I thought needful you should have by you. I have no more time or matter.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, November 9. London.—I had this afternoon yours of the 30th of the last and one of the 1st instant. I have

nothing more to say concerning the Plot, the business being now before the Commons, but I was informed that Sir Henry Ingoldsby desired to put in articles against you, but Sir Richard Stephens informs me to the contrary. With much ado I got the Lords to give all the papers relating to Ireland to the Commons yesterday at a conference, and those sent over by Sir John Davys, and tho' I could not get our House to read them your friends have promised to get them all read. At the House of Commons yesterday at the committee I gave an account of David Nash and Stokes and told my Lord Shaftesbury, who was in the chair, how they had disowned their deposition. He said he did not wonder at it when the Chancellor and Sir John Davys took the examinations. I answered that my Lord Chancellor was not there, but said that all the depositions taken in relation to the Plot were as impartially taken as ever his lordship took any, to which he made no reply, neither has he ventured to have a fling at you since my being in the House, and I thank God I have overcome the awe of speaking there. Others, I hope, will do me right in informing your Grace whether I have done my endeavours to serve you as I ought in this conjuncture.

As to the business of the bailiwick of Westminster, I am afraid you will scarce prove a title to it, and the King is resolved to turn out Stroud; and he is resolved to complain to the House, and though I have no authority from you, yet I am so much more concerned for your honour than your profit that I shall venture to make a composition to the satisfaction of all parties, and get you some money too, though not so much as you had bargained for, and this my Lord Chamberlain approves of. The man is to come to me to-morrow about it, and by the next you shall have a full account of my proceeding in it, which, I hope, you will justify me in.

I was commanded to attend His Majesty at the Council this afternoon with a list of the officers of the army, which I gave in, but no alteration was made. I have it in command to inform your Grace what alterations and reducements are resolved upon, and will be sent you next post, and I must be bold to say that I saved my Lord Chancellor's 1,000*l.* pension by what I said on his behalf, and therefore I hope he will not believe the reports here that to save you I would forsake him. The reducements are half the pensions, three of the Commissioners of Appeals (I would have saved George Wild, but it would not be granted.) The creation money, the 5,000*l.* you had, Sir Robert Hamilton's 200*l.* per annum. The King allows 8,000*l.* of the Windsor money, and I can remember no more. I moved the King that some powder should be sent over, which His Majesty has promised to give order in. The remaining part of the Scotch Regiment when recruited are to be sent to Tangier, and those of our army are to return. When they arrive there you are with what

speed you can to find out the best way to have men from hence to supply the place of those that are defective, and such orders will be sent you as you shall desire. I found everybody at the Board very friendly to you. The reducements I mentioned are to be but for a year.

When I came to look into my wife's accounts I found she had spent in four months 1,200*l.*, which is no small inconvenience to me; but she is so very sensible of her fault in it that I have not been so severe as perhaps another would have been in my place.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, November 9. London.—My Lord Arran gives your Grace so exact an account of his own endeavours and the success he has in your Grace's service, that he leaves nothing for me to write, and really he is so dexterous in everything he undertakes here that all the rest of your Grace's servants are become useless to you, for he leaves nothing for us to do. The Irish Plot is now before the Commissioners, where your Grace's friends are both instructed and resolved to defend you if any attack be made upon your Grace there. The journal of both Houses which Mr. Mulys sends your Grace will inform your Grace of the proceedings better than any man who is without doors can do. This afternoon the Committee, to whom the examination of the complaint against Sir George Jefferyes was referred, has voted that by his discountenancing of the petitions for the meeting of the Parliament he has betrayed the rights and privileges of the people of England, which, when it's reported to the House, your Grace may easily judge what will be his doom. I intend this shall be the last letter I shall write to your Grace from hence, resolving to leave this place this week. The Duke's reception in Scotland has been very great and splendid, and much beyond what it was formerly.

Earl of Conway to Ormond.

1680, November 9. London.—I have had the honour to receive your Grace's letter of the 1st inst., and I have constantly attended at the Committee of Examinations especially about the Irish affairs, but nothing hath occurred that can any way reflect upon your Grace. My Lord Anglesey is charged home by Sampson and Macnamara for two letters written to my Lord of Tyrone, and had the confidence yesterday to deliver them at a conference to the House of Commons with this raillery, that they would find his name mentioned in them, to which they replied that if they did they would not abate him an ace. The House of Commons hath had a new evidence before them this morning, one Turberville, as I take it, who hath convinced many; and my cousin Seymour, who hath always believed as little of the Plot as any man, told

me that this man had removed all his scruples and objections: he affirms positively that my Lord Powis and my Lord Stafford would have engaged him to kill the King.

The Bill against the Duke is not yet past the House of Commons, and 'tis certain it will not pass the House of Lords; for by the largest computation they are but thirty of the temporals which will be for it, and my Lord of Sunderland and my Lord of Essex must be reckoned into the number to make them so many, and we shall be fifty now sitting against it, besides the bishops.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, November 13. Dublin.—Since my last to your Grace I am informed that the Irish witnesses have been all heard before the House of Commons, and that Mr. Hetherington, being asked what he had to say, could inform nothing of the Plot, but did inform them of the miscarriages of the Government, and that was what Sir Henry Ingoldsby discoursed in the coffee houses. I need not endeavour to take copies of what they all have informed, for they have leave from the House to print their informations; all that I can guess at concerning you is that it will be pressed hard that an address should be made to His Majesty for your removal, and I cannot assure you but that they may compass it; as for any impeachment I am morally assured it is not intended. I have reason to believe that 932 is willing you should be removed, for he yesterday advised your throwing up; but matters are not gone so far yet, there being nothing yet resolved upon, and I hope before they come to the debate of the matter your narrative will come over. The main thing that sticks is the proclamation about disarming the Papists.

My Lord Clarendon desired me very earnestly to write to you about Dick Bealing, who he says has 700*l.* due to him from Mr. Warren upon the account of rent, and can get no remedy, tho' he has judgment against him by reason of his being sheriff last year, and he hears it to be so this. He desires you would not be prevailed with to do it; I think I spoke on his behalf, but knew nothing of this. Since there are to be three Commissioners of Appeals left, and it is likely the naming all but Sir Charles Meredith will be left to you, I think myself bound to put you in mind of Mr. Gwyn, who is very much your friend here. Burlington is 920 379 a knave to you and i suspect I le L to 76 425 725 45 60 42 84 50 275 431 160 41 74 418. I hear Sir Robert Southwell is come over, but I have not yet seen him.* I leave Sir James Butler to give you an account of Stroud, who has not been with me since I writ concerning this matter, but he is such a knave that we must be very wary how to deal with him, especially since I am satisfied the taking money for that employment cannot be justified.

* The equivalents of this cipher are in Ormond's hand, but scarcely legible.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to ORMOND.

1680, November 13. Whitehall.—I did not write to your Grace last post to give you an account of some matters the King had that day resolved upon concerning Ireland, because my Lord of Arran charged himself with doing it. The enclosed order will now particularly inform you of some part of the King's mind. His Majesty intends to send you some further directions relating to the army, which you may expect by the next post. I have your Grace's and the Council's letter of the 30th past, with several informations which are, by the King's order, sent to the House of Lords.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 13. London.—A cause upon which I was on Thursday last to have had a hearing in the Exchequer, being at the Barons' request to me then in Court put off till Monday next, I am by that means necessitated to break my word with your Grace in giving you the trouble of another letter from hence, for while I am here I esteem myself obliged to give your Grace an account of what occurs to me.

The Bill against the Duke passed in the House of Commons on Thursday last, but it is not yet carried up to the Lords, where it is believed it will never pass as it is now penned. Yesterday the Lord Mayor called a Common Council, where they agreed upon an address to His Majesty, which my Lord Mayor presented last night. The purport of it was to thank His Majesty for the meeting of the Parliament and by it His Majesty's care of the Protestant religion, and it ended in a request to His Majesty that he would be advised by his Parliament. His Majesty returned his thanks to them for their care of the Protestant religion, which he assured them he would support, and needed not to be put in mind of it by petitions and addresses (or words to this purpose). He told them they meddled in things that did not belong to them, and wished them to have a care of some incendiaries amongst them who were disaffected to the Government and endeavoured to make divisions between him and his people. This, I am told, was the substance of what His Majesty said, for I was not then in Court. The Bill for prohibition of the Irish cattle, butter, cheese, hides and tallow passed the Commons on Thursday and this day passed the Lords. On Thursday Hethrington was before the Commons, and though he did not own himself to be a discoverer of the Plot, of which he understood nothing but from others, yet he took upon him to discourse largely of the state of Ireland, and fell very foul upon your Grace, saying you were the centre of all the conspirators (as a very worthy member of the House told me). Mr. Murphy followed him, and repeated the same discourse he made before the Lords and mentioned your Grace as he had done formerly. But Mr. Fitzgerald has given a very good account of your Grace and the Government there in the story

he told. And except him the former persons, Mr. Sampson, Burke, and Macnamara have all laid load upon Sir Jo. Davys and the three last upon Sir William Davys and Sir Richard Reynell. My Lord Chancellor has had the good luck not to be named by any of them before the Commons. They are all ordered to print their narratives and to choose their printers. The House of Commons have not yet had any debate upon the Irish Plot, but it is thought that within a few days hence they will take Ireland into their consideration. This day the House of Commons with their Speaker attended His Majesty with their address in answer to the message sent them the other day by Sir Lyollin Jenkins, which His Majesty received, and, rising up from his chair, put it up into his pocket and walked away to the park without saying one word to them. This day the Commons have voted an address to His Majesty for the turning Sir George Jefferyes out of his place of Chief Justice of Chester. On Thursday one Turbivill confessed before the House of Commons that my Lord Stafford had offered him money to kill the King; and this day one Lewis accused my Lord Arundel of having offered him money the day before he was committed to kill the King. The Commons yesterday by a message desired the Lords to appoint a day for the trial of my Lord Stafford, and I think their Lordships have appointed Tuesday come fortnight for it.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, November 16. London.—Yesterday was a great day of a debate in the House of Lords concerning the Bill of excluding the Duke. The House sat till ten o'clock at night, and about that time came to the question and carried that the Bill should be rejected. For the reading the Bill the second time there were thirty, for the throwing it out sixty-five, of which number there were fourteen bishops, which was all that were on that Bench. The thirty Lords that were for the Bill this morning entered their protestation, amongst which number was the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Newport, Lord Manchester, Lord Dorset, Earl of Essex and Lord Suffolk. The Earl of Halifax opposed it with great vigour. The House of Commons this day met and adjourned till to-morrow morning without doing anything. The House of Lords were this day upon finding out expedients to prevent or restrain a Popish successor. Several propositions were made: one for an Act of Association like that in Queen Elizabeth's time; another for limitations to a Popish successor, thereby making him incapable of doing prejudice either to religion or property; another for making void the King's marriage with the Queen, and banishing the Duke of York for the King's life; all which proposals were adjourned till to-morrow.

On Sunday in the evening Prince Philip of Savoy, younger brother to the Count Soissons, and Monsieur Sissack fell out at play in the Duchess of Modarine's [? Mazarine's] lodgings,

and Prince Philip in the room wounded Sissack in several places, particularly through the side of his belly, of which he now lies ill without hopes of recovery. The Duchess of Southampton died this morning of the smallpox.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, November 16. London.—I shall trouble your Grace with little this post. The journals of Parliament do contain all that is worth your knowledge. The names of the Lords who were for the Bill of Exclusion I have given my Lord Longford, who is now by me, and will more at large entertain you. I am often alarmed with an impeachment to be brought in against you, but can find no certainty of the matter yet, but I am very confident that you will be attacked; for since the Bill against the Duke was thrown out, all those who are looked upon as friends to him will be struck at, and of that number you are reckoned. I think it therefore worth your considering whether you should not ask the King's leave to come over if you are accused, with power to leave such as he shall approve of until you return either by way of Deputy or Justices. In this I have consulted my Lord Chamberlain.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680, November 16. Dublin.—I have for a post or two forborn to write to anybody in England for want of matter to write of, there being at this time three packets at Holyhead in which very important advertisements are reasonably to be expected, the opening of the first session of this Parliament having produced votes that prognosticate high determinations. God send they prove prosperous to the public whoever in particular may suffer by them. Our narrative is at last brought to a conclusion, all to the writing, but the labour of that is great: yet it was necessary to justify all that is affirmed by authentic pieces adjoined. Whether all our pains may not come too late I cannot tell, but sooner it could not be done. Mr. Fitzgerald and Sir Oliver St. George were now of opinion that none should be sent, tho' their own hands were to a former narrative of what had till then passed on the same subject, but why or by what arguments they are prevailed upon to change their opinion did not appear to me.

I hear that one Samuel Rolls (a rich man, they say) is brought into trouble for so cruelly beating a maid servant of his that she died in a short time after. Whether he be really guilty of the fact or others of wrongfully accusing him is like to be determined by law: in the meantime it may not be fit His Majesty should be surprised upon any application for his pardon.

Postscript.—November 18.—Last night I received yours of the 2nd by Sir Robert Hamilton and those of the 6th and 9th by the post. Sir John Davys gives you an account himself of

his preparation for his voyage. I think he will go hence with good attestations from the Council. Of what force they will be, I know not. The several orders you mention when they come shall be put in execution with all the expedition they are capable of. I have not time to say more now.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 16. London.—Though I confess I have not any business now in this place, yet matters being now brought near a crisis, I cannot for my life quit for two or three days till I see how affairs will go. Yesterday the Bill for excluding the Duke from the succession was carried up by my Lord Russell to the Lords, who being then in a debate upon my Lord Peterborough, against whom Dangerfield had given evidence (as he had some time before to the Commons) and upon that evidence motions were made for his being committed to the Black Rod, after the Bill was received by their Lordships the debate was again resumed. My Lord Peterborough made an handsome defence for himself, and in the close of discourse said he hoped their Lordships would not in the case of a peer receive the testimony of Dangerfield, who appeared so notoriously scandalous a person upon record that the Judges of Westminster Hall would not admit his evidence even against Mrs. Cellier, and then he withdrew. The debate upon the question of his commitment lasted two hours, by which time those who were for his commitment perceiving they could not carry it, and consequently might hazard the baffling of Dangerfield's evidence, chose to let fall the debate, and,my Lord Peterborough. was called in again to his place. After this the Bill against the Duke was immediately read, and the debate upon it lasting seven hours in a grand committee, the chief part of the debate and argument was between my Lord Shaftesbury and my Lord Halifax, and in conclusion the question being put at eleven at night the Bill was rejected, upon the division there being only thirty Lords for the Bill who are now Protestors, and whose names I now send your Grace enclosed. The Commons being surprised at this miscarriage of their Bill, as soon as the Speaker took the chair this morning, they immediately adjourned till to-morrow morning.

The Lords this morning fell upon expedients to secure the Protestant religion and supply the place of the Bill which was rejected. My Lord Halifax proposed the banishing of the Duke for five years out of the King's presence, and from his person in case the King lived so long. My Lord Shaftesbury proposed a divorce of the Queen for a reason, and instanced in the old story of the French Ambassador concerning the treaty of a marriage between the French King and her which did not succeed, because she was said to be incapable of bearing children. But I do not find that either of those propositions have yet taken place. But a third proposition

for an association of Lords and Commons for the security of the King's life, etc., is entertained, as your Grace will find by the proceedings in the Lords' House, which Mr. Mulys sends your Grace, to which I refer.

Moyer, Callaghan and Henan are come to town and are in Mr. Hethrington's conduct, and, I hear, do intend to reflect upon your Grace for not using them well, but discouraging them when they were sent for hither to give their testimony, and treating them worse when they were sent back.

THOMAS OTWAY, BISHOP OF OSSORY, to ORMOND.

1680, November 17.—I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace that one Paul Higgin, a priest of the Romish Church, and lately a vicar general in the diocese of Killala, is now with me and hath left that Church and come to ours. I have known him ever since I was in Connaught and have discoursed and disputed with him. He is of an unquestionable conversation and of much more learning than generally their priests are, though I believe not of more than a man may well bear. He is very poor, and if your Grace should think fit to allow him some pension till something might be gotten for him, it might encourage others to come in. I hear, but am not certain of it, that there is a salary in the college for one that can translate into Irish practical books of divinity, Latin or English, adequated to the understanding of the poorer Irish. He would be very fit for that, having a competent knowledge of those three languages and writing a better Irish character than I have else seen.

If your Grace's leisure will permit to read a little further, I shall give your Grace a short account of our past and present scuffles here. No Jews or Turks could have used me worse than the Mayor and Corporation of Kilkenny. They have not carried themselves in it like tolerable heathens, and I might with greater reason think that Socrates and Cato go to heaven than an alderman of Kilkenny. But besides the justice of my cause, which hath been upheld for more than 200 years against them, as I can make good by papers in my own hands, I have this comfort, that I have excellent company, this sort of cattle using their horns against the nobility as well as the clergy. As soon as this affair is over they will as certainly return to their old animosities, as the cold and hot fits of an ague succeed each other. I most humbly beg your Grace's pardon for this. God Almighty preserve your Grace.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN BANKS RELATING TO PAPERS FOUND ON PATRICK FLEMING.

The examination of John Banks, gent., who being sworn and examined saith that he is a horseman in Sir Wm. Tichborn's troop and several years quartered at Ardee, saith that he was on that party that killed Patrick Fleming about

the 14th of February, 1677, near Eniskeen, in the county of Monaghan, being commanded by Quartermaster Thomas Parke, quartermaster of the said troop, where the said Fleming with seven men more of his associates in rebellion were cut off by the said party after the exchange of several shots and hurt done on both sides; that he was present when one John Green, of the said troop, took out of the pocket of the said Fleming, after he was killed, several papers, among which was a letter signed Thomas Cox and superscribed for Mr. Manus O'Quin, bearing date the 31st of January, 1677, which original letter was delivered to the examinant's father, then one of the portreeves of Ardee, by the said Green, and was given by this examinant to Mr. Serjeant Osborne about three weeks after, a copy whereof about eight days since he, this examinant, inclosed in a letter to the said Serjeant Osborne, who had formerly desired the examinant to make search for the same; and further saith that this examinant took an exact copy with his own hand of the said letter, which he last sent as aforesaid to Serjeant Osborne, and the paper now showed unto him is the said copy so by him taken and written with his own hand, which he verily believeth to be an exact copy of the original letter before mentioned, he being present when his father took the first copy thereof and perused and subscribed the same as a true copy; and saith there was among the aforementioned papers taken one that had the shape of a foot, and called the print of our Lady's foot, with this further observation, that whoever had the same about him and should say certain Pater Noster and Ave Mar' should that day be set free, or to that effect; being asked why he so long detained the said letter as three weeks without bringing it to a magistrate, he saith that it was not thought so material until it was by his said father remembered that the titular Primate Oliver Plunkett went by the name of Cox, which was seconded by several of the country, whose names he remembers not. And further saith not.

Jo. Banks.

Taken and sworn before us the 17th of November, 1680.
Hen. Midensis. Ca. Dillon.

Examination of Sir Wm. Tichborn relating to papers found on Patrick Fleming.

1680, November 18.—Who being duly sworn and examined saith that when a party of his men about the 14th of February, 1677, had killed Patrick Fleming, a Tory, there were several papers brought unto him by John Greene, one of this examinant's troopers, which, he said, were taken out of the pockets of the said Fleming, and were only loose and inconsiderable notes, one of which said to have the shape of our Lady's foot, and a few days after Mr. Samuel Banks, one of the portreeves of Atherdee, showed this examinant a certain

letter which the said Banks told him was taken out of the pocket of the said Fleming, which letter this examinant saw delivered to Mr. Serjeant Osborne, and verily believeth that the copy now sworn to and subscribed by John Banks is a true copy thereof, for that he, this examinant,, read the said original, and further saith that the general vogue of the country was that Oliver Plunkett, titular Primate, sometimes assumed the name of Thomas Cox, which was the reason that the aforesaid letter subscribed by the said Thomas Cox was sent to Serjeant Osborne as aforesaid, and further saith not.

Will. Tichborn.

Taken the day aforesaid before us
Hen. Midensis. Ca. Dillon.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680, Nov. 19. Dublin.—I think mine of yesterday and of a former date will be overtaken by this, and own the receiving last night of yours of the 13th. The throwing up advised by 932 would conveniently save him the trouble of appearing against an address or the reproach of not doing it. Perhaps he supposes it may prevent an impeachment, having found that one way or another my remove will be attempted. All I can say at present in justification of the proclamation for disarming the Papists is contained in the paper inclosed, saving that it was with the full approbation and advice of a numerous Council at that time assembled. I do not find that by the order of Council it leaves it to me to determine which of the Commissioners of Inspection shall be continued, and I wish it may be done in England. Of six there are but three to continue, and I think the competition must fall betwixt Sir Robert Hamilton, Mr. Gwyn and Mr. Wild. For the present I believe I shall leave Sir Charles Meredith and Sir John Topham in the execution of the trust, suspend four of the six, and stay for His Majesty's declaration who shall be the third. Sir Robert Hamilton was a supernumerary introduced more to gratify him than for the necessity of the service. Mr. Gwyn was one of the first, but never attended the service. Mr. Wild has been often and of late constantly here. The sixth is, I think, Wm. Ellis, and is not to receive any salary till a vacancy. If it prove so 900*l.* a year cannot be saved upon that article unless all the other three be suspended.

I could not imagine but that your brother's body had been buried with the rites of the Church. It is fit it should be done in the manner you propose. I know nothing of the Gent. of the Horse, but they say he was never with my son upon any expedition, and served him but a little while. However, I shall not interpose in the matter. I am loth to give Fitzpatrick's plan away only on a report that he has another. I had forgot Sir John Hanmer was to be one of

the four to be for the present suspended and then let them make their application. I have heard nothing from Sir James Butler concerning Strode or his place. I think it will be best to let that matter rest till a fitter time.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 20. London.—I had on Wednesday last your Grace's letters of the 6th and 7th instant, and am much concerned that you could not understand what I writ in cipher in mine of the 30th of the last month, for I took all the care I could not to commit any mistake, therefore I conclude the cipher is not well copied. You may judge by the little I now write 267 379 734 34 71 59. I confess I cannot so well answer for myself in another particular which is the not keeping copies of my letters, but I shall take the pains to do it hereafter, for I find my letter of the 2nd was not come to your hands, tho' one of the same date from my Lord Longford was, and tho' I remember it was a long one, yet for want of a copy I cannot remember the contents, but because I was informed letters were often opened, I sent mine with my Lord Longford's. I think it worth while to enquire into the matter, for I am confident my letter was not intercepted in this place. I have been and am still ready to make the best use I can of those heads or topics you mention with some others when occasion offers, but your enemies were aware of that and therefore would not bring any accusation before our House. The narrative my Lord Chief Justice sent soon after me will in my judgment serve the turn whenever it will be thought fit to read it better than that Mr. Gascoigne has sent me this post by your order, because it mentions so many enclosed papers which are not to be found, and if they were, a buttress of that length will scarce be perused as the world now goes. My Lord Chamberlain has it now to read and his advice I will take in the matter. I have reason to believe that most of the papers transmitted by the Government were sent by the principal Secretary of State to the Parliament with his perusing them, and by what I can learn his Lordship has not yet acquainted His Majesty or the Board with your letter to him of the 7th. You will find by the journals of our House that Tuesday next is appointed to enquire how those in employment stand affected, and then it is likely you may be brought upon the stage as a friend to the Duke. My Lady Fingall desiring to deliver the letter you sent me, I gave it to her, and the first opportunity I will say what you command.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 20. London.—With great joy I resume my pen, being empowered so to do by your Grace's commission under your own hand of the 7th inst., which coming not to mine till Wednesday night I could not till this post reduce

this my duty into practice. I shall begin with the consideration of your Grace's letter that no important particular may escape unanswered. And in the first place, now I am convinced that your Grace accepts of my service and that my letters get safe to your hands, it is enough to oblige my constant writing without your Grace's undergoing any further trouble, not to answer only to read what I write, unless your Grace shall have any commands to honour me with. As for that unequal overture I once hastily made, I do confess the partial opinion I had for my niece and then the danger her brother was in (since perfectly recovered) betrayed me into that well-meant misguided presumption; I suspect some of her friends are about to betray her into no great happiness by laying out their interest to promote Tom. Thinne's addresses, against which I have with great positiveness bore my testimony, as I had done before (and with better success) against the Hamilton Lord Aran when he fancied himself sure of her. I most heartily wish that young Lord who promises so fair to tread in the upright steps of both grandfather and father amongst all other happiness that of the best wife these dominions will afford, which tempted my pen in one of my letters to mention the new widow Ogle, but wherever your Grace shall think fit to lay that scene and think me worthy of having a part, I shall act with the greatest vigour imaginable, as thinking it the greatest honour imaginable to be owned by your Grace and commanded on so important a service. I cannot deny but I was once alarmed that his little lordship had been too prodigal in disposing his person to the cook or butler's daughter of the college he was of, and that one Spencer was the reporter. I sought diligently, but could never find out this Spencer, nor any provocation for the report, tho' both Sir John Doyly and myself were curiously nice in our scrutiny into the matter. But when we found there was not the least shadow of truth in the thing (for the Bishop himself escaped not our inquiry) I thought it impertinent to trouble your Grace with a false alarm, rather choosing to act my diligence in stopping their mouths who I found opened to repeat it. As for your Grace's numerous guilts I have not yet met with Sir Hen. Ingoldsby, and so do not know his romances, but all others were collected by shamd infences from some Irish examinations at the Lords' Bar by such, not who believed them so, but would have had them so whose keen edges are at present blunted. As for my own health I dare not be too bold in boasting of it yet, having had my former hopes so often frustrated by unexpected and unaccountable relapses which have confined me within the walls of my chamber ever since I came into it (which happening, by my Lord Norreys' favour who hath taken the whole house and allows me a room in it, to be in the old palace yard at one Captain Beale's house, the members of both houses are so charitable to me as to divert me with the accounts of the

daily proceedings in both. I must gratefully acknowledge the matter is much mended with me (especially within these two past days) since the time that for three fits together I could neither understand another or express myself, only my compassionate visitors could since tell me my tongue ran apace, often mentioning your Grace, but without any coherence, and very probably the weakness of my head and hand betrayed in one of my letters was the effect of one of those three fits, being eager too soon to pay my duty to your Grace. It is no small comfort to me to read my poor child Gustavus so well thought on by your Grace. I am better pleased that he retains your Grace's favour than if he should obtain preferment. Emboldened by your Grace's mentioning my Lord Arran, I have sent my humble suit to his Lordship that at his best leisure either coming to or going from the House he would do me the honour to call on me, that by his conduct I may be managed in your Grace's service, than which nothing can be more delightful to me. I am commanded by my worthy landlord, my Lord Norreys, to assure your Grace he is your admirer and humble servant.

How furiously this week began I presume is now no news. That my Lord Russell, attended with a crowd of members, handed up the Bill against the D. Y. from the Commons House to the Lords, where it is thought it had longer slept had it not been wakened by an assurance derived from the Duchess of P[ortsmouth], Secr. Sund[erland] and Mr. Godol[phin] that it would infallibly pass, fifty-five votes being secured and His Majesty contrived into a passive neutrality. It was no sooner landed in the Lords' House but it had the preference and laid by all other business. And immediately the debate began. The little great champion for it was my back friend; his duellist was my Lord Halifax, who (say some) did so outdo his usual parts (tho' constantly very great) that by the strength of his argument he cleared many eyes (purblinded by prepossession), to vote against the Bill. *Three particulars I have heard repeated as wholly unprovided for by this Bill and yet unanswered.* 1. *The lopping off of the whole kingdom of Scotland, whose fatal consequences wanted not due illustration.* 2*dly. What if the Princess of Orange should refuse to assume her father's seat during his life* (*no very unreasonable conjecture*), *who then should be King?* 3. *Should the Princess accept, be crowned Queen and established in the throne, and after the Duke should have a son, what then?* Small circumstances unforeseen and consequently unprovided for; but it seems when the Q. at 9 at night past, 63 were convinced of the improperness, nay impracticallency of the Bill, and only 30 pertinaciously espoused it. Next morning the Commons met and in great formality by their Mace summoned in all their gowned members from the several Bars; but Sir Jo. Hotham moving that a longer time was necessary to recollect themselves from this amazing consternation, they immediately adjourned

till next morning. The Lords spent Tuesday on proposing expedients in lieu of the Bill as effectual and more practicable. Many were brought in then and more since, but Monday next is appointed for them to be debated. To say truth, as many are pertinent so very many are otherwise, rather invented to obstruct than proposed as proper materials for a Bill. I perceive the wisest gape after a prorogation, if but for two days, which will once again bring either the old Bill or a worse on the stage, it being expected that many who were then resolute would now face about. But I neither believe they would find one changeling as to the Bill nor that they will be gratified with such a prorogation, whence an inclination in the King might be too naturally inferred should he administer such an opportunity for its reinforcement. As for the Commons' proceedings since, the printed votes publish them: they hotly ordered two addresses, one in answer to the King's message about Tangier, the other for the removal of my Lord Halifax out of the King's presence and Council, but coolly pursue those votes, which, tho' passed on Wednesday, are not yet perfected; all the allegation against the Lord arises (they own) only from common fame that he advised for dissolutions and prorogations, etc. Nor have the Lords done much since Monday, as if they took time to recover breath again. Public expedients and private trials have spun out most of their morning light; only this morning my Lord Peterborough (who was accused by Mr. Dangerfield's last evidence and that entered) craved his defence might stand entered also. After a long debate it was submitted to the consideration of a Committee. Their Lordships have also referred it to a Committee to exempt Protestant dissenters from the penalties of the Acts calculated against Papists. In the Commons House this day the Bill to inhibit Scotch cattle was carried but by four votes. They have also committed Sir Robert Holt and Mr. Stapley (both gowned men and Justices of Berkshire) for the heinous sin, discouraging petitioners and being abhorrers. They have also impeached Mr. Seymour (the quondam Speaker) of four articles, chiefly for embezzling and purloining the King's revenue, who hath till Thursday to put in his answer. He seems little startled at it. The foremen of several abhorring juries are sent for up in custody, some as far as Somersetshire and Devonshire. Where 'twill end, God knows.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 20. London.—Since my last to your Grace the House of Commons have voted an address to His Majesty for the removing my Lord Halifax for ever out of his presence and Council. But the address has not yet been presented to his Majesty, nor that against Sir George Jefferyes. This day there were articles of high misdeameanour given into the House by Sir Gilbert Gerard against Mr. Seymour, who is ordered a copy of them and has time till Thursday

next to make answer to them. Those who are his friends say he can make a very good defence for himself and doubt not of his coming off and justifying himself against the accusation.

The obstructors of the petition for the meeting of the Parliament are every day called to an account for their proceedings in that affair, but none yet have had the judgment of the House passed upon them, but Sir George Jefferyes and Sir Francis Wythens. I have reason to fear 579 446 64 725 566 86 27 552 582 59 240 551 736 681 206, our letters to Ormond are opened on that side for I am sure I have taken care to prevent it on this, ever since I have been here, therefore it is worth your Grace's care to look into it. I confess my wife's being now well has encouraged me to stay a few days longer here than I intended, in order to the serving your Grace and my friends there, and having done now all within my poor sphere towards it, I resolve on Wednesday next to set forwards for Ireland.

STATEMENT by Mr. SERGEANT JOHN OSBORNE.

1680, November 20.—When Patrick Fleming, the Tory, was killed, which, to the best of my remembrance, was in the beginning of Lent, 1677, I was in Dublin. Soon after I went to Stacallan, in the county of Meath. There I heard of a letter found in the pocket of the said Fleming at his death which did contain several things very observable, but I remember not at this present from whom I heard the same. I remember that after, but the time I cannot now call to mind. I had discourse with Sir Wm. Tichborne and told him it was fit my Lord Lieutenant should have this letter; that some time after, I being then very shortly to go to Dublin, the letter was brought me to Stacallan by one John Banks, a horseman of Sir Wm. Tichborne's troop, at which time I caused the said John to endorse his name upon it, that suddenly after I went to Dublin, that with the first opportunity after I came there I delivered the said letter to my Lord of Ormond, but neither the time when it was delivered to me nor that in which I gave it to my Lord of Ormond I can by no circumstances yet call to mind. When I gave it my Lord, he seemed to read it and said words to this effect, as I apprehended, that he thought it would have been to the advantage of the country if Fleming had gone out of it, but that there were assurances in that letter he had given no direction for. My Lord gave me back the letter, but before I went out of the room he demanded it again and I returned it, and saw him lay it in a window in his closet in the Castle of Dublin. I never affirmed anything concerning the above related passages materially different from what is here set down.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, November 23.—I am so well settled in my resolutions for Ireland that this day I waited upon His Majesty to kiss

his hand in order to it, and I am now so far advanced in it that I stay now only for a letter which His Majesty promised to write to your Grace, which I hope to receive to-morrow, and on Thursday to begin my journey.

This morning was the first day of the Duke of Buckingham's appearing in the House of Lords, when he moved that a committee of their Lordships might be appointed to meet with a committee of the House of Commons to consider of the expedients proposed and the state of the nation in relation to Popery, which, being debated for at least two hours, upon a division of the House it was carried in the negative, for which were 45, and only 32 for the affirmative. The House of Commons yesterday passed their address against the Earl of Halifax upon a division for the recommitment of it, 101 being for the affirmative and 213 for the negative, but it is not yet presented to His Majesty. I am told this severe proceeding does not abate his Lordship's mettle. This day the House of Commons [sat] where upon the consideration of those Judges who dismissed the Grand Juries were the 14 Lords [who] would have indicted the Duke for a Papist, and 'tis said they have voted them betrayers of the privileges of the people of England. For the rest I must refer your Grace to the journals which are sent your Grace by Mr. Mulys. My Lord Shaftesbury being disabled from attending the House by the gout, which is fallen into his shoulder, the consideration of the Queen's divorce, which was appointed for this day, is put off *sine die* I suppose by this packet my Lord Chamberlain gives your Grace an account how obligingly His Majesty has this day interposed in the treaty for my Lord Ossory's marriage, and I have another obliging story to tell your Grace when I have he honour to kiss your hands. This day His Majesty had an account from Sir Hen. Goodericke, resident at Madrid, that three boats arriving at Malaga from Tangier brought news of a smart encounter between the English and the Moors, wherein the Moors lost 2,000 men killed upon the place, that we lost only 150, that we had taken nine colours, retaken six guns, got the possession of Monmouth fort, which was rebuilding, and that we had filled up all the Moors' trenches, and were then absolute masters of the field the night after the fight when those boats left Tangier; but there was fresh shooting heard the next morning. This happy victory was effected by the conduct of Col. Edward Sackville, who commanded in chief (Sir Palmes Fairborne having been killed by an accidental shot the day before), and the assistance of some Spanish horse who landed from Spain but a day or two before and behaved themselves with great gallantry in the engagement. But there is no advice of this come yet from Tangier. On Saturday His Majesty had advice that the 1,200 men sent to Tangier under the command of Col. Percy Kirbe sailed on Saturday morning by Plymouth, and the wind being for them it is hoped they will arrive there by the end ot this week.

It is believed the Earl of Plymouth is dead there of a bloody flux.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, Nov. 23. Dublin.—It is a good while since I was directed to send over two letters said to be put into my hands, the one by Sir Hans Hamilton sent from a Popish priest or friar in Portugal and found amongst one Dr. Hickey's papers after his death, the other by Mr. Serjeant Osborne; the former by great chance I found and sent to Mr. Secretary Coventry with my letter of the 12th of April last, but the latter I neither could nor can yet find. Both were given me before there was any discovery of the plot. The Portugal letter I made small account of, judging it ridiculous rather than dangerous, and I think it was so esteemed when it was read at Council. Of the other said to be written by Plunkett, the titular Primate, under the name of Cox, to one Quin, found in Fleming, the Tory's, pocket after he was killed, and therefore and for the matter of it conceived to be intended for the said Fleming, I took as little care, supposing it concerned nothing but the sending away of Fleming, who with others his followers and associates did much mischief in those parts they infested. The matter of Fleming's departure by connivance or passport out of the kingdom was in agitation by the means and interposition of Plunket before I came last into Ireland, and, as I suppose, it was in order thereunto that Fleming himself was brought to my Lord of Essex by the present Lord Chief Baron Hene, but Fleming and seven of his accomplices being killed in February, 1677, there was a good end put to that negotiation, and there seemed to me there was no further use of that letter, yet for the further satisfaction of His Majesty and of my Lords of the Council I have caused all the circumstances of finding and disposing of the letter with an attested copy of it to be set down and sworn by those that had any part in it, all which your Lordship will find herewith enclosed to be disposed of as His Majesty shall command.

Postscript.—I have for two or three posts forgot to acquaint your Lordship that Peter Talbot, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, is dead, and that care was taken to have the body looked upon by some that knew him. I have received His Majesty's command for suspending certain payments for a year, signified in your Lordship's of the 13th instant, as also what my son Arran had order to write to me. In both His Majesty's pleasure shall be obeyed in the best manner I can.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 23. London.—I expected that yesterday and this day would have produced great matters, but my Lord Shaftesbury being ill of the gout, as he apprehends, could not

attend the House this day, and therefore the business relating to the Queen is put off. Our great debate this day was whether a committee of both Houses should be desired as you will see in the journals. 45 and 32 was the division, only one bishop in the affirmative, and that was Bath and Wells. The affairs relating to Ireland stand as they did when I writ on Saturday. You may find by this letter that it is more to show your Grace that I will not spare my pains than anything that I have to say worth your trouble. I think I can assure you now that my Lord Longford will leave this place on Thursday next and he will rectify all that I have writ in cypher if you cannot make it out. I wish I had a better.

Mr. Buck cannot hold out long, and I am afraid by what he told me this day, having sent for me on purpose, that he will leave his children in a very ill condition. He spoke of 400*l.* your Grace owed him this many years; he really deserves well from you. He will leave three sons and one daughter; the sons are very ingenious youths, and the daughter a modest young woman.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1680, Nov. 23. London.—Though the Lords had appropriated yesterday merely for the receiving and debating expedients instead of the D. Y. Bill, and in order to so serious an employment had adjourned but till 8 o'clock, yet it so happened that the more diligent members keeping their hour punctually and finding their House too empty for the beginning a work of so great importance, to prevent idleness possessed themselves of a private cause between the widow of Sir Ed. Turner, the late Chief Baron, and his son (on an assurance it would be very short), which lasting till one o'clock, the business of the day was necessitated to be put off till this morning to the great regret of many whose palates were set to relish the discourses of the Queen's insufficiency. His Grace of Buckingham now first appeared, whose miserable looks betray his uncured indispositions. The effect of this disappointment hath antidoted all such removes for the future by an order that all private causes shall only be heard in afternoons. The Lords being met afterwards at the Committee of Examinations had this doubt presented them by the Attorney General. The case thus: upon new evidence old Mrs. Cellier is to be tried anew, the witnesses Mr. Dangerfield and Mr. Lewis (once Sir John Morton's rakehell footman); but the former lying under a conviction of perjury, the only crime the King refuses to insert in pardons (as most unqualifying for a credible witness), the Attorney General had not dependence on his testimony, wherefore Lewis brings one Seale to support his testimony, who he had hid in the room to witness the bargain Mrs. Cellier should make with him, which he doth to a tittle of what evidence Lewis had given in, but just before the trial (if I mistake not) when the jury was empannelled, the

Attorney General happening to consider that as Seale was so secretly hid as not to be seen, so neither could he see, and therefore demanding of Seale how he knew it to be Mrs. Cellier, answered, only by her voice and the series of her discourse; but this not coming up full to a proof satisfactory to a jury to take away one's life he craved their Lordships' direction whether he should proceed to the hazard of Mrs. Cellier's second escape or to respite the trial, but I do not find their Lordships thought it reasonable to take the thorn out of the Attor[ney's] foot to put into their own, so left him to his own discretion, who I hear respites the trial. Upon complaints made against the late changing of Justices, in most cases the abhorrers ousting the petitioners, the committee (to whom it was referred) have curiously scrutinied into that matter in all counties, but not yet finished their report to be presented to the King. In Lancashire my Lord Macclesfield complained against one Justice for this crime, that he had divided the nation into three parts, knaves, fools and wise men; that the former made plots, the second believed them, but the third believed them not; this was more crafty than criminal, but to fill full his measure of iniquity he was rendered an abominable abhorrer, to which even my black friend could reply, that this was not a tribunal to judge of that crime, they must go somewhere else to do it, which some ill eyes looked on as reflective on those who had been so severe against abhorrers in the other House.

This day their Lordships began with expedients, that relating to the Q. was with modesty laid by, not to be resumed again, I hope, the King giving no encouragement to it, but much the contrary. What is agreed by way of expediency is contained under these five heads :—1. That an Act of Association such as was in Ed. 3 and Queen Eliz. reigns shall now be passed a part. 2. That all dispensation for the Duke taking the oaths and tests shall be expunged. 3. That he shall be divested of all those trusts and dignities he yet retains, whether relating to Ireland, Tangiers or the Indies. 4. That if any Parliament shall be then in being at the time of the King's demise, or if not, the surviving members of the last Parliament shall resume and sit six months indissolvable to settle the great affairs of the nation. 5. That neither the Duke nor any Popish successor shall ever have so much as any negative voice or be capable of conferring any honour dignity or employment, spiritual or temporal (whether military or civil). This is the furthest they have yet gone, according to my best intelligence, and all their Lordships did this day, saving joined with the Commons in an address to be presented to the King to appoint a public fast.

As for the acts and monuments of the Commons, their printed votes (which, I presume, are constantly transmitted to your Grace, or on the least hint to the contrary I shall (during my uncertain residence in these parts being tempted

by my doctor to the experiment of country air to shake off the loose corns of my distemper) constantly inclose to your Grace, those printed votes (I say) prevent all pens. To which I shall only add these short remarks :—That address against my Lord Halifax cost four hours' debate, the only avowed foundation on which it was built being common fame, and the crime alleged was giving the King evil counsel, which was aggravated by these two expressions,, clandestinely and secretly. Most of the best speakers in the House argued against it ; particularly my Lord Cavendish is reported to have spoken much beyond himself in this business, urging it as mere nonsense that common fame should publish what counsels were clandestinely and secretly delivered. At last those words were left out ; but the address was carried to be presented to the King to remove that evil Councillor both from His Majesty's counsels and presence for ever. This day I take myself to be concerned to be accountable to your Grace for what passed in the House of Commons, because the printed votes appear not till to-morrow. They have all day long been sifting the behaviour of two Judges, Scroggs and Weston. The former they have found to be so chaffey as to be fit to be removed out of all public employments, and accordingly have ordered an address to His Majesty. The latter's crime being only words tending to discountenance petitioning and to encourage abhorring (the nature of this new guilt amounting to that old unintelligible crime of being a betrayer of the liberties of the people,) and not yet fully proved, his doom is respited.

And thus having done with the public affairs in Parliament I shall present your Grace with an account of the great success this day's letters assured us of at Tangier, where the Moors were reintrenched some 15,000 strong; Sir Pal. Fairbone had the ill luck the day before to be killed with a chain shot, so that Col. Sackville commanded in chief. They entirely routed the Moors, killed 2,000 on the place, took all their cannon, three good pieces, and filled up all their trenches with the loss of 200 men. The Spanish horse (sent for our assistance) are much commended for their forward behaviour in this action. The Earl of Plymouth is dead of a fever in Tangier.

Now to what is more private. If your Grace will part with your interest in Needwood I can help your Grace to a chapman, whose interest when he hath purchased it will equally intitle your Grace to a command there as your own land. If you please to bite at this bait, be pleased to let me know the nature of your Grace's interest, both as to the title and its advantages.

I am importuned beyond my power of denial to recommend the case of a kinsman of mine to your Grace, one Sir Geo. Herbert, Bart., who it seems hath obtained a reference on some petition of his to His Majesty to your Grace. All I shall presume to ask is what I know I need not ask, as speedy a despatch with as much favour as the nature of the thing and the merit of that family will deserve.

My Lord Arran last night did me the favour to give me a visit, but the access of company shortened the visit, and so interrupted our discourse that his Lordship hath promised shortly to repeat that honour and lengthen our conference, that by comparing notes we may the better understand what is to be re[ ]st and what to be prevented.

I have enclosed the charge against Mr. Seymour, who is to give in his answer next Thursday; he seems to slight his charge, though Miles Fleetwood hath undertaken the proof of two articles and Mr. Vernon, of Derbyshire, the others. I confess I understand not how those two gentlemen come to be inspired with the knowledge of his accounts.

ORMOND to EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

1680, Nov. 24. Dublin.—Though Geoghegan, otherwise called Dalton has been in this kingdom from the 6th of this month, yet I heard nothing from him nor received your Lordship's letter of the 6th of October sent by him till the 20th, and then your Lordship's letter and passport and the order of Council concerning him were sent me by the Mayor of Waterford, after he had committed Geoghegan upon the information of one White and found those papers about him.

What course has been held by the Council here with the persons accused by Geoghegan and with himself will be transmitted to your Lordship in our joint letter. All I shall in the meantime observe is that Geoghegan has not so punctually as I conceive he ought pursued the orders which he brought, for they seem in the first place to direct him to receive directions, protection and assistance from the Government here, and I am by the order of Council required to cause such as shall be apprehended upon his information to be examined. But he has spent all the time since his landing in accusing of persons before the Mayor of Waterford and other Justices of the Peace in the country, without giving me notice of his landing or of the work he was upon; and how much longer he would have proceeded in that way and kept up your Lordship's letter and the order of Council if they had not been taken from him and sent me by the Mayor of Waterford I cannot tell; and if what he now says be true, namely, that one or two of those that were to have killed the King be near this place, I conceive he should have given the apprehending of them the preference before any other service he had in hand.

This intimation of what hath hitherto been done in relation to Geoghegan I thought necessary to send your Lordship, that it may appear that if he hath not or shall not succeed in his undertaking to the satisfaction of His Majesty and my Lords of the Council he may not impute his want of performance or the delay of it to the want of protection or assistance from this Government, having never applied to it till he was constrained by his imprisonment.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 24. Wednesday.—The Lords did nothing; they met late and rose early on this occasion. After they were bodily setting to the consideration of expedients, my Lord Shaftesbury made a surprising motion to lay them by on the table, it being too late to enter on them, and adjourn. It being a motion from him so zealous for the expedients was unresisted by any, and so both the expedients were deposited on the table and the House adjourned; all the rest of the expedients standing now as that particular one relating to the Q. did formerly, laid by *sine die*, to the amazement of many. I question not ere I conclude this paper (began on Wednesday) I shall be more able to unriddle the matter.

The Commons' votes will till Saturday's proceedings give an account of their transactions in that of their severe scrutiny against the Attorney General this day; he is observed to have contributed something to it by his indirect evasive answers to all their questions; but particularly when they demanded of him whether he drew up the proclamation against petitioning, confessed being newly entered into his employment he wanted experience to do it himself, but for his excuse why he could not mention the person who assisted him offers that it was against his oath, but when called in again and pressed to declare he owned it was my Lord Chief Justice North, though just before he had declared it against his oath to reveal it. Some excuse him by saying that when he was withdrawn he sent for and obtained both the King's and my Lord Chief Justice North's consent to name him. The consequence of that address is in print.

Nor doth Thursday, the 25th, prove a busy day with their Lordships. They resolved to join in that request this afternoon to address to the King for a public fast. They also address to the King for a general pardon for all witnesses against Tuesday next, the day of my Lord Stafford's trial, praying they may be copious enough to comprehend perjuries, which I believe the King will scarce grant, it being as it were to unperjure a witness, though one told me he heard the King say that even the evidence of a perjured person might be accompanied with such pregnant circumstances as to convict a malefactor. But the busiest concern of this day was to make up the Committee of Privileges, not only to regulate and resolve some doubts in cases of privilege, but chiefly to adjust all circumstances in order to my Lord Stafford's trial next Tuesday, when most think it will go hard with him, and that no other expedient (confession excepted) can save his Lordship, which lesson it is believed he hath learnt perfectly.

The Commons spent all this day on Mr. Seymour and his articles (which were inclosed in my last); they say he made an excellent defence, but that there is none against a House of Commons Flayle. The great question was whether he should be impeached without any more ado, taking it for granted that

Mr. Vernon of Derbyshire and Miles Fleetwood (Gustavus' half brother) can make good the articles because they have said they can; or whether they should be referred to the scrutiny of a Committee; the debate lasted so long (the best speakers and most thinking men arguing for that safe way to look before one leaps, and so keeping up the ball) till the hour of three was come (appointed for both Houses to attend the King in the Painted Chamber with the address for a public fast), that so both House and debate were necessitated to be adjourned to the morrow, so that the quondam Speaker is sure to live one day longer.

The 26th.—The Lords spent a whole day on a remnant of a cause between my Lady Dacre's and her grandchild Chute. At last their Lordships have referred those heads for expedients in lieu of the D. Y. bill to have them framed into an Act by the learned Judges; also to them is referred to frame the Bill of Association to resemble the form in Queen Elizabeth's days. I had almost forgot the King's answer to the Commons' address against my Lord Halifax. He advised them not to give too much credit to common fame, that he knew of no unlawful act that he had been guilty of, but if he had he referred him to the law, for he would neither protect him nor anyone else in the breach of any law. If I mistake in this the print will rectify me, as also inform concerning the other addresses and their answers, which if I thought others did not I would constantly enclose.

Nov. 27.—This day the Lords ordered a committee of these five: Salisbury, Essex, Ailesbury, Wharton and Howard of Escrick to meet with ten commoners to make up a committee of both Houses to adjust things in order to Tuesday's trial, though I vehemently suspect that the time is so short that some delay will be put upon the hearing. My Lord Ailesbury came in my Lord Shaftesbury's room, who, to the wonder of many, excused himself, which my Lord Ailesbury had also done, but that he happened to be out of the House for the debate, for the having such a committee of both Houses was not without heat, and my Lord Ailesbury was one of the opponents. This new committee met at three, though created after 12, to show their zeal to serve my Lord Stafford.

The matter of most moment in the House of Commons this day (and that not small) was an address brought in by Mr. Hamden. It is not to be wondered that it consisted of two sheets of paper, when 'tis considered what it contained, all the miscarriages past and grievances present, in its close an assurance to the King that if he pleased to apply remedies not only Tangier but all other His Majesty's necessary wants should be satisfied. I mention not Mr. Seymour's doom, because the printed votes saves that labour, nor have I anything more to add at this time, but that Captain Richard Bertie told me that accidentally meeting with Sir H. Ingoldsby, amongst other discourses he told him when the Parliament

were at leisure he had a pretty story (as he termed it) to relate to them concerning the Duke of Ormond. Incensed Rich. was so nettled to hear his general so very disrespectfully mentioned that had not Sir H. been silenced by the company it had proceeded to a quarrel. This I thought it my duty to insert. I shall be constant in giving the best account I can of all things during my stay here, but Monday sennight I go hence to my Lord Poulett's to a meeting of all the trustees for that young Lord, if I am able, for I cannot yet say I am recovered, but as soon as I return to this city I will also return to the performance of this duty.

ORMOND to SIR L. JENKINS.

1680, Nov. 25. Dublin.—By what comes to us of public affairs it is very possible that when the bearer, Sir John Davys, shall arrive there may not presently be an opportunity given to vindicate himself against the calumnies thrown upon by him by some of the witnesses that went hence and were heard at the bar of the Lords' House. Yet he chooses rather to undergo a very inconvenient voyage than to lie under the ill impressions those persons may have left with the Lords of him. I can assure you upon more than three years' experience that the gentleman is beyond question faithful to the King and very capable of discharging the duties of his place, and that he hath been as diligent in promoting the discovery of the Plot as it was possible for him or anybody in his station to be and when you shall have time to discourse with him, you will receive satisfaction from him in what concerns this kingdom.

ORMOND to THE KING.

1680, Nov. 25. Dublin.—Sir John Davys, Your Majesty's Secretary here, finding it convenient for him to pass into England to justify himself against some very unreasonable reflections cast upon him in the examinations of some discoverers and witnesses that went out of this kingdom, I hold it to be part of my duty to inform your Majesty that to the best of my observation he hath always carried himself with great diligence and ability in such things relating to your service as were incident to his office or required from him, and more particularly I am able to say that in the examination of all things and persons relating to the discovery of the Plot he has been as industrious and faithful as it was possible for any man in his place to be. I must therefore beg leave to believe that those who do or shall prosecute him have some other end than your Majesty's service wherein I think him very faithful and zealous.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 27. London.—I have herein inclosed the votes of the House of Commons yesterday, their address for

removing the Earl of Halifax, the articles of impeachment brought in against Mr. Seymour, and a letter from the Privy Council of Scotland to His Majesty concerning the Duke, which are the most considerable things of news in this age of printing. This afternoon the committee of Lords and Commons met to adjust matters in order to the trial of the Lord Stafford, which is to be on Tuesday next.

We lately received a confirmation of the great success that His Majesty's forces had at Tangier, with some farther particulars, that our men, horse and foot, were not above 1,800 that sallied out, who killed 600 or 700 of the Moors there in their trenches, regained two great guns, and pursued them above a mile into the country. We lost about 70 men on the place, 100 more dangerously wounded, and 100 horses slain and made useless. Sir Palmes Fairbone, the Governor, was killed the day before the engagement, as likewise was Mr. Forbes, son to the Lord Granard. The Earl of Plymouth's body is very shortly expected home, he having died this month agone of a bloody flux.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, Nov. 27. London.—I have found out since I wrote on Tuesday some of the printed narratives made use of by my brother last Parliament. They give an account of proceedings there down to the 7th of April, 1679, and the narrative sent after me makes out the rest, but there has been no use of them yet. Lt. Col. Kennedy, whom your Grace had so long in gaol, I am informed, is to be a great informer against you and the Government. My Lord Longford has been troubled with a sore throat, which has delayed his journey; but he is already pretty well recovered.

Mr. Ellis is put into the execution of the Baly's place of Westminster, but it has cost him a great deal of money to Stroud; he is to give him a thousand pound, and pay you the 500*l.* due upon Stroud's bond. Sir James Butler having satisfied me that it was no way justifiable or honourable for you to receive money upon this account, made me, on your behalf, refer the matter to the Bishop and my Lord Chancellor. Mr. Thomas Butler will be satisfied also.

You will find by the printed account from Tangier that my Lord Granard's son is killed, and your page that was, Fitzpatrick; Cap. Porce and Lieut. Gilbert Butler wounded.

Sir John Davys to Earl of Arran.

1680, Nov. 28. Mostyn.—I was resolved neither adverse winds nor any other consideration should detain me longer at Dublin, and, therefore, I put to sea the other day to try my fortune, which has proved so good that I landed here the last night late, and this morning Sir Roger Mostin did send one to Chester on purpose to secure the Thursday's

coach there to carry me, my wife and children for London, for that higher power called a wife will not suffer me to go without her and the rest of our appurtenances, she being resolved we shall stand or fall all together. So as your Lordship sees how many of us are coming under your protection, for which confidence I have nothing else to offer besides my innocence and your Lordship's own nobleness, and they, I hope, will be every way as prevailing as they are great. My wife gives your Lordship her service and both of us lay ourselves at my Lady's feet.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680, Nov. 28. Dublin.—Yours of the 16th and 20th came together, and now we are impatient for those of the 23rd, supposing that every three days must produce something extraordinary. Your former letters said some things by command from the King. The chief was the recruiting of the Scotch Regiment, the intention of sending men hither to supply the place of unserviceable soldiers, and that of ammunition. You know Lieut. Col. Monro is gone for Scotland in order to get recruits, and he is daily expected with them. The men are to be sent hither as promised, as you will see by the copy of the King's letter, but how they shall be raised and conducted to us or when we shall have them is not expressed ; and it will be necessary we having warning enough to make room for them, but of that I doubt there is but little fear.

I saw it in a letter from a Parliament man that it was affirmed more than once in the House of Commons that in this army ten of fifteen were Papists. I hope such as take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and that receive the sacrament after the use of the Church of England go not under that imputation, and then nothing could be more impudently false than such an assertion.

The matter offered by my Lord Chamberlain and you to my consideration is much too hard for me to resolve on. If the King answers addresses to the satisfaction of those that make them in the cases before him, I have little reason to expect an exemption in mine, when the like shall be made concerning me ; and against accusations as they may be brought, I know not how to be defended from appearing to answer, so that I think it best to leave myself to God and the King. I cannot so much as suspect upon what ground capital things can be laid to my charge, and of such commonly impeachments are composed.

Clerk of the Pells' Certificate of Treasury Receipts and Payments, 8–29 Nov., 1680.

1680, Nov. 29.—Receipts in His Majesty's Treasury from the 8th of November, 1680, to Monday, the 29th day foll. exd.

The remain in the Vice-Treasurer's hands upon the last certificate ending the said 8 Nov.				303	09 01½
Leinster ..	New Patent Rents....	471	17 02¼		
	Rents on Decrees, etc..	086	08 11		
	Old Crown Rents	262	02 11⅛		
	Casualties	051	17 06¾		
Munster ..	New Patent Rents....	101	12 07⅜		
	Rents on Decrees, etc..	024	07 06½		
	Custod Rents	006	18 00		
	Old Crown Rents	006	18 09		
	Quit Rents	000	08 09¾		
	Casualties	001	05 00		
Connaught	New Patent Rents....	082	11 04¼		
	Old Crown Rents	012	07 01¼		
	Quit Rents	000	10 01½		
	Casualties	011	14 04		
Ulster	New Patent Rents....	001	03 05		
	Old Crown Rents ...	055	15 04⅛		
				1177	19 00⅜
Farmers ..	By money paid into the Treasury..			808	08 00
	By orders of assignments into the country			8975	01 00½
				11264	17 02⅜
Payments made within the said time					
Civil List..	Court of Exchequer ..	170	00 01		
	Chancery	030	05 00		
	State offices.....	210	00 00		
	Incidents	026	05 00		
	Creation Money	017	10 00		
	Perpetuities	036	03 04		
	Temporary Payments..	569	07 00		
	Concordatums	588	15 02		
				1648	05 07
Military List	Officers of the Ordnance			150	00 00
	List of Pensions.....			263	00 00
Payments made pursuant to His Majesty's letters of the 20th of June, 1679.....				619	15 07½
				£2681	01 02½
So remains in the Vice-Treasurer's hands....				8583	16 00⅛
				£11264	17 02⅜

Ex. p. Ja. Alexander, Dept. Cler. Pell.

Earl of Sunderland to Ormond.

1680, Nov. 30. Whitehall.—I received upon Sunday several letters from your Grace and the Council of Ireland of the 19th and 23rd instant, together with several informations, examinations and papers relating to the accusation against

the Earl of Tyrone, and the proceedings and discoveries which have been given or made to the Government of Ireland concerning the horrid Popish Plot, all which were by His Majesty's command yesterday morning sent to the House of Lords, who have transmitted them to the Commons. I must observe to your Grace that amongst the papers relating to the Earl of Tyrone two were wanting, though mentioned in the list sent with them, vizt., the Earl of Tyrone's examination taken before Justice Jones, March 20th, 1678, and the further examination of Laurence Sullivan, dated Novem. 8th, 1679.

Col. Edward Cooke to Ormond.

1680, Nov. 30. London.—The Lords yesterday were so intent on the work of this day (the trial of my Lord Stafford) that they admitted of no divertive debate, but only received reports from the committee of both Houses of agreements in order to the methods and proceedings at the trial, which they having confirmed proceeded to consider what was to be their parts apart. The Commons resolved to sit at the trial in the nature of a committee (not House), not so much out of humility as to have a plausible excuse to sit bare. The Chancellor took public notice in the House that there were thirty-five witnesses to be examined against my Lord Stafford. The Commons, to employ their idle hours till their Committee returned to make their report, read over two Bills, one to repeal a Bill surreptitiously obtained last Parliament very injudiciously to restrain our Severn fishery; the other was a second reading of a Bill for the taking away my Lord Worcester's Ludlow Court for Wales, which I thought would not have passed that House; but I am very sure it will not meet with the concurrence of either King or House of Lords. In the afternoon the Commons attended His Majesty in the banqueting house, with their long address, which had been much more voluminous had not the more moderate party overruled it, to expunge all other miscarriages and grievances, and singly to insist on Popery, its progress and consequence, taking notice of all circumstances that could expose it, so much as Coleman's secretaryship. I presume it will be so soon in print that it will not need description. This being in answer to the King's message about Tangier was sweetened in the close with an assurance that as well the King's other wants as Tangier should be supplied, when the jealous minds of the subject could be secured in that most important particular. Two things many members took great notice of, the one that the King took the paper without giving one word of answer, which he never did before, the other that the Duchess of Portsmouth who used to speed her gracious salutes over all the members, tho' where she used to be, diverted herself with the King's dogs as more preferable, not heeding any one member, tho' expected by many; whether or no she took herself concerned, though not mentioned in the address, or saw further in

relation to what is to be than others, is conjectured variously, but certainly known by none, as it is that this hath exasperated many. But I understand this day her Grace hath endeavoured to redintegrate herself with the members by treating them most bountiful with sweetmeats at the trial, the manner where of was thus.

The Commons met early, and fondness of the show made them moulder away and slip into the hall, that at last the Speaker was left almost all alone, wherefore for decency sake the Mace was sent to remand them, that so in due decorum, though but as a committee, they might descend into the hall. The Lords thought proper to read the High Steward's commission in the House, not hall, which Prince Rupert opposed, for that would intitle the Chancellor to take place of him, going to the trial; the expedient was that the commission should be read in the House, but he should retain his place but as Chancellor till the staff was delivered him in the hall, and so their Lordships proceeded thither, where my Lord Chancellor directed a short speech to the criminal, advised him seriously to consider his condition, which looked very desperate, 1, considering the nature of his accuser, the Commons of all England in their representatives. 2. The heinousness of the accusations to no less than the highest of treasons. 3. The considerableness of his judges, the nobility of England, that it was strongly to be presumed that so great and so wise a body as the House of Commons would not appear there unless they were well assured of making good their charges, but withal assured him he should have fair play, all civility in the proceedings, and justice at the end. Then the managers of the evidence proceeded, Maynard began to open the charge, Winington most eloquently aggravated the circumstances, Treby proposed the six witnesses now to be examined. Their method was first to prove that there was a Popish plot, and that not only to subvert religion, but also to take away the King's life. The six witnesses to make that out were, 1 Smyth, 2 Dugdale, 3 Prance, 4 Oates, 5 Bernard Dennis, who owned himself not only a Papist but also a priest (at which my Lord Chancellor, (Lord High Steward) was uneasy to take his testimony till he understood he was pardoned), 6 Janeson; all six, they say, have cleared it so far. And that was all the work of this day. To-morrow comes on the use of application, the intitling this person of my Lord Stafford to that guilt of those highest treasons, and more of it in my next, for I presume two or three days will end this business. My Lord Norreys commands me in all my letters to repeat him your Grace's most humble servant.

Wednesday, Dec. 1st.—This day, as soon as the Lords met, the Lord High Steward acquainted them that he had received intimation that the Lord Stafford would make his complaint, that though their Lordships had allowed him counsel, he could have no benefit of it, all Counsel were so

terrified by the House of Commons that none durst appear. The Commons at first opposed the motion, but at last yielded it, provided they might be permitted only to speak to points in law, and not to matters of fact, and that they might be kept at such a distance as not to be able to prompt the prisoner, all which being accorded to, the managers called their evidence.

1. Dugdale.—My Lord moved he might look him in the face whilst he was giving his evidence, but according to constant practice he was ordered to turn to the Court, he told of three several times that my Lord Stafford had vehemently pressed him to kill the King, promising great rewards sometimes and once a pardon; it was thought the pardon was to have been granted by the D. Y., which made the Commons much more inquisitive who was to grant it, but he answered the Pope. My Lord Stafford asked many ensnaring questions, but he at least had his lesson so perfectly as not to be ensnared by them, but was very clear in his evidence.

2. Dr. Oates was next, who craved leave to be left to his own method and be uninterrupted; he spoke positively as to my Lord Stafford having received his commission, and his owning and encouraging the killing of the King, with many shrewd circumstances, nor could any cross-questions discompose him.

3. Lastly Turberville was examined, who positively swore his Lordship, after he had exacted secrecy from him and prepared him to expect the most glorious employment in the world, told him in plain terms it was to kill the King. He being asked how long he had known the Plot, said four years, and then why he did not discover it sooner, replied because he durst not for his life, till the time of trial. One thing was remarkable, that as my Lord had disowned the knowledge of the other two, so did he as to this, till he offered to prove that my Lord kept a yacht on purpose to bring him over from France. Then he confessed that when he had cowardly run away from his colours he merely out of charity received him, but Turberville appealed to the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Feversham to justify his behaviour, who did so.

Then my Lord Stafford in a long immethodical speech (for it seems his behaviour did not answer expectation) endeavoured his vindication, and at last moved for copies of all records, and particularly of Turberville's depositions before the Commons, but no such things were owned by that House, who had no power to give an oath; it seems a circumstance of time my Lord Stafford thought to take advantage of. The Lords withdrew to appoint the time for the next appearance which was ordered Thursday morning, and directions given to furnish his Lordship with all records, but as for the depositions in the Commons' House they made no order, but the Commons have consented that the Justices who

took them shall give my Lord copies that he may have fair play in all things. It seems the Lord High Steward on a note he received from my Lord Shaftesbury gave encouragement to the prisoner to insist on Friday, but he not desiring of it when the Lords returned into the Lords' House, my Lord Grey and Lord Lovelace severely arraigned the Lord High Steward for proposing anything without the order of that House till my Lord Shaftesbury owned the crime, and then it ceased to be one.

Thursday, Dec. 2.—My Lord Stafford produced his witnesses to invalidate the testimony of the three had been examined the day before against him. But I hear my Lord's defence was very weak. First he read a long speech, written by his counsel so imperfectly that in many places he made it unintelligible, and then in his counterproofs he had always the ill luck or ill skill to place most emphasis upon things least important, so many were examined that they rose not till after four, and yet his Lordship was sorry to leave four till to-morrow. When the Lords were returned to their House they appointed the next morning to meet again, and when the Commons were returned again to adjourn their House Mr. Secretary Jenkins delivered them this message from the King that one Dr. Lamplew had examined three witnesses on oath and all three gave in evidence that they heard one Pickering (brother to the priest who was executed) swear God damn him, that if the King should suffer any one of the five Lords to be put to death, he himself should not live six months to an end. His Majesty desired their advice what to do in the matter. They returned superabundant humble thanks and appointed early the next morning to meet to consider of it, and then to address to his Majesty.

Friday, Dec. 3.—Both Houses and the prisoner met in the court, where my Lord Stafford's business was to examine the rest of his witnesses, to assert his own innocence and criminate the King's evidence, but his witnesses were so reproached by the managers that they proved ineffectual in either case. One of his witnesses, on which much stress was laid, when he heard the questions were to be demanded of him, ran away out of the court and was never seen since; and another, called a person of quality and learning, a fellow of King's College in Cambridge and a Protestant, but he was detected in open Court to be an arrant Papist, and for eight years last past secretary to my Lord Castlemaine, his name Ledcot. To say truth none of the witnesses did answer expectation, either by reason of the meanness of their quality or their labouring hard some small circumstances not pertinent to the business; besides a cloud of witnesses called by the managers to support the credit and testimony of Dugdale and Turberville. Mr. Treby (chairman of the Committee of Elections) is chose Recorder of London in the room of Sir Geo. Jeffreys, against whom the Commons had addressed

to the King to have had him turned out of all employments. It seems many are disgruntled at it who (if they might be Judges) would give preference to their own merit, Sir Fran. Winington for one and Mr. Trenchard for another, and many others all expecting and desiring it. Last night after eleven these quarters were hotly alarmed by a fire happening in Westminster Hall, which discovered itself by the smoke; the hurt might have been much more than it was, they were so long ere they could overcome the strength of the door; as soon as ever they were got in the fire was soon quenched, it having only burnt down a corner of a shop, kindled by a soldier's lighted match, who, in the hurry of the Courts rising, forgot to take his match with him. The King in person was just coming to the Hall as he met an assurance that the fire was out. The Lieut. of the Tower (Tom Cheeke) had yesterday a severe clash with Dr. Oates, who had so crowded the room that was designed for the witnesses with his own friends, who under his shelter came to see the show that Tom Cheeke took notice of it to him, who bade him cease his prating, that he was but a gaoler. The other seemed to resent it. He then called Tom rogue and rascal, etc., which grew to that height that the Lords overheard them and when Oates was rebuked by the Lord High Steward replied the law was open and Mr. Cheeke might take his remedy. There it stops at present. Pickering, who I mentioned on Thursday, is sent for up.

This day the 4th of December was appointed for my Lord Stafford to finish the examination of his witnesses, he pretending at the rising of the Court last night that he had eight material witnesses, who he could not name, because others had found them out for him. The Court was uneasy to deny his Lordship anything, but desired that his Lordship would weigh the evidence before he offered them to the Court. This morning after the examination of two, who disowned any knowledge of what they were asked, my Lord attended with great symptoms of sadness, resigned up the other six witnesses, and, as it were, his cause with them, for he made a most insipid defence, pretend [ing] he durst boldly look death in the face, and plied his tears on the account of his wife and children. Then Sir Tho. Jones, mighty sweet in words, but sour enough in sense, not leaving anything to be addable by any should speak after. Yet then my Lord Stafford craved to be answered to these four questions and that he might make them by his counsel, being all points in law: 1, Whether two several persons deposing to several actions, though both amount to treason, may be allowed for two lawful witnesses by the act that enacts two witnesses in all treason. The Judges all gave this judgment, which was that both proving the same treason were good enough. 2. Whether an indictment could be valid in this which was brought in the last. It was over-ruled in the affirmative. 3. Whether a Grand Jury

ought not to find the bill proved. Answered his Lordship knew to the contrary. The last article was that the witness swore for reward and had it. Answer, What the King gave was nothing, or any one else unless they could prove the prosecutors gave them anything. So his Lordship is to come on Monday, I presume to receive sentence. The proclamation for a public fast the 22nd of this month, being Wednesday.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 30. London.—Though there came in three packets on Sunday night last, yet I received not yours of the 16th and 19th until late last night, and before I had received them Mr. Bridgeman had given the narrative to the Clerk of the House of Commons without reading or keeping a copy of it. I hope Sir John Davys will bring a copy with him. I shall keep by me the answer to the objections against disarming the Protestants in '63, but I cannot yet with certainty learn what will be laid on your charge. I am told that one article will be that you sent Sir George Lane some years ago to a meeting of Irish clergy and that he sat in council with them by your direction; to which I have no answer, but that I believe it not true.

This day has been taken up upon the trial of my Lord Stafford, which has sufficiently tired me. I shall the first opportunity prepare His Majesty in the business you mention concerning Rolls, and will know his pleasure before the next post in the affair of the Commissioners of Appeal. The managers took up our time in proving a plot in general, and to-morrow they come to the particular charge. I observed that Oates did not mention you in his deposition.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680, Nov. 30. London.—The trial this day begun of the Lord Stafford took up the eyes and minds of all people. The Lord Chancellor sat as High Steward, but without commission. The managers of the House of Commons who this day appeared were Serjeant Maynard, who first opened the matter, Sir Fra. Winington, Mr. Treby, Mr. Hambden, and Sir John Trevor. The method that was taken was to lay open the plot in general, Dr. Oates, Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Smith, Mr. Jenison, Mr. Prance, and Mr. Barnard Dennis (at this time a Dominican Friar of the county of Sligo, in Ireland), upon oath gave an account of a general design of murdering the King and subverting the religion and Government; after which were produced several copies of the records of the convictions and condemnations of Langhorne, Coleman, Pickering, Grove, etc., all which were brought as proofs, and they concluded this day with summing up the evidence that there was a general plot in England, Scotland and Ireland carried on by the Popish faction. The particular proofs against the Lord Stafford was deferred till to-morrow, and his Lordship

hath put off his answer to the general plot as well as to his own particular concern in it till the witnesses against him have ended their evidence.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 1. Dublin.—Yours of the 23rd of November is received, which is all the answer it requires. Upon my motion a new proclamation for disarming of Papists without excepting those that had licences is set forth, but it will be liable to the same exception the other was of giving of warning, no other so good a way being found upon long debate at Council, where this course was unanimously agreed upon. I am sorry that after all I have done for Buck he should be in danger of dying in so ill condition. I am sure he has raised good sums of money upon places he had here, and upon one I gave him in the household, besides above 100*l.* a year he has long made and still makes of a farm he has from me, of which, perhaps, 40*l.* may be the interest of the 400*l.* he speaks of. This is not to avoid the doing all the good I can to his children, for whom I shall be much concerned in consideration of his long and faithful service to me and my family.

MINUTE OF A COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER OF DUBLIN.

3 December, 1680. Present :—

Lord Granard.	Sir Oliver St. George.
Lord Blessington.	Sir Wm. Stewart.
Sir Wm. Flower.	Col. Cary Dillon.
Sir Theoph. Jones.	Capt. Rob. Fitzgerald.
	Capt. Edw. Brabazon.

There are quartered in the province of

Leinster.	Munster.
Horse, 10 Troops; Foot, 15 Companies.	Horse, 5 Troops; Foot, 24 Companies.
Ulster.	**Connaught.**
Horse, 6 Troops; Foot, 19 Companies.	Horse, 3 Troops; Foot, 12 Companies.

There may be drawn to do duty at Dublin :—

Two troops of horse out of Leinster. One troop of horse out of Ulster. One troop of horse out of Munster. None out of Connaught till all the rest have taken their turns, because there are so few horse there. Two foot companies out of Leinster at present. One company out of Ulster. Two companies out of Munster. One company out of Connaught. To be upon duty two months. To begin immediately or at what time his Grace shall think most convenient.

EARL OF BURLINGTON to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 4. Dublin.—I had sooner acknowledged the the receipt of the honour of your Grace's letter, but that I

was for some days kept in by the gout, which treated me more favourably than it usually does, and left me just when my Lord Stafford's trial began, which has tied us to such long and strict attendance that we have scarce had time either to eat or rest. Last night the examination of the witnesses on both sides was finished, as this day will be, I believe, the summing of the evidence and then judgment will be pronounced within a day or two after. A weaker defence I have not observed than was made by his Lordship, nor evidence better ordered than was that of the House of Commons, which your Grace will easily believe when Sir William Jones, Serjeant Maynard and Sir Francis Winington were three of the principal managers. Many are of opinion that nothing can save his life but a full discovery of the Plot, since the evidence is so full against him as they conceive it to be, and it was last night affirmed in the House that he was very inclinable to do so, if the importunities of his daughter, the Marquisse of Winchester, did not keep him from doing of it, upon which it was moved that she might be kept from him, but that being thought to be an act of so much harshness, that motion was quashed.

I must with great thankfulness acknowledge your Grace's favour to me in the commission you were pleased to grant me lately of the government of the county of Cork, and in making upon my request Lieutenant Supple sheriff of that county, and 'do wish that I had any occasion to evidence the sense I have both of these and those other favours your Grace has placed upon me.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 4. London.—This day being the fifth of my Lord Stafford's trial was taken up by Sir William Jones, Mr. Powle, and Sir Francis Winington, appointed managers by the House of Commons in summing up the evidence against the prisoner. The method they observed was, as in the beginning of the trial, first to speak to the Plot in general and then to come to the particular proof against the Lord Stafford and to disprove the witnesses produced in his behalf, which by his Lordship's ill management of his evidence he had given them great opportunity to do. My Lord concluded with three points of law, which he desired his counsel, Mr. Wallop and Mr. Hunt might speak to, the first was whether a Bill ought not first to be found by a Grand Jury before a peer came to be tried by his peers, which was over-ruled by the Court by reason that an impeachment of the House of Commons was in the same nature with a Bill found by a Grand Jury, and therefore counsel not allowed to speak in that matter. My Lord Stafford likewise asked the judgment of the Court concerning the method of impeachment, whether one being brought in one Parliament could be tried in a succeeding Parliament, which was affirmed by the Court to be the constant

practice of all Parliaments. The second matter of law the prisoner insisted upon was that there was no overt act of treason proved against him, and that the witnesses speaking to discourses he had with them at several times could not be said to be witnesses to the same fact, and so there were not two witnesses against him. This my Lord Stafford insisted upon, and that his counsel should be heard to that point. Mr. Wallop, his Lordship's counsel assigned, said that he was not prepared to speak to that point, but desired the Court to determine therein. Whereupon the Court rose and went to the House of Lords, where after a very short debate the Lords returned again, and my Lord Steward told the prisoner at the bar that their Lordships had ordered the Judges to give their opinions in that matter. They declared unanimously their opinions that the receiving a commission, the proffering Dugdale money and speaking to Turberville to kill the King was an overt act, and that the witnesses swearing all to a treason of the same nature, though it was at several times and places were sufficient evidence of the treason. After which the Court adjourned till Monday, and then it is believed judgment will be given against my Lord Stafford.

The trial hath so taken up the Lords that there hath been no Council this week, only five or six met on Wednesday last, where Mr. Secretary Jenkins brought a letter just then received by the post from Dr. Lampleigh, a Justice of Peace of Oxford, which gave an account that three sufficient men of the neighbourhood had deposed before him that one Pickering, brother to him that was hanged for designing to shoot the King, had said that if the King tried the Popish Lords in the Tower he should not live half a year after. Mr. Secretary acquainted His Majesty therewith, who ordered it the next morning to be transmitted to the House of Commons. Pickering is in custody, and the House have sent for him up.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 4. London.—Since my last I have your Grace's of the 19th and 28th of the last month, and was very glad to find the latter writ in your own hand for by Mr. Secretary Gascoigne's of the 23rd I had reason to apprehend your being laid up of the gout. Ever since Tuesday last we have sat until night upon the trial of my Lord Stafford, and now all is heard, and upon Monday next sentence is to be given after we have debated some points amongst ourselves. Sir William Jones summed up the evidence and did it with great dexterity, and his Lordship made his defence with very little, yet it is uncertain which way it will go, for though three witnesses have sworn point blank against him as Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville, they are not thought so credible witnesses by some of the Lords as the managers of the evidence would have them pass for. But let this trial go one way or other it must needs be of infinite consequence.

The King, I believe, will determine himself on this side the business of the Commissioners of Inspection, and for what relates to the Scots Regiments recruits I have spoken to the parties most concerned in it long since.

I hear every post of great apprehensions and new discoveries from Munster and that from Lords Essex and Burlington. I wonder your Grace sends me no account of it; and yesterday Lord Shaftesbury informed the House of a titular Bishop that would make great discoveries. I wish you had an abler man than I am upon the place to act in these intricate times and affairs, for I wish with all my heart that I were in some quiet retirement; yet my comfort is that I find many whom you account wise men as much to seek as myself.

I hear from Matt. Anderson that my Lord Tyrone will be here on Wednesday next, and from Sir John Davys, who is now at Mostyn, that he will be here the Saturday following the Thursday's stage coach, being taken up by my Lord Tyrone.

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 4. London.—I presume my wife has acquainted your Grace with a sudden indisposition which has detained me here a fortnight longer than I intended, but being (I thank God) now pretty well recovered, if I find no alteration in my health between this and Wednesday next I resolve then to begin my journey, for I have stayed here so long to find that I can be no further useful to your Grace, since the world does not desire to be informed so much of the truth and convinced of the innocency of those upon whom scandals are cast, as it does to have persons of the best quality and most known loyalty represented criminal. This I intimate only with relation to your Grace, against whom your enemies are maliciously industrious to cast all aspersions imaginable to prepare the way for those riff-raff articles are designed to be brought in against you into the House of Commons, who are not yet at leisure to receive them, having for the present work enough upon their hands. I am told, to raise the clamour greater, there is a collection made of all my Lord Meath's articles, of all those libellous reflections Peter Talbot made upon your former Government, as also of what stuff has been gathered together since your Lordship's going into Ireland; and the sum of all is to remove your Grace from the Government, which is not thought secure, but in a confiding hand or with a thorough English Protestant (which is now the phrase in mode).

These four last days have been spent in the evidence against my Lord Stafford and his Lordship's defence, both which are this day concluded, and the Lords have taken time till Monday morning to give sentence, which, 'tis generally believed, will be against his Lordship. But my Lord Arran, who was pre-

sent upon the place, and a witness of the whole transaction, is better able to inform your Grace than I who have been confined to my chamber. My Lord Shaftesbury has got a pardon for a titular Bishop and another ecclesiastic who are to come in as discoverers of the Plot from beyond sea.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 6. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 27th, of the last and hope my Lord Longford will be soon here to help my defect if the gout takes me in my right hand as it threatens. Sir John Davys, I suppose, will be with you before this letter. He carries with him all that this place can furnish for the vindication of the Government, one of the greatest omissions whereof was the not hanging of Kennedy. Sir James Butler's last letter to me concerning the bailiwick of Westminster seemed rather to justify the steward's taking money for the place as a thing practised in all times, but in the present case I know not how it could be since there was not a clear vacancy, but would have been as glad you had told me more particularly what was referred to my Lord Chancellor and the Bishop and what was determined. I send you a printed copy I set forth by advice of a Council of War. The penalties, by whomsoever it shall be incurred, will be strictly inflicted, which it were good might be known to all the officers that are on that side the water.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 7. London.—This day my Lord Stafford was found guilty of treason; the peers were 86 in number, 32 not guilty, 54 guilty. I suppose Mr. Mulys will send your Grace the names of those who voted for and against him. I shall only observe that of five peers in his family or name four found him guilty, and all the gentlemen of His Majesty's bedchamber, but my Lord Bath, were for guilty.

My Lord Suffolk desired me to write to you about the money due from you to Churchill, which I find is assigned to him. It seems I mistook his letter to me when I was in Ireland, for I thought by that he had been satisfied another way.

My Lord Tyrone will be here to-morrow, and I believe he will go the same way my Lord Stafford is like to go, for we are in a way now of making precedents, and following none but such as make for the present purpose.

COL. EDWARD COOKE to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 7. London.—This morning I begin my tedious western journey to do that young Lord Poulett the best service I can, carrying along with me the remains of this new fever. I hope to be back again next Saturday fortnight. All I can now say is my own conjectures only, that my Lord

Stafford will at length be acquitted, many being dissatisfied at different circumstances. The learned scruple of the legality of an impeachment being turned over from one Parliament to another. Others are not well satisfied how mean words without any overt act should extend to treason, making this nice distinction,—had money been produced and promised to be the reward of him that should kill the King, that had been an overt act, but a mere promise are but words, and many others cannot reconcile themselves to the witnesses, who it seems have been guilty of shrewd mistakes in circumstances of time, and many believe the better of my Lord for his weak management, for never was a poorer defence made. On the whole matter every scruple looks a voice of theirs who make it, so that I foresee his Lordship will this day be acquitted, though I shall not stay to see it, nor the consequence of it. It seems the managers for the House of Commons have three fresh witnesses, but are not willing to make them threadbare, concluding two witnesses to fall in the same particular that they conclude him as good as condemned already, that I apprehend the consequence of this disappointment.

John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to Sir Robert Southwell.

1680, Dec. 9. Oxford.—I missed the opportunity which I desired of kissing your hands at London and welcoming your safe return from your embassy, and therefore am the more concerned to lay hold of the opportunity which your kinsman now gives of addressing to you. Your client my Lord Courcy now grows up towards a man, and is desirous to look abroad into the world; he has few friends, and scarce any one who with so much charity and honour looks upon his broken fortunes; and therefore I must recommend him to your favour, which he has long experimented, that thereby he may either be placed in some military employment or attend my Lord Ossory in his travel, or be some way disposed of as may be for his future advantage; for I perceive he thinks his longer continuance here a disparagement; and when men are once weary of an University life it ceases to be useful. If Sir John Percival be with you I desire you would be pleased to recommend my service to him.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 11. London.—I have your Grace's letter of the 1st inst., and with it one of the proclamations you have lately agreed upon for the disarming anew the Papists, which shall be given about, tho' I know 709 will say he is the occasion of that. Since my Lord Stafford's trial our House has been chiefly taken up with hearing causes upon writs of error and appeals, and the House of Commons with the examining Mr. Secretary Jenkins and examining and punishing Mr. Thomas Sheridan, as you will find by the printed votes.

I cannot learn what is intended to be brought in against you, nor when that which is collected will be delivered, but I am told that something is drawn up, but not intended by way of impeachment. Mr. Mulys has engaged to my Lord Chamberlain to look about, and what charge he may be put to and his pains I have promised shall be considered, for it will be of great use to have a copy early of the charge, and people will not now take pains in another body's business for nothing.

Ned Vernon is in trouble yet about his business. He intends after next term to go over, and then he will plead any way rather than be so troublesome to you as he has been. Mr. Buck is yet alive, but past hope of recovery. He told me when I was last with him that he sold a place at Court you gave him to lend you 400*l*., but perhaps his memory failed him. I beg your pardon for writing in matters of this kind. I shall only tell you that Ned Fitzharris is in a very low condition. He has been very serviceable to you.

Sir John Davis is just come to town, and I find by him who it was that informed my Lord Shaftesbury that Levallin was not looked after in three days after notice that he was in the country.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680 Dec. 13. Dublin.—I have yours of the 30th of the last and 4th and 7th of this month. The last was under my Lord of Longford's cover, and so was one directed to his lady, which I suppose gives an account of his coming away the next day. I know not what can be meant by my sending Sir George Lane to a meeting of the Irish clergy and sitting with them, but sure I am there could be nothing like it this thirty year. All that is yet come to me of discoveries and fears in Munster you will find in the copies of examinations and letters herewith inclosed. The Council do not think that matter driven far enough to be transmitted. What this day's letters out of the country may bring us I do not yet know. If anything material comes before the post goes you shall have notice of it, for I write early in the morning, this fit of the gout being, I hope, over. I thought the heat and frequency of alarms in that province had been much abated since my Lord of Orrery's death, but his sister has correspondents here as zealous as he was, but not so inventive. It is painful to live under the apprehensions the wisest and the best men must have about them. The best remedy is submission to God's pleasure, owning His justice, and dependence on His merciful providence. I have long wished for that retirement you would be pleased with for yourself, as much more suitable to my age, but the importunity of friends and their flattery that I might be of use to the public prevailed against my inclination, and now I am found in suspicious times, in an envied and slippery station which I

cannot quit with honour against the command of my Master, nor hold with safety. My Lord of Longford writes of collections preparing to make up articles against me, but if I knew from whom he has this information some guess might be made of the importance of the design.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 14. London.—I did not give your Grace the trouble of any letters the last two posts, having nothing but public news concerning the Lord Stafford's trial, which I presume your Grace received from better hands, I being at that time engaged in a solicitation to preserve myself from the effects of the late order of suspension in Ireland, which remains as yet undetermined, but with your Grace's favour I may have some hopes of it, though I find myself pressed very hard by my Lord of Essex. This day the House of Commons proceeded upon the inquiry into the matter relating to Sir Robert Peyton and have proceeded to expel him the House. They have not yet made any further progress upon Mr. Secretary Jenkins since the vote on Friday, but it at present stands *sine die*, and in the meantime he refrains coming to the House, as Mr. Seymour likewise hath done ever since the articles of impeachment put in against him. I do not yet hear the day of execution of the Lord Stafford is appointed, though there being a motion made this day in the House of Lords for the expediting it, my Lord Chancellor answered there had been some consideration had of that matter already.

One of the Judge's places being vacant in the Court of Common Pleas by the death of Sir William Ellis (it is said) will be supplied by Sir Creswell Levinge, His Majesty's Attorney General, and it is likewise reported (though I believe not with so much certainty) that Mr. Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons, is to be Attorney General in his room.

I have herewith enclosed the Lord Chancellor's speech upon the condemnation of the Lord Stafford, together with yesterday's votes.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 14. London.—I have nothing to say this post more than what you will find in the prints and journals, but that it's believed the House of Commons will proceed no farther against Sir Lyonel Jenkins and that the King has sent orders for us to be in our robes to-morrow. It is not to prorogue the Parliament, but as I am informed it is to mind the Parliament again of the ill posture of his affairs and of the ill condition Tangier is in. I brought Sir John Davys to His Majesty this morning, and he was very gracious to him. My Lord Sunderland is not so easy to be found, but I will watch a proper time. It is thought best he should not bring

the business upon the carpet himself, but be ready if he should be called upon. My Lord Burlington's talking of a letter he had from his brother Shannon about some arms he seized upon, and saying it at the Committee has made a report about the whole town that Ireland is in rebellion.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 14. London.—Though I cannot say I am quite recovered of my cold, yet (I thank God) I am so well of it that I had begun my journey to-morrow had not my Lord Chamberlain desired me last night so to order my journey that I might meet my Lady Ossory on Monday night at Stony Stratford after she has made her visit at Mr. Bennett's, that from her mouth I might be fully instructed to give your Grace an account of the young lady, which my Lord Arlington thinks so necessary a point for your Grace's satisfaction that he easily persuaded me to it.

Since the severe vote of the House of Commons on Friday last against Sir Leollyn Jenkins there has been nothing further done, though the debate of it was adjourned to yesterday, when it passed *sub silentio*, and it is believed there will be nothing further stirred in it. Mr. Sheridan is still a close prisoner and for aught I can find like to be so while the Parliament sits; for since they cannot make him confess the author of the letter and to whom it was written, they will proceed against him as the only criminal in it. They have also his nephew Mr. Wilson in custody (but not in the same House), who confesses the transcript of the letter to be his handwriting, but knows not by whom or to whom it was written.

This day the Commons have expelled Sir Robert Peyton out of the House, and he not attending to receive his sentence at the Bar, they have ordered him to be taken into custody. Col. Vernon tells me that by the last post he had an account from his agent in Dublin that Peter Reade, your Grace's agent, has orders the next term to prosecute in your Grace's name the suit against him for the lands of Ruskoe, which if true seems somewhat hard, your Grace having by my Lord Arran commanded him from Tydberrye hither and diverted him by that means from his journey into Ireland, whither he was going to defend himself against Mr. Butler of Ruscoe. And to my knowledge he has not been an unuseful servant to your Grace in this conjuncture since his being in town; nay, this very morning he had an occasion of rendering your Grace some service amongst some members of the House of Commons, whom he undeceived in a story they were prepossessed with to your Grace's prejudice. Therefore I hope your Grace will have some regard to your old servant, notwithstanding any importunities may be used there to the contrary. Sir John Davys came to town on Saturday, and this morning was presented by my Lord Arran to the King, who received him

very graciously. I have for some time kept Captain Eastland here to accompany me into Ireland, which I hope your Grace will pardon both to him and me. A story of a letter which my Lord Burlington is said to have received out of Ireland has for these two days filled the town with a report that the Irish are in arms in Ireland.

JOHN VESEY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 17. Tuam.—It would be a very great comfort to me and the few Protestants in this desolate part of the country if your Grace were pleased at this time, when men's minds are possessed with I know not what fears of evils which I hope will never come upon them, to order a foot company to quarter in this town. The security of it would be great to the English that are very thinly and insecurely planted, if any danger (which God forbid) should arise in conveying them to the next place of strength; whereas in the posture they now are in they have no place of refuge between the County of Mayo and Galway in case of a sudden storm, and must consequently perish as many did in the beginning of the late rebellion for want of a timely foresight or just provision. Should your Grace's wisdom think fit to consider what is here humbly offered it would much settle the minds of men here and greatly add to the honours your Grace has already done me in making the enjoyments I have here by your Grace's favour more assured and valuable.

SIR JOHN DAVYS to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18. London.—I did not reach this place until Saturday night last, neither could I rig myself out fit to appear, and to be able to give your Grace an earlier account of my having delivered the recommendatory letters which your Grace honoured me with hither, and which have caused my affairs here to move very prosperously hitherto, for the King received me most graciously upon them; and they did and still do produce extreme civil treatments from his ministers to me, so as I do every day meet with fresh occasions of acknowledging your Grace's favours for me.

I was told by Mr. Gwyn, the clerk of the Council in waiting, that the letter from your Grace and the Board and your Grace's private one to my Lord Sunderland in my favour were read yesterday in Council, and that they gave such full satisfaction concerning me that there was no room for objection, neither was any other made but that I took a very unnecessary journey, which for my part I think was a necessary one if it were to no other end than to have such a solemn declaration made of me, so as I am amply justified there and don't doubt but by the blessing of God to meet with the like success if I should be summoned before the Parlia-

ment, where my Lord Arran (who next your Grace is the kindest person upon earth to me) and all my friends besides do utterly disadvise my officious producing of myself and entering the list with my little adversary until I am called to it by a greater and better authority than their narrative, which as yet is not; and it is questioned, now I am upon the place and having such materials for my defence with me, if it ever will be done, for there has not yet been the least step made towards it since my coming, and therefore all I have now to do in that particular is to be watchful whether any motion happen to be made against me and, lest there should, to endeavour the softening of some seeming hard hearted people, wherein I have already made a considerable progress.

Neither am I alone vigilant as to myself, but careful also to hear what is said concerning your Grace, for evil tongues do now make bold with the greatest as well as with the meanest of men. All worthy and honest persons I meet with do speak with great honour of your Grace's person, and with great certainty of your Grace's loyalty to the King and sincerity to the Protestant religion and look upon both to be abundantly safe under your Grace's administration, and for those who are differently qualified and evilly inclined as to your Grace, and ready enough to speak, I cannot learn any material things they have to put against your Grace. That which I hear they place the greatest weight upon is the business of Levallin, and your Grace not issuing earlier orders for apprehending of him, and this is mentioned here in the very words that worthy Councillor did use who refused to sign the narrative, so as this arrow did most assuredly come out of that quiver, which your Grace may please to make your own use of without mentioning me in it, and if your Grace would also please certainly to recollect the time when and the manner how your Grace first had the notice of that business of Lavallin and how soon afterwards orders were issued for taking him, and who of the Council were attending your Grace and advising concerning it (for I'm mistaken if the aforesaid Councillor was not one) and transmit a narrative of all this to my Lord Arran, I humbly conceive it would not be inconvenient, especially since such a stress is put upon that matter; neither would it be inconvenient in my humble opinion if your Grace thought fit as any account is sent to authority here either from your Grace alone or from the Council Board that a copy thereof may be at the same time sent also to my Lord Arran, for I find nothing kept more a secret in certain places here than those accounts whereby people abroad do either see nothing of the proceedings in Ireland or understand nothing of them but by the clandestine misrepresentations of some private and false hands, whereas by the other way of proceeding truth will appear and in the end will no doubt prevail and justify itself, your Grace and all the rest of its followers.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1860, Dec. 18. London.—I had on Wednesday last your Grace's letter of the 6th, with a printed order for all the officers of the Irish army to repair to their commands under a severe penalty. I hope peers are excepted, though the order is not clear in that point. I have got Mr. Ellis to acquaint all the officers that are in town of your commands in that matter, and he has writ to those who are out of town, and Sir Cyril Wyche has writ to Col. Butler, whom I find the King much concerned for, but not so much as to give him any more licences to stay from his command, but would have him have leave to sell. If that which I have propounded in behalf of Captain Hayes by Lord Longford is not approved of by your Grace, I desire he may sell to Mr. Foord. Vere Cromwell is ill of the scattick, and Captain Gilbert Talbot of an ague, of which they will have certificates.

As to the business of the bailiwick of Westminster, whatever Sir James may have writ I am sure he told me both that place and yours of High Steward were forfeited if proof could be made that money was paid, and the thing is true. The matter now stands thus. Mr. Ellis has paid or has secured to pay Stroud 1,000*l.* and is to pay Sir William Boreman for your use the 500*l.* due to you from Stroud and Stroud's bond is given up.

My Lord Longford will tell your Grace at large what was done this day in our House concerning my Lord Stafford.

HENRY COVENTRY to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18. Piccadilly.—I have been so long under an indisposition that I have not been able to pay my accustomed duty to your Grace; neither indeed had I anything that I could take any delight in writing, or you in hearing. My letters have been for some years a little melancholy, but should I write you my mind now they would be desperate. The Government seemeth in a kind of derout; neither can I see how it can well rally again, nor guess what use those that have done it will make of it. The ways to disorder are much easier than to settlement. This nation hath once found it, and I pray God it do not so again. My Lord Longford will give your Grace ample detail of what passeth here both in relation to the public and your private concerns, and when he hath done it I believe you will think my conceptions proceed not barely from the spleen, but I will detain your Grace no longer with my thoughts that have nothing but melancholy, not being able in this mist so much as to see my way, much less make it.

EARL OF LONGFORD to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 18. London.—My Lord Chamberlain understanding by Mr. Mulys that my Lady Ossory did not intend to set out from Knowsley till Tuesday last, by which

means she cannot be at Northampton till Monday and consequently cannot call at Mr. Bennett's till Tuesday, when I design to meet her at Stony Stratford and from thence shall hasten to the waterside. My Lord Chamberlain desired me to stay here till Monday, thinking it will be much for your Grace's satisfaction to have a full account of that affair.

This day my Lord Carlisle acquainted the House of Lords that my Lord Stafford begged the favour of their Lordships that he might be once more admitted into their presence to acquaint their Lordships with all that he knew relating to the Plot. Upon which their Lordships sent my Lord Carlisle to fetch him and to tell him beforehand that if he made a full and ingenuous discovery of the Plot they would intercede with His Majesty for his pardon, but if he trifled with them in not making a material discovery they would be so far from interceding for him that they would make it their request to the King that the sentence should be executed upon him with the utmost rigour and severity. His Lordship being brought to the House and called in, he did with tears acknowledge he was guilty of a great crime in endeavouring to overthrow the government of the Church as it was established by law, and in order to it had waited upon the King at Breda before his restoration to solicit him for indulgence to the Catholics; that he had often repeated his solicitations in that particular very frequently since his restoration, and that to incline His Majesty to it he had two years after his restoration laboured to persuade the Papists to raise amongst themselves 100,000*l.* by way of present to His Majesty, which not succeeding by reason of their unwillingness to part with money he was forced to desist; that sometime after the Catholics had a meeting at my Lord of Bristol's house in order to the obtaining from His Majesty a relaxation of the penal laws and had entered into an oath of secrecy, with which he being after dissatisfied came the next day to my Lord Bristol, acquainted him with the dissatisfaction he had to their method of proceeding, and told him he would not be obliged by that oath they had taken, and therefore renounced it. That a little before the late Long Parliament (as it is now styled) was dissolved my Lord Shaftesbury came to him and pressed him to persuade the Duke to effect the dissolution of that Parliament, by which means a Parliament of another genius would probably be chosen who would grant indulgence to Dissenters, and then the Papists might hope for their share of it. Upon this my Lord Shaftesbury moved my Lord Stafford might withdraw, which being done his Lordship told the House that it was evident my Lord Stafford trifled with their Lordships, for instead of making a discovery he justified his own innocency and abused their Lordships, therefore he moved their Lordships would hear him no more, but that he might be carried back to the Tower, which was ordered accordingly.

This day the House of Commons took His Majesty's speech into consideration, and after two hours resolved to supply His Majesty for the support of Tangier, for the setting out his fleet, and for the maintenance of his alliances abroad, upon condition that His Majesty would consent to the cutting off the Duke from the succession to the Crown, that a Bill of Association might pass, and that a Bill might pass for having frequent Parliaments, and this was referred to a Commitee to be drawn up into an address to be presented to His Majesty. The Parliament will not meddle with our Irish affairs till after Christmas.

Sir L Jenkins to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 18. Whitehall.—Mr. Secretary Davys delivered me the letter that your Grace did me the great honour to write to me by him. I should be intolerably vain if I should think myself, especially in the circumstances I am in at this time, capable to render him any service. I cannot imagine he will want any, his case is so clear, and his testimonials so strong. However, I shall not be wanting to the utmost of my power; a common calamity as well as his own worth obliging me to it. This day seems to me a critical day in the House of Commons, for they were upon the speech they had lately made to them by His Majesty. I think there is no more upon their books but a vote for an address to His Majesty in answer to his speech, which is to be prepared by a committee upon the debate of the House. The debate ran :—

1. For the Bill of Exclusion and that it do pass the Royal Assent before other things be taken into consideration.

2. For an Act of Association, without which the other (they say) will be of no effect.

3. The purging and regulating of Westminster Hall and that the Judges have their places, *quamdiu se bene gesserint.*

4. For the regulating of Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, where the Marquess of Worcester was personally named as having too great a trust.

5. For regulating and restoring the Justices of Peace.

6. For putting the Navy into such hands as may be trusted.

7. For taking away standing forces, and inland garrisons, and then they will give money as the necessity of Tanger and the fleet shall require, and if it shall appear upon enquiry that our alliances prove to be useful for the perservation of the Protestant religion and the interest of this Crown, they will encourage such alliances.

Thus your Grace, my Lord, sees what the King is to trust to. I beseech God to direct and preserve him.

Sir Hans Hamilton to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 18.—About a fortnight ago one Owen Murphy brought me an order from your Grace and the Council requiring all officers, civil and military, to be aiding and assisting

to the said Murphy in apprehending and sending to Dublin all such persons as the said Murphy should think fit to apprehend in order to the discovery of the Popish Plot in Ireland. Having perused the order, he desired my warrant for apprehending all such, and also an order to the several officers and soldiers who are in this country appointed to prosecute the Tories to be aiding and assisting to him in the said service. In your Grace and Council's order was recited an order or letter from the House of Lords in England for giving the said Murphy all assistance, which made me the more cautious how to act in so general a warrant, for by it he might apprehend all persons in the country against whom he had any prejudice as well as those concerned in the discovery of the Plot; but I got him to give me a list of such as he desired to apprehend, being about sixteen in all. He left one McGennis to execute the warrant I gave him, who since brought me several of them, and at his desire I have bound them over to appear in a short time before the Lord Chief Justice in Dublin. I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with this lest a clamour might come to your Grace's ears of so many being apprehended by my warrant, and perhaps little to be said to them or by them in reference to the Plot or aught else. As I was writing this to your Grace these inclosed came to me, which I trouble your Grace with; if under pretence of discovering the Plot such bloody murderers shall be pardoned, it will be good encouragement for others to turn Tories. These letters* were found in the hands of Redmond O'Hanlon's mother-in-law by one Mullan, who I employed to prosecute the Tories; and having apprehended some of Redmond's receivers in whose hands they found goods robbed from some travellers on the road the said woman was in one of their houses, and seeing Mullan come in she went to hide these letters; he believing it to be money went to her and took them from her; the letters and the receivers he brought to me, but not the woman, and now your Grace sees that a small sum of money of monies given to the son-in-law (for so it is probable to be) will prevail with that B. to procure pardon for so bloody murderers as these are known to be by one means or other.

Copy.

Rev. James Callaghan to Henry Gardner.

1680, Dec. 18. London.—You may understand that I and the rest of my company are very well, hoping that you are likewise and all the rest of our well-wishers. As for Papists, it was enacted and established by both the Houses of the Lords and Commons that no Papists or suspected may live in the cities of London and Westminster Hall or within twenty miles of the same. My Lord Stafford, who has been a great peer of this realm, is to be executed next Monday for

* See pp. 535, 536 *infra*.

being impeached to have a hand in the plot against His Majesty. There is several other great Lords in the Tower who are like to suffer also, for there are several evidences ready to swear positively against them. Your friend Sir John Davys, who was Secretary of State in Dublin, is here in custody and is impeached with high treason. Moreover inform my loving friend Mr. Denis Raverty that his worthy friend, Oliver Plunkett, Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland heretofore so titulated, is upon the Newgate of London to his great woe, and let Mr. Denis be sure not to fear any suborned evidence against the next Assizes of Ardmagh, for there are as many priests, friars and other chief members of the laity out of Munster, Leinster, Connaught, Italy, England and other parts as might hang him and a thousand more if they had been as much concerned as he is. As for our part, notwithstanding our great report in Ireland is nothing in comparison to the rest of his adversaries. Pray be sure to assist my cousin Edmond concerning the business that you know of, and let me understand that you shall be careful of himself and pray do not neglect to forward him the way that you know yourself, which I know you may very well do (and God willing) there is no kindness that you shall shew him, or any other of my friends, but shall be requited ere it be long, if I be a living man; and let my cousin Edmond send to Neale Callaghan who was in trouble concerning the Tories, when I came out of Ireland, and if he or any other of my friends be in any such trouble, let them come to you that you may send me an account of all their businesses, and be sure to direct your letters to Mr. Jones' coffee-house near the Royal Exchange. As for your rent doubt it not, and let my cousin Thomas McDonnell and my curate pay you whatever is behind of the old debt, and if you or my cousin Edmond can have tenants to plough the land now, let them not fear the rent, for if I did continue here in London I might discharge them of all troubles whatsoever, and much more I trust in Jesus Christ that they shall see me in those parts with a merry meeting towards Candlemas next. Pray be pleased to inform Sir Toby Poyntz that I have not forgotten his request of me the time we were together, and let him understand that I did not rest until I got it done to his own desire, and if any of my friends shall occasion for him, let him use them as his accustomed favour was towards myself always. The most part of the gentry of the west parts of Ireland is impeached with the Plot, but none out of the north; as for Red. Laughlin and Ed. Kane their protection is ready drawn, signed and sealed without the least impediment, only expecting some moneys to bear their charges, though with much ado, yet let me beg of you as a trusty friend to keep this very private, until it shall be publicly known unto all others, not only this but several things I did expect to inform you with, but that I am called immediately before King and Parliament. There-

fore I trust all to your own discretion until further liberty, only remembering my dutiful respects to yourself, to all my well wishers and especially to my most noble and worthy parishioners in general. My boy Terence Kelly desires to be remembered to his mother, to his brother, sisters, and all the rest of his friends, and I thank God he is in a better condition now than he was when he parted with them last, for he wants for neither clothes or meat, and has as many books of both English and Latin as he can make use of, studying both day and night in his chamber, but when I am abroad myself then of necessity he must wait upon me, and they shall see him shortly in a better condition than they expected.

Endorsed :—To Henry Gardner, Innkeeper at Newry.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680, Dec. 18. Dublin.—By yours of the 11th I find you had seen Sir John Davys. By this time I suppose you have produced him and he has acquainted you with all he carries with him in paper or in memory. We have since had additional informations taken in the county of Limerick, which seem to corroborate Mr. David Fitzgerald's first information and to make good David Nash his information in spite of his and Lynes retractions and criminations. These new witnesses applied themselves to Captain Odell, who took to his assistance two other Justices of Peace to prevent his being again calumniated for a suborner. His letter to me and the informations he sent with it of Maurice Fitzgerald and Murtagh Dowling are transcribing to be sent to my Lord Sunderland and the two informers are sent for according to their desire. The name of the latter I may mistake, the information not being by me, but, I think, I am near the sound of it. If any notice be sent of this matter and noise made of it before we can send them, this may serve for an account of it as it yet stands. Orders are sent by this night's post to commit eight gentlemen to safe custody and to take bonds of four or five more in the country of Limerick, against which latter the evidence is not so full as against the others. If these eight shall be sent for into England, as the Lord Brittas, Sir John Fitzgerald, Lacy and Brady have been and must go to London on the charge of this revenue, it will be a great burden to it and therefore it may be fit again to mind the King of our former desire that we may be no further charged with sending prisoners than to Chester, for I can see no end of informers, and such as must be taken into custody upon informations. The Lord Brittas is not yet to be found. His fellows are much troubled at his evasion, supposing it may prove an argument of their guilt.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680, Dec. 21. London.—I had yesterday your Grace's of the 13th, but have none of the enclosed papers you mention, but the matter, is not great for the last alarum out of Munster

is grown cool again. I am glad to hear you are in hopes this fit of the gout is over, the exercise your Grace used in the summer has without doubt lessened your fit; there is an oil to be bought of one that was a servant to Sir Philip Howard which my Lord Suffolk and Lord Shaftesbury commend as a very sovereign thing, both when the gout is upon one and for strengthening the part after the fit is over. I know not whether my Lord Longford has remembered to carry any with him. His Lordship went away early this morning. He will show your Grace some of the heads intended to be put in against you, and your answers to them will come soon enough, for I believe you will not be meddled with, if at all, until Christmas be over, but I believe I can myself answer all the particulars I have yet seen or heard of, if I may affirm Sir George Lane never met with the Popish clergy by your order or approbation since His Majesty's restoration. I have it from two persons severally that the parties who were active in this are Mr. Hayes, Mr. Roberts and one Morley, whom you have had often before you at the Board, and I believe Sir James Shaen, though my informers deny his having any hand in the matter, they being his friends. I forgot in the two or three last letters to assure you of the certainty of Fitzpatrick's having a command at Tangier. My Lord Inchiquin made him an ensign in his regiment before his Lordship's leaving Tangier. Mr. Buck died this morning.

Your Grace will find by the last address from the House of Commons that within a short time we shall know how matters must go.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680, Dec. 21.—Your next will inform us to what purpose robes were put on as yours of the 14th mentioned. Geoghegan, one of the discoverers sent over with ample recommendation from the Council, has carried himself so extravagantly and insolently that it was yesterday resolved at Council he should be stopped in his career and brought hither to answer the many complaints brought against him. You may be sure they were palpable and enormous when we all agreed they were no longer to be endured. I believe one Owen Murphy sent to provide witnesses against Oliver Plunket, titular Primate, will be found faulty also, but there are yet no complaints of him. In a search made for Tories, their stolen goods and harbourers, by warrant from Sir Hans Hamilton, the originals of the enclosed copies were found, with whom and in what manner will appear to you by the copy of Sir Hans, his letter to me. You may guess who the Lord in England is that is depended on to get the pardon of Hanlon and his accomplices, and it appears upon what terms. If you find a fit opportunity it may be fit to show them to the King who can best judge what use may be made of the originals and when; in the meantime they shall be safely

kept. I know not whether it may be safe to say it, but it is a truth that there seems to be as great a disposition to quietness in this kingdom as ever I observed. Here and in other parts parts of the kingdom I find that arms are brought in very fast upon the proclamation, and some who had leave to have arms but never had any, or not so many as they had leave for, are constrained to buy them and bring them in. I know not of so much ground for the report of this kingdom being in rebellion as the taking of any arms in Munster. Informations upon oath indeed there are of some powder and swords said to be lodged in a house and thence conveyed to O'Sullivan More's who was easily and quietly apprehended and is in custody at Cork to give an account of himself and, what is laid to his charge, tho' the taking of him was represented hither as a service of difficulty and danger. When a man of so great dependance living in a wild mountainous country, and not restored to his estate, is so easily brought in as he and O'Sullivan Bere's eldest son (who is in all circumstances like the other) have been, I know not who else is able to stand out; evade they may as divers have done in England and the Lord Brittas here. Whoever thinks it necessary for the good of England that Ireland should be made and kept poor may wish for a rebellion here, there being nothing but a war that can do it. I can tell who maintained that maxim in the politics, and possibly, so it were done, cares not how many Protestants may be destroyed by it. Neither the order of the House of Lords here or ours here did give so large authority to Owen Murphy as Sir Hans apprehended. [Encloses the two following letters.]

Deborah Annesley to Mrs. Katherine O'Hanlon.

1680, Dec. 7.—I am extremely troubled that I cannot give Mr. O'Hanlon no better account of what I was assured to prosper in. My Lord Lieutenant was overruled by the Council, who would not hear of his coming in, but has put 200*l.* on Redman [Redmond] O'Hanlon and 100*l.* on Loling, so that all the arguments could be used by my father could do no good; the proclamation will be out on Saturday against them, but my father is finding out a way in England for all those poor men, of which you shall know more from Mr. Annesley; because letters are opened I can say no more of that, but that way without doubt will secure them and bring them in, of which I desire you to send away immediately to Mr. Annesley who will inform you, and desire to hear from you concerning it and let them know that no means shall be left unsought to do them good, for my father will have them in, and let them not take it ill, for I could do no more if it had been for my own life. I shall stay here till I hear from you concerning what I wrote about them to Mr. Annesley, and no stone shall be left unturned to bring them in, which I question not but we shall find all will be well concerning them.

There is nothing set on Edmond Ban and Hagan.

FRANCIS ANNESLEY to MRS. KATHERINE O'HANLON.

1680, Dec. 9. Clough.—Mrs. Hanlon, I was directed from above to give you this account, that affairs in relation to your friends are in a worse condition than was expected. There is 200*l.* set on the head of one, and a hundred pounds as the price of the other, and a pardon had certainly been obtained for them if in so enormous a case it could have been done without violence to justice. I can tell you (if you come over to me, and possibly it may be worth your while) where the shoe pinches. I have only this to add (for it is not convenient to write my thoughts to you), and I beg your speedy answer to it, that I may return it to my Lord Bishop of Meath, who will acquaint the Council with their resolution in these two points :—

1. Whether Redman O'Hanlon will be a discoverer of the design for the French invasion here, and who in Ireland are the principal abettors ; if he doth this he need not doubt of countenance, pardon and reward also for himself and his two brothers.

2. If he will be at the charge of procuring and passing his own and his brothers with Neill O'Hagan's pardon in England : if so my Lord Bishop of Meath will draw up the petition for them and send it to a sure and honourable hand that will get it done without control. I also will improve my interest with the Earl of Anglesey and other friends there for their advantage.

This I do that they may know their condition here and what is purposed to be done in England for them by my assistance and kindness ; and the consideration of the misery they are in, and the inclination they ought to have to their own interest should prevail with them above all other advice how preferable is a quiet and peaceable life to that which you now lead. Therefore you should resolve to become honest men, and prove firm to the King's interests, and never deviate again from their obedience to the King if you can obtain once more his gracious pardon, which I question not may yet be obtained, though new difficulties are started.

Endorsed :—For Mrs. Katherine O'Hanlon, These

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF T. SAVAGE.

1680, Dec. 24. Dingle.—On the first of this instant parted from Bilbao, in Spain, the ship called *Daniel* of Garcia, now in this harbour laden with fruit, Peter Bally, master, who affirms that the current news in that place was that from Algiers there were ready to set sail thirty Turks men-of-war for the coast of England and Ireland, and that he was much advised to make all the despatch he could for the same reasons ; he further saith that the post brought constant news that the plague was very rife at Algiers ; he saw the comet nine days ago very plain at sea ; these things, pray, if you think fit, communicate to his Grace.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, Christmas Day. London.—Tho' the Lords adjourned on Thursday last to the 3rd of next month and acquainted the Commons with their intentions, yet they sat yesterday, and in the afternoon Sampson, Morley, Murphy, Moyer, Macnamara, Burke, and Eustace Comyn petitioned the House against Sir John Davys. The House heard only Sampson and Murphy, whom they could not understand. The former was very sharp upon Sir John, and did not spare my Lord Chancellor. The whole matter is referred to the Committee of Examinations, of which Col. Birch is chairman. I believe they have introduced this accusation only to usher in one against you. I have so laid out that I am confident I shall have a copy of the articles designed against you, and Kennedy is like to get them, for my Lord Barkley, who is his Gideon, has engaged him, and he is ready to swear that he was offered money to be a witness against you, but refused it.

My Lord Conway professes great kindness for you, and is very friendly to me upon all occasions, but he has desired a thing (and I find he sets much stress upon it) which you formerly refused my Lord Granard and me, and that is that Sir George Royden should part with his troop to his son, who, my Lord Conway says, is a very vigorous lusty young man. The denial will very much dissatisfy him, and it is not prudent at this time to lose him. He thinks he could be sure of the King's letter on his behalf, but will not seek for that out of respect to you. He desires me to tell you also that Landy Bolton goes in the next stage coach and hopes you will be favourable to him at his arrival. Cap. Gilbert Talbot is sick of an ague and has been so this great while, as your Grace may see by his physician's certificate. I have just now received your Grace's letter of the 18th and a paper from Mr. Gascoigne, about one Geoghegan, but I have not time to read it nor to go to Court and give you an account afterwards what His Majesty's answer will be about the prisoners you send over, but His Majesty I am sure will take them off your hands at Chester, for I spoke to him about two or three days ago, and he said he would give order in it.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680, Dec. 28. London.—I had last night your Grace's letter of the 21st instant and the enclosed copies of the Bishop of Meath's letter, etc., and I hear the informations mentioned in yours of the 18th are come to my Lord Sunderland's hands, but I am never the wiser for I shall not see them; therefore it were well that duplicates were made and one copy sent over either to Sir John Davys or me, but his head is so full now of his own business that he cannot mind the public's. The Committee were to sit upon him this day. The papers you sent me were too long for His Majesty to

peruse, but I read your letter to him this morning and he was very well pleased with it. I told him also what was contained in the other papers, but he was so much troubled with other business, that he gave no advice in the matter. You will do very well in my opinion to keep the originals safe until use may with prudence be made of them; I think the time not proper yet. I attended all yesterday morning whilst the Council was sitting, in hopes to have got some order about taking the prisoners off your hands at Chester, but they had, it seems, business of greater moment. By Saturday's post I hope it will done.

I find the Irish witnesses do not agree amongst themselves, for they say Hethrington has cheated them of the allowance the King has given him for them, and Mr. David Fitzgerald broke Sampson's head the other day, of which he complained to the House of Commons, but they thought Fitzgerald in the right, he having given Fitzgerald ill language before.

If you have not very enormous things against Geoghegan, you have done a very bold action as the world now goes, for the little great man said not long since at the committee that he thought in his conscience Eustace Comyn was an honest witness; but since you have done it I shall be bold to give the history of his life to some members when you send over the second part, which will contain what his transactions have been since his last journey thither. I leave Sir John himself to give an account of what is done with him. I wish his overmuch concern may do him no hurt at the Committee. I am sure all people without doors to whom he has told his story are very well satisfied with the account he gives in his justification. I have not hitherto interposed in a business you have been transacting, which is of so great concern that I can hold my tongue no longer, and that is the marrying your grandchild. For the friendship I have to my Lord Chamberlain, you being so far engaged before I knew anything of the matter I could not but approve of it and discourse with him in the matter, though I never liked it, and much less the going a-begging for a rich match, tho' of mean education, for it seems the mother flatly refused to let her daughter see my sister Ossory upon the road. You have a good opportunity to take the matter high, and upon that usage to break off the match. I am sure my sister Cavendish is of the same opinion with me, but you know best what is fit to be done. Betty Stanhope is just now come to me, and desires to have her duty presented to you.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680, Dec. 29. Dublin.—I have yours of the 18th and 21st of this month, and shall have all that my Lord Longford can show or say in a few days, if the wind holds as it is, and if he has made no long stay by the way. In a former letter,

I have assured you, that Sir George Lane was never with any congregation, or convocation, or any other meeting of Popish clergy from me, since the King came in; nor, I think, ever in his life. The meeting that I am charged with, and all the transactions at it, are at large set down in a great book set forth by Peter Walsh. My aim was to work a division among the Romish clergy, and I believe I had compassed it, to the great security of the Government and Protestants, and against the opposition of the Pope and his creatures and Nuncios, if I had not been removed from the Government, and if direct contrary counsels and courses had not been taken and held by my successors, of which some were too indulgent to the whole body of Papists, and others not much acquainted with either of them, nor considering the advantage of the division designed. I confess I have never read over Walsh's book, which is full of a sort of learning I have been little conversant in; but the doctrine is such as would cost him his life, if he could be found where the Pope has power.

I cannot find any entry of the orders that were sent for the taking of Lavallin, whose escape would seem to be imputed to my negligence. But I remember well that the first and only notice I had of such a man's being charged with being one of the ruffians was in a printed diurnal, and that having heard of Captain Lavallin's dissolute course of life, and of a base and treacherous action of his in Holland, I suspected he might be the man; and thereupon the orders for his apprehension were sent to persons and places most like to have it done. It is said this was not done time enough; but if it had not been done at all the omission would not have been very criminal; considering that there are many Lavallins besides him now taken for the man, and that I had no intimation where to look for him or any other of the four, though three of them are Irishmen. Besides, I find in the late journals that somebody at Bristol is accused of helping them all away, so that either he must be wronged, or else Lavallin made not his escape from hence. But without doubt he went out of this kingdom, and the Bristol man is not guilty of the escape of all of them. Having leisure enough I thought it not amiss to say thus much in those two points.

You have already sent you a part of Mr. Geoghegan's life and achievements till he left Ireland, and was re-converted by the Bishop of Durham under the name of Dalton. His exploits, since he came over with authority from the Council to take plotters, are many and remarkable, and shall be sent to my Lord Sunderland as soon as the story is completed to his committal to Newgate, where he now is. But since he came over armed with such authority, upon such an employment, his commitment to Newgate may be misinterpreted, I send you authentic copies of so many examinations as have yet been taken concerning the abuse of the authority he had

from the Council in England, and pursuant to it, from us here; which will satisfy anybody that it was not fit to let him go on to plunder, beat, and imprison who he pleased. English and Irish, Papist and Protestant, as his fancy, supported by strong ale and wine, should direct him.

Here is also one Owen Murphy, authorised to search for and carry over witnesses, I suppose, to give evidence against Ol. Plunket. He carries himself with much more modesty; but he has been as far as the county of Tipperary, and brought thence about a dozen people, not like to say anything material as to Plunket; so that I believe he takes them upon account of Eustace Comyn's mad narrative. Perhaps before the letters go away I shall say more of him, or Mat. Barry shall, to Sir John Davys, to whom I pray make my excuse for not making any other return than this to his letter of the 18th.

I know not what may become of Tangier or the troops there, so that I am not willing to give Fitzpatrick's certain place till we see the issue. The poor youth was shot through the body and may be dead.

How could anybody imagine Lords in Parliament could be meant in the proclamation calling officers to their duty? If all the officers of the army were of the House of Commons I hope I have more wit than to call them from that service.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680, Dec. 31. Dublin.—I have yours of Christmas Day and we hope before night my Lord Longford will be landed. If he was at sea last night he had a rough passage. I think by this time Sir John Davys believes his journey well undertaken. I cannot conceive how the petition of those fellows should be an introduction to a complaint against me otherwise than as it brings the affairs of Ireland in play, for they have hitherto made no reflecting mention of me. I do not believe Kennedy refused money to accuse me or any man. He is a notorious thief and liar, so that no belief is to be given to anything he shall say or swear any further than there shall be some other concurring testimony or pregnant circumstance. I had the heads of an accusation sent me, whereof a copy goes with this that you may compare them with any that shall be brought you. I offered Sir George Rawdon by my Lord Granard that he might have 400 guineas for his troop, but his return was that having received that command from the King he was desirous to die with it, but if he thinks he can make more of it I shall refuse no fit man to whom he will resign it; but if my Lord Conway wishes rather that he should resign it to his Lordship's nephew I will comply with it upon notice from Sir George. It will be a mighty ease to us to have all such as shall be sent for taken at Chester.

EUSTACE COMYN to RICHARD DENISON at Clonmel.

1680–1, Jan. 1st. London.—I must beg of you that you will certify that I was refused a warrant to take John Brenan, titular Bishop of Cashel; Oliver Plunkett, Primate of Armagh, and Robert Power, pretended Deacon of Waterford, in your own house in Clonmel by Robert Lowe and Charles Alcock, in the presence of Mr. Stephen Moore and others, and what you can certify besides for the public good in order for the further detection of the plot I desire you send me by the next post and direct it to me to the Earl of Shaftesbury's in Aldergate Street, otherwise I must summon you hither as a witness.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Jan. 1st. London.—I suppose Sir John Davies will give your Grace a more perfect account of the proceedings of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the allegations of Sampson and the rest of the witnesses against him than I am able to do, but I find upon the whole matter they seem resolved on these two points, to vindicate the reputation of the witnesses and receive nothing that shall contradict them, and to throw all the dirt they can gather together upon the Government of Ireland. On the last Council day my Lord Sunderland brought to the Board four letters from your Grace and Council of Ireland; those letters which related to the examinations were ordered together with the examinations to be transmitted to the Committee of Examinations of the House of Lords.

On Sunday last there happened some angry discourse between my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Hyde upon the occasion of the King's receiving and returning no New Year's gifts this year as formerly, and it grew to such a degree that Mr. Hyde the last Council day complained of it to the King in Council. They were both thereupon ordered to withdraw, and after some time called in again, at which time His Majesty acquainted my Lord Chamberlain that what Mr. Hyde had done in that matter was by his order, and therefore he ought not to have given him that occasion of complaint.

The town hath lately been very full of some proposals made in private to His Majesty to explain more particularly the last paragraph of the House of Commons' address concerning the certain sum of money that some of the leading men of the House of Commons would undertake should be given in case the Duke's Bill should be passed and some of themselves put into employments which they desired, and it is said that His Majesty being expected at the Lord St. Albans' lodging on Monday night last at supper, Mr. Ralph Montague and Mr. Will. Herbert came thither with inentiont to have met the King, but His Majesty came not thither that night. This discourse occasioned the vote of the House of Commons on Friday that no member of that House should

receive anything from the King without leave of the House, and that those who did contrary should be expelled the House. It is said that my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs hath lately surrendered his employment, but I do not know the certainty of it.

Sir John Davys to Ormond.

1680–1, Jan. 1st.—I am at last brought upon the stage or rather to the stake by the Irish witnesses' petition against me to the House of Commons, which was referred to a Committee where I have been baited for six or seven hours a day these two days last past, committee men and evidences, even Eustace Comyn himself, saying what they listed to me. At last, being demanded immediately to answer, I observed that the examinations against me were diverse, the things charged upon me in them various, the times they were laid in several, and those times far distant, that I was not conscious of any occasion ever given by me for them, so as they were the more surprising upon me, and therefore for the Committee's easier and my certainer method I desired I might be allowed a copy of my full charge and competent time allowed me to put in my answer to it; which being debated among them they at last resolved on this only, that they will upon Monday acquaint the House with my motion, and according to their sense govern themselves in it. Upon the whole matter, considering what sort of committee it is, Col. Birch in the chair, who took occasion in private among them, as I heard, to compare your Grace and me to the Lord Strafford and Sir George Ratcliff; and after what manner they used me, only admitting me to speak when the witnesses would give way to it, and not only suffering them to say what they pleased as they saw occasion by way of invention and addition to their examinations before given in, but leading them and encouraging them to it, and to criminate at their wills your Grace and the whole body of the Government in Ireland as well as me, and all this in the hearing of crowds of people of all sorts that thought fit to come, the doors being laid open for that purpose, I expect little better but that my request will be rejected and the Chairman report *ex parte* against me, and thereupon an impeachment to the Lords, where I confess I had rather be, and where my materials for my justification, I don't question, will be regarded, which in the place I am at present I find would be looked upon but as trash, everything there offered against what the evidences say proving to be no more; and therefore I yet reserve from being blown upon what I have for myself, even the Bishop of Meath's certificate also, until a properer opportunity for producing them. Thus your Grace sees in what a position I am, being here in the hands of false witnesses and the mighty encouragers of them, from whom, Good Lord, deliver me. Edmond Murphy, the priest, took occasion at the Committee

to affirm that when he appeared before your Grace against the Tories he was well used, but when he discovered the plot he was ill treated by your Grace and other reflections of that kind were placed by him and others of the witnesses, from whose hands I am confident mischief is intended your Grace by as wicked but higher people. God preserve your Grace from them, which shall be my daily prayer.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, New Year's Day. London.—Yesterday morning the Council sat and turned out the clerks. What the business was I have not yet learnt, but I suppose it was about an answer to the House of Commons' last address, for His Majesty is to speak to both Houses on Monday.

I have at last got a copy of some of the articles drawn up against you. It is likely they will be mended before they are made use of. I copied them because the hand they were written in might be known if intercepted to the prejudice of the person. Your Grace will easily judge by some of the articles who were the persons that furnished the materials as in 16th article, 20th and 22nd.

Major Hallkett, Toby Purcell and several other officers are come hither from Tangier. They tell me that Fitzpatrick is dead of his wounds. The King told me yesterday that he intended to send home again that part of the forces there that belong to Ireland. Sir John Davys has been twice before the Committee, who, I suppose, will give your Grace an account of their proceedings with him.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680–1, Jan. 1. Dublin.—Since mine of yesterday, which I think is not yet gone, I have seen from a better hand than Kennedy's another article that is said to be prepared against me, and that it will be sworn. The article is that I have been seen to receive the sacrament the Romish way at my sister Clancarty's. Now though it may be as truly sworn that I was circumcised at Christ Church, and that few of any brains that know me or have but a superficial account of my life will give credit to so incredible a forgery; yet if it get into a narrative thousands will swallow it as truth; and against this there is no fence. The credulous that trust in prints will never hear or consider, whether it be material or no, that I could have as many masses and sacraments as I had a mind to brought me, and more secretly, into my lodging, than to go anywhere abroad for them; that the laity never have the sacrament given them (unless they are sick) but at Mass; that Masses are never said but in the morning; and I defy anybody to prove that ever I was to see my sister this twenty years but in an afternoon. Above all, let Mr. Oates his depositions be examined, and it will clearly appear that it was designed by the conspirators that I should be killed;

and sure if I had been a Papist it would have been known to them ; and as sure it is that they would not have contrived the death of one that might in such case have been useful to them. I have caused Oates his depositions to that point to be extracted out of a reprinted copy here, which it may be fit for you to have by you. It is not in the same volume of that printed in England, and therefore the directions to pages and sections will not serve.

SAME to SAME.

1680–1, Jan. 3. Dublin.—My Lord of Longford and yours of the 28th of the last arrived here yesterday, but both what you write and what he says leave us under the uncertainty we were and are like for some time to continue in. It is true that the sending of duplicates of what went hence to my Lord Sunderland in confirmation of David Fitzgerald's discovery was omitted. It shall be now supplied, and that course constantly held for the time to come. I am obliged to my Lord Burlington for advice he gives me in a letter of his to my Lord Primate, tho' the matter of fact be mistaken, for my Lord Brittas was not bailed by me but by the Judges, and if he appears at the next Assizes he saves his bail, tho' by evading till then he makes his guilt more probable. Against O'Sullivan More there is not one witness yet appearing, nor was there any order from hence to take bail of him or of O'Sullivan Bere when my Lord's letter was written, nor I think is yet; so that his information, I mean my Lord Burlington's, is not authentic from whomsoever he had it. The originals of the copies I sent you shall be safely kept, and I am promised more of the kind the next week. You will have a copy of my letter to my Lord Chamberlain, which I mean should import that I give over any further thought of the proposition concerning his kinswoman.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Jan. 4. London.—The Committee have made no report yet in Sir John Davys his business, but it is believed they will make one nothing favourable to him, and that the House will vote an impeachment against him. He was so much concerned at the Committee's proceeding with him when he was last before them that he was disordered to such a degree I was afraid he would do his business much prejudice, but he is better settled now. The deposition of Maurice Fitzgerald and Downy were read this day in our House, and Sir John Fitzgerald and Col. Lacy were before us, and denied what was laid to their charge, but we were so satisfied with what was sworn that we passed a vote that there was and is a dangerous plot in Ireland, as your Grace will see by the journals. Your constant friend there happened to say upon this occasion that Papists were better armed in Ireland than the Protestants, but I cleared that point and satisfied the House to the contrary, which he made no reply to.

Sir Thomas Wharton was but a while ago with us. He desires to be remembered to you and promises his endeavours to justify you whenever he meets with anything said against you There is one Cornet Colt yet here, but he goes away next week. He has made his brother, who is a leading man in the House of Commons, to be Sir John Davys his friend; therefore he desires if he should outstay his furlough a little that you would be favourable to him.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, Jan. 6. Dublin.—Mr. Geoghegan's history is brought so far that we have thought it time to transmit it to my Lord Sunderland, and we hope his villainies will appear to be such as will justify his sending to Newgate. Murphy, sent hither to gather witnesses by virtue of an order of the House of Lords of an old date, is ready to embark with those he has picked up. His authority bore no direction to the Government, nor was any address made to the King, as in other cases, to command me anything in that matter. So I have in no degree interposed; only when Murphy complained of want of money I furnished him by the advice of the Council with fifty pounds. In Hetherington's letter produced by Murphy he was advised to good husbandry; and particularly to take none with him but material witnesses; and yet he has taken some from Carrick that profess here that they are able to say nothing of the plot or plotters. So that I should have saved the charge of ten or twelve persons, and prevented the ruin of so many poor men taken from their trade and labour if they had been any man's tenants but my own. In Hetherington's mention is made of a Popish Bishop, who, as it was supposed, might be prevailed with to make a full discovery of the Plot upon assurance of pardon. Murphy persists to be of the opinion still, and says he has fresh reason to be so. Thereupon I have given a safe conduct to the Bishop, and put it into the hand desired by Murphy. If he comes to me upon it, I make no doubt but that he will make such discoveries as will well deserve a pardon and ample reward; which I will in that case undertake to him for. The safe conduct is given since the Council sat; and so I could not have their concurrence, nor did I think it fit to delay a matter of this moment (if it falls out right) till the next meeting. I have not time to write this day to my Lord Sunderland, but you may let him see this letter.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, January 6. Dublin.—Since my letter to my Lord Chamberlain importing that any further prosecution of any pretence to Mr. Bennet's daughter should be laid aside, Mrs. Brabazon was with my wife and told her that she found by the Duchess of Albemarle that an address in behalf of my grandson for a younger sister of hers would not be displeasing.

I know nothing of the person of the young lady or of any other circumstance considered in such cases, but am abundantly satisfied of the advantage of the alliance in reference to birth and the honour and constant loyalty of the family. Yet in regard to both sides, and that instead of contracting a stricter friendship by an alliance we may not lessen that which is already betwixt us (as it sometimes falls out when a treaty of this kind is entered into and broken off) it were good that some knowledge were had of the fitness of the match as to the persons first and then as to the conditions of marriage, and this I desire you to discourse with the sister of and to make such inquiry as may be proper. I will mix this affair with nothing else.

Sir John Davys to Ormond.

1680–1, Jan. 8.—Since my last to your Grace all that passed in the House of Commons concerning me was Colonel Birch's reporting the examinations taken against me and making this disingenuous addition, that I had answered at the Committee, as your Grace will find by the printed votes of Thursday, whereas the last thing that passed there was a desire from me of copies of the examinations and time to answer to them according to the account I formerly gave your Grace thereof, a way of proceeding some of my friends who are members and were at the Committee will, I believe, take notice of and rectify that mistake when the business comes to be debated in the House, which is ordered to be upon Monday, and at the same time some things that Sampson and McNamara gave in the other day to involve my Lord Anglesey in my Lord Tyrone's plot are to be considered also to see whether they will bear an impeachment of treason against him. Sir Robert Clayton and some other vassals of my Lord S., and consequently patrons of my accusers, would endeavour to bring me in for treason also, but I don't in my own opinion and by better judgments at all perceive that the matters against me can warrant any such thing, but if they should run them up to so unreasonable a construction in the lower House I am very confident such is the justice of the Lords, before whom the articles must come at last, they will upon hearing of them be of different minds and proceed accordingly as to me, for they have done the like already, and no later than yesterday, in the case of my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, impeached before them by the Commons of high treason upon articles of a higher nature than mine can be, which their Lordships declared to be but misdemeanours and therefore have bailed the Chief Justice, and won't as much as give way to his suspension from his employment until they see reason for it after he has received his trial. The other day Mr. David Fitzgerald and Oates being together and holding a discourse concerning me, wherein the former speaking in my favour the latter took occasion to give him very abusive

language and met with a suitable return, which has produced no good effect, as such garboils seldom do. For to-day a gentleman came to me and told me for certain that Oates the last night carried Bernard Dennis (who your Grace may remember came over hither from Ireland with Moyer and the other priests) with him to my Lord Mayor, where Dennis has given in an examination against Fitzgerald and named therein your Grace, my Lord Chancellor and myself, but to what purposes that gentleman could not tell, but he is a-scouting to learn them, and when I hear what they are I will send your Grace an account of them. Just as I am writing this the gentleman is returned to me and tells me that all that examination was that David Fitzgerald should be endeavouring to persuade some of the witnesses not to prosecute me, which he has denied at a Committee. Though none of the printed votes have yet named me under any ill character, my adversaries have notwithstanding written and scattered intelligences as if I had been voted a notorious stifler of the Plot in Ireland, with other wild and false things which no doubt will be dispersed about in Ireland to blacken me; while I am forced to be patient, until by my innocency and the help of friends who are satisfied of it, I can extricate myself out of my unfortunate circumstances; and since I mention friends I crave leave to acquaint your Grace that here is one Mr. Colt, a member of the House, who appears mightily my friend, though otherwise a hot, disobliged and fierce speaking man against the Court, and therefore of good interest with the contrary party. Him his brother, who is cornet to Captain Aungier, has made for me, and by that means altogether of Launty Bolton, whereby I have free access to and such good credit with him and by him with others as I hope it may not be useful alone to me, but to your Grace also, for the effecting whereof I have been the occasion of detaining the Cornet and Launty Bolton longer indeed than they would otherwise have stayed from their colours since your Grace's last proclamation for recalling officers, and therefore I humbly beseech your Grace's pardon to me, in the first place and in the next to them, and that your Grace will be pleased that no inconveniency may light upon them as to their commands or pay for their staying so necessarily here upon my account hitherto. This week they go from hence over.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, Jan. 8. London.—Our House has sat so late this night that I shall not have time to say so much as I intended, but Sir John Davys will write more at large. My Lord Burlington, upon the account of friendship to your Grace desires me to advise you not to let bail be taken for those persons who are accused of the Plot there, tho' but one witness against them, for he is informed the O'Sullivans, who are, as he says, very dangerous people, are out upon bail.

I am commanded by His Majesty to let you know that by the next post you will have orders to send over Maurice Fitzgerald and Murty Dowling, and he will give directions to have the charges borne here from Chester.

The House of Commons have voted as you will see against four Lords and one Commoner, so that it is to be hoped that they will let Ireland alone for a while, and that Sir John Davys will be safe, they having more considerable work of that nature upon their hands than his.

LORD COURCY to DUKE OF ORMOND.

1680–1, Jan. 8. Kingsweston.—I have been here keeping my Christmas at Sir Robert Southwell's, and we have often joined our hearty prayers and wishes for your Grace, especially considering how many troubles are spoken of. I am sure I have sorrow enough, not only in gratitude to your Grace for the good that is past, but for fear of the evil which may befall me if any change should be made in that kingdom.

I have been now five years at Oxford, which I esteem my great happiness, not only about my religion but other good things, by the care and goodness of my Lord Bishop. But I am often sorry that I cannot study so hard as he and other friends have desired me, which I acknowledge as my fault or unhappiness. I shall be sixteen year old in May, and my wishes are to travel and if it could be when my Lord of Ossory goes, I should think that a most happy occasion, and I should strive to make good in some other things what I fal short in about my studies. After this the next thing I think of is the getting some employment in the army in Ireland: and besides these two ways I cannot tell what to think of for one in my condition. I would be glad, if I could, to begin with the first of these ways, which is travel, but I fling myself upon your Grace for help and advice.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, Jan. 9. Dublin.—Sir Joseph Williamson likes this country so well and has so much interest in it by his lady that he resolves to stay here for some time. I know not perfectly how he and his place of secretary were separated, nor consequently how he stands in the King's opinion. But in all his discourse with me he appears to be zealous for his service. So that I am of opinion his being of the Privy Council in this kingdom may be useful. I am sure I should wish it during my being in the Government if it have no objection on that side. If His Majesty think fit to have him sworn the form of a letter requiring it may easily be found.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, Jan. 9. Dublin.—I have yours of the 1st with the inclosed abstract, and am of your opinion that they will

be better polished and put into method before they can with credit to the composers be made use of. But though all that is material in them is utterly false and all that is true wholly impertinent, yet as they may be dressed they may serve for an accusation or impeachment, and produce all the preliminary inconveniences from which I know not who can be exempted. If the speech we have here in print was really spoken in the Lords' House as it is printed, and shall pass without any reprehension, or so much as an explanation, I know not why any subject should wonder at anything said of him or to him. It is plain out of whose shop the articles you marked came, and it is visible here that the merchant has still great credit with his partners.

This westerly wind has carried over Murphy with a number of witnesses; and Geoghegan since his imprisonment has accused my Lord Carlingford, Col. Garret Moore, and one Nugent of treason. That the title of the King's evidence may not only defend him from punishment here but help him into England, where he hopes for more favour than here, where he is best known, and to make his presence there the more necessary, he now desires to be examined against the Lord Molyneux. This is evidently his drift, but how safe it may be to find or affirm it to be so I cannot judge. You have duplicates sent you of all that is transmitted to my Lord Sunderland concerning him, Murphy, Fitzgerald and Dowling, which make a large packet. This shall be all of this letter. Copies of two letters sent from the Board to my Lord Sunderland about Ja. Geoghegan and Murphy, dat. 8 Janry., 1680. Four copies of safe conduct, etc., for Tyrrell, titular Bishop of Clogher, to come in and declare what he knows of the Plot at the instance of Owen Murphy.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, Jan. 10. London.—I stopped the bearer's journey one day, having notice that the Parliament was to be prorogued this day, which it accordingly was this morning until the 20th instant. The House of Commons took it so high that they have passed several angry votes, and those of the other hand who were against the Bill of Exclusion are afraid this is an expedient to have that Bill brought in again, and those who venture to oppose it to be ruined. I cannot learn whether the King intends that or a dissolution, and therefore I will not stay Poule any longer, my desire in it being that I might write the more freely without troubling your Grace with cypher. I had some discourse the other day with my Lord Essex, and thinking it a convenient opportunity I told him I heard there were articles drawn up against you and that his Lordship was acquainted with them and promoted the thing, which I thought was not very fair play. and that if I would make it my business I could find miscarriages in his government. He disowned absolutely his

having any hand in such a thing or that he knew of anybody else that had such a design, which put an end to our discourse.

My Lord Chamberlain showed me a letter from your Grace of the 3rd instant, but I have had none since the 21st of the last.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–81, Jan. 11. London.—Since I writ yesterday by Poule I had altogether four letters from your Grace, and with them several papers relating to Geogheghan, whose actions, when one compares what was sent here before and came to me yesterday, will in my opinion exceed all that Clancy ever did; yet if the Parliament were now sitting and knew how you have proceeded with him, I am confident they would have resolved it a discouraging of the King's evidence, especially in the humour the House of Commons were yesterday in. *It is believed generally this Parliament will sit no more, and those who are great at Court in a manner declare as much,* and therefore the answers to the articles intended against you may rest awhile; besides, upon comparing together what I hear of all sides, I conclude the House of Commons intended only an address against you, and that for not being vigorous enough against the Papists occasioned by the many relations you have amongst them, for none of the sober men will allow of any article of your being either a Papist or in the Plot. A great part of the extract you sent of Dr. Oates his examinations I had collected out of the narrative that lies entered in our books, which he having sworn to there makes it matter of record, or else the printed narrative if occasion had happened would have done no good, as it was found upon my Lord Stafford's trial, Turbervill's printed deposition and what he swore before the Court differing in a material part. Therefore I was very glad to find what related to you entered there. Upon the whole matter there is scarce anybody that knows you, though never so much your enemy, thinks you guilty of anything criminal, and therefore if you are to be given up to them all that can be said for you or said by you will not avail. What to advise you to in this conjuncture is past my skill. My Lord Chamberlain is of opinion to have you set on foot again the calling of a Parliament in Ireland, and to that purpose will inform you himself of his mind. He is very fond of going on with the match still, though he showed me your letter to him of the 3rd, which I had not then received a copy of, my letters coming later to hand than those at Court. His lady, I suppose, has made my sister Ossory much for it, too, for she seemed very much to approve of the matter two days since.

My Lord Brittas as it happens has played the wisest part, now the Parliament is prorogued, for the other gentlemen being committed for treason by the peers, and my Lord Tyrone

being impeached before the peers, cannot have the benefit of the Habeas Corpus Bill. Cornet Colt, as he was walking in the streets yesterday, was chosen second by Mr. Oglethorp, who killed his man, one Captain Richardson, and the Cornet hurt his man, Captain Churchill, which makes him post away. I find Colt justified by everybody. Lord Hounsden was another, for they fought three to three, he was likewise ill hurt; he was of the same side with the principal that was killed.

Thomas Fairfax to Earl of Arran.

1680–81, Jan. 11. Dublin.—I writ to your Lordship two or three posts about Ensign Muschamp and Ensign Forbes, and therein begged your Lordship's pleasure concerning that affair, and I do now again, if your Lordship thinks fit, desire the same favour. The good company I am often with remember your Lordship continually and ask me almost every post some tidings. Therefore (though I know your Lordship must be very busy in such a hurry of affairs as now are), yet if I may have now and then a line it would not be amiss. My Lord Duke went yesterday to the Exchange and bought a whole cupboard of plate, which cost at least 50*l*., for Lady Charlotte. Lord Tullow says positive your Lordship has forgot him, and bid me put Papa in mind on't. God be thanked, he is very well and the finest little Lord in Christendom, and my Lord Duke and Lady Duchess are exceeding fond of him, as they have all the reason in the world; he is very fond of a match, but it had need be a strong one. We are expecting from you every day what will become of us, God send all go right; but let it go which way it will I shall for ever be, etc.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–81, Jan. 15. London.—I had your Grace's letter of the 6th on Thursday last and one by Mr. Coote of the same date, which I shall answer by him, who tells me he returns within two days. I showed your letter to my Lord Sunderland according to command, but he has now as little interest at Court and is as little regarded as ever any fallen minister was, and seems exceedingly mortified; yet I think it proper your dispatches should be directed to him until His Majesty order the contrary, though I intend in any matter of moment to speak to the King myself, since his Lordship intends not to peruse any papers relating to Ireland before he send them to the Council.

I find my Lord Conway does still insist much upon his nephew's having the troop resigned to him, and believes him one of the finest gentlemen in Europe, and nobody dares undeceive him. I showed him that paragraph which concerned that matter in yours of 31 December, and he is much satisfied with it, and has upon it writ to his brother, who it

seems writ his Lordship a discontented letter, grounded, I believe, upon some mistake of my Lord Granard's; and it seems there is another mistake amongst the officers there, which is that the King gives leave to any officers of horse to sell their employments. If you have any such letter it is contrary to His Majesty's intentions, and you may choose whether you will conform to it or no. All that His Majesty ordered was that those officers, both horse and foot, who resolved not to make their residence in Ireland chiefly should have leave within three months to sell their employments to such as His Majesty or you approved or else to lose them. I have been twice at the office to see a copy of the letter, but could not find it, matters are so managed there; therefore I shall trouble the office but little. I have been several times with my cousin Hamilton about her son before we could agree upon what was fittest for him to do, and yesterday she is come to a fixed resolution that her son should buy an employment here, so that the colours you intended for him your Grace may dispose of elsewhere. It is my desire that gentlemen of the best quality should supply such vacancies. I have employed one to Col. Russell to deal for my cousin, for I hear he has a command or two to sell, and the price rises and falls as in other markets, for a brother of Mandeville's, of the county of Tipperary, who is a Protestant, and served well abroad, I recommended to him but a fortnight since, and his money could not reach one. I think I writ above six weeks ago on behalf of Mr. Buck, who had sold his Clerk of the Dockets place to Mr. Ellis upon engagement to change the lives. If the matter be not done accordingly Mr. Buck's executors must pay 1,000 guineas back to Ellis, which will be great inconvenience to them. I will not interpose too far lest it may concern your faithful and honest servant Hen. Gascoigne. As I was making up this I had brought me yours of the 9th with all the remaining copies of examinations which should have come last post. These, with what has been sent me before, swell to such a bulk that the perusing them has made my head turn round almost as much as the Commons have made Sir John Davys's. I will next opportunity find how the King stands inclined towards Sir Joseph. My Lord Lanesborough writ upon the same subject to my Lord Chamberlain a pretty while ago, which letter he showed me, but it seems he chose a wrong man, for my Lord thinks he has not behaved himself towards him as he ought in gratitude due have done, and therefore would give Sir George no encouragement in the matter. I doubt not but you have found long ere this that the speech you mention was burnt by the hand of the hangman, and the printer ordered to be proceeded against at law. The Lord who was suspected to have spoke did not say all that was there, but took liberty enough. Toby Purcell is gone from hence in the stage coach, he is very much commended by all the officers

for his diligence and courage, therefore pray be kind to him and do me the favour to let him know I have writ on his behalf, for I promised to write by him, but was not at home when he called for his letter the night before he went away, though I had one for him. I have so much work upon my hands now and have nobody to help me that I hope my Lord Longford will not persecute me with cipher. Hethrington and David Fitzgerald are at open wars before the Board, and I take part as much as I do appear with the latter, whom I am sorry has not all the proofs against that fellow he might be furnished with on that side, but he will prove him rogue enough.

ORMOND to SIR JOHN DAVYS.

1680–81, Jan. 15. Dublin.—I have received two of yours from London; your last of the 28th of December left you in such a condition as gives me much impatience to know what was reported to the House of Commons in your affair, and what resolution it produced. I do not conceive that your case can receive determination in that place, or that there can be matter sufficient alleged and proved against you for either address or impeachment, which are or should be acts of solemnity and well grounded, else they may lose much of their weight. There comes to us every post some new offers of discovery, most of them from the county of Limerick, yet they begin to spread into the county of Galway; as fast as they are brought to any maturity they are and shall be transmitted to my Lord Sunderland and copies of them to my son Arran, who will impart them to you as he finds you at leisure. Our last letters out of England bear date the 1st of January. Much change there may be since then, upon which our peace and proceedings will depend. I know nothing I can do here or write from hence that can be of use to you; if I did you should not want it or anything that may manifest my being, etc.

EARL OF CONWAY to ORMOND.

1680–81, Jan. 15. London.—My Lord of Arran hath acquainted me with your Grace's favour in consenting that my brother Rawdon shall transfer his troop to his son, by which your Grace hath laid the greatest obligation upon me in the world, and I believe my nephew is as hopeful a youth as any in that kingdom, and will be as ready to serve the King and your Grace.

I know your Grace hath heard of the late prorogation and intended dissolution, and what is to be done next. I told my Lord of Arran that I thought nothing so necessary in this juncture for the King's service and the good of Ireland as the present calling a Parliament there. 'Tis certain they will be loyal, though my Lord Shaftesbury and my Lord Essex will influence some, and my Lord Burlington, who hath not

gone with them this session in English affairs, will go with them in Irish affairs. But if the King should call for any of his forces there I do not see how your Grace can keep up an army, which is only capable to secure that kingdom, without a Parliament that must give money, and will certainly provide for the peace and safety of Ireland. I have discourse of this with others who are conversant in the King's affairs, and when the King hath made a regulation in his Court and Council, I believe it will find no difficulty here. In the meantime if I receive any commands from your Grace I shall obey them and as long as I live I shall study by all manner of service to shew your Grace that I esteem myself obliged to be, etc.

JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford, to ORMOND.

1680–81, January 15.—It is not forgetfulness of my duty which has withheld me from making frequent addresses to your Excellency, but the fear of being rude and troublesome. At present the King having declared his purpose to meet his Parliament in this place, which is under your Excellency's patronage, I conceive it may not be undecent to give your Excellency an account thereof, and withal to assure you that all possible care shall be taken to do everything that may become us upon the occasion, and suit with our concern that your Honour may not suffer in our miscarriage. My Lord Ossory, I hope, does everything that may give your Excellency satisfaction and alleviate your cares for the public by the comfort which you receive from his virtue and industry, and prospect of your families flourishing in future generations. My Lord Courcy, who has long depended upon your Excellency's charity for his support, is now grown up to be capable of a farther instance of it by being brought into the world. I the rather mention this now, because I understand that he has several Papist relations in the Court, and possibly there may be others whose example may be as pernicious as their opinions. I beg your Excellency's pardon for this freedom.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–81, Jan. 16. London.—Mr. Coote informing me this night in the drawing-room that he was to go for Ireland to-morrow, I would not let him go without a letter, though I writ at large last night, and have not much to say in answer to the letter he brought me from you concerning my nephew. I have been with my sister Cavendish since I received it and she tells me that the Duke of Newcastle has four daughters unmarried and none of them tolerably handsome but one; the estate it is likely will be divided amongst his five daughters, but then my Lord Devonshire will think he has hard measure, for there was a promise betwixt the two fathers that their paternal estates for want of heirs males should fall to the surviving heir, and my Lord

Devonshire's is so settled. My Lord Chamberlain, notwithstanding what you writ, will, I am sure, take it ill if any overture should be made until he has spoken with his kinsman, and he says and has satisfied my sister Ossory that advances now will be made of their side. You may be sure of the Duke of Newcastle's daughter when you please. I cannot learn yet whether the Parliament will meet or no, but by Tuesday's post without doubt we shall know.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680–81, Jan. 18. London.—This day His Majesty, having ordered the calling an extraordinary Council, was pleased to declare his resolution of dissolving this present Parliament and calling another, and thereupon gave order for a proclamation for the immediate dissolving this and for the appointing a new Parliament on the 21st of March next to meet at Oxford. The Earl of Salisbury debating against it was silenced by His Majesty, upon which his Lordship desiring leave to withdraw himself, the King answered he could not make any request that would be more easily granted, and ordered his Lordship's name to be struck out of the Council Book.

This day three letters with several enclosed examinations from your Grace and Council of Ireland were communicated to the Board by the Earl of Sunderland. To that which concerned Geoghegan, alias Dalton, their Lordships have ordered a letter to be writ from the Board to your Grace to proceed against him there for his misdemeanours with the utmost severity of the law, and to the examinations contained in the other two letters they have appointed a day for the Committee of Examinations to meet to consider them. I do propose myself the honour of very speedily kissing your Grace's hands in Ireland

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Jan. 18. London.—This day the King has ordered in Council that this Parliament should be dissolved and that another should be called the 28th of March next to meet at Oxford, upon which, as I am informed by a Privy Councillor, my Lord Salisbury has quitted his place in Council. What measures will be taken after this I will learn as well as I can. Sir William Courtenay was at the Council door to prefer a petition to His Majesty for the sitting of the Parliament at the time appointed in behalf of the county of Devon, but the sudden dissolution hindered the delivery of it. I believe I shall send over this post a letter for Sir Joseph Williamson's being of the Council in Ireland, for the King has consented to it with a great deal of kindness to him, and Secretary Jenkins has promised to set His Majesty's hand to the letter this night and have it entered at the Signet Office before the post goes away. The Irish witnesses brought over

lately by Hethrington's orders were this day attending the Board, but were not called in; to-morrow they will be examined, as I am informed by a Committee of the Board., I cannot yet tell what course to steer myself by, but shall follow your directions, though you are at such a distance.

LORD CLARE to ORMOND.

1680–81, Jan. 18. Carrigaholt.—Having lately had some discourse with Mr. Donough O'Brien of Dogh, my cousin german, and one of the most solid and considerablest gentlemen of this county, I endeavoured to persuade him to tell me what he knew of the Popish designs these years past, assuring myself that if they had any in our country he must needs know it. But I could find no more from him than what is in the enclosed copy, which, however, I thought fit to send your Grace; in regard I know Brady to be the most eminent, zealous and most knowing man of his order in this kingdom, and that nothing of the Papists' designs here could be hid from him, and that I believe had he not an opinion of my cousin to be a man that loves his quiet and the world as he calls it, he would have told him more, his work being to be carried on only by men elevated in the spirit or desperate fellows. His saying there were Papists in every county to characterize the faithful and the disposition of the people shows plainly there was a Popish design in hand to be executed either at the King's death or before. This being my opinion and that really there was a design to subvert the government, as I intimated to His Majesty about ten year ago, made me send this little information to your Grace, being likewise persuaded that many considerable gentlemen of our country will be ingenious, and discover the particulars of it if the Parliament continues sitting in England, for I am certain nothing dissuades them but the daily hopes they have to hear it is either dissolved or prorogued, and that their Popish favourites will return again to Court, which makes me humbly pray your Grace to move His Majesty for the continuance of this sessions in England; that now or never Popery may be extinguished in this kingdom for good and all.

I am certain that if the course I presumed to propose ten years ago to His Majesty were taken, most of the youth of Ireland had ere now conformed with the Church. I was then well hampered for my pains by the Popish party as your Grace knows, yet I will never cease to urge that matter at all times I see hopes of being heard. It is in vain to think that we and our posterity can live with safety under a Protestant Government in this kingdom, if Popery be not wholly extinguished in it; the doing of it by halves will not secure us, it leaves us exposed to all Popish Princes that quarrels with England. And yet this mischief may in few years be prevented by banishing of their priests, which with the loss

of all hopes of their favourites becoming again great at Court would soon bring them to conform. But while they have such hopes no law or punishment will bring them to it. Nay, few magistrates will be forward to see the law executed, as we find by experience. We are in greater danger than they are in England; yet if they clear the fountain we shall have wholesome streams, which makes me again most humbly beg your Grace to move His Majesty that the Parliament may continue sitting until we find out to the full this infernal Popish conspiracy which hath been in this kingdom, and which doubtless will be made out clearly if the Parliament sits for some reasonable time longer in England.

My Lord, I was hitherto silent like the burnt child that dreads the fire. I despaired of the Parliament's sitting long, and of the suppression of that strong party of Papists I saw in England (I fear them still), and I was glad to draw in my horns and retire to this solitary shell, being very sensible I have not parts to represent the danger I saw and I see still we are in, having had scarce two words of English at the King's restoration; however, my zeal to preserve the interest I profess hath put me long ago upon showing my weakness in writing to His Majesty, as it does now to your Grace. But no man will be more ready to venture his life in the Kings' service than I will be whenever your Grace is pleased to command.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680–81, Jan. 18. Dublin.—Three of yours came this day, the last was of the 11th, but Mulys if he went not out of the way to Knowsley rides not fast, else he might have been here with the packets. There is no return to be made to anything you have writ, nor anything new from hence. Some additional account of Geoghegan's extravagances you will soon have; whether credit will be given to them or to him I know not, but truth shall be told; and yet I dare not, though it be manifest, say that most of our new discoverers give more discredit than confirmation to the plot. It is well that I am not like to be charged for a plotter or a Papist. That I have Popish relations is no more my fault than it was the first Reformers that they had so, and I suppose that the vote that there has been and is still a horrid Popish plot on foot is so resolved from the examinations and witnesses I sent over. And when what has been done against the Papists both clergy and laity shall be considered (as possibly it never will), I know not what could be done more. An address is a softer way than an impeachment; but being commonly in general terms it affords no means of vindication, and in that respect is worse than an impeachment, but since I am not to choose I submit to either as it shall please God to order it. I am sorry Cornet Colt makes haste hither upon the account he doth. You may assure Sir John Davys that neither he nor

Bolton shall suffer by their absence. My Lord Sunderland by the King's command hath written for two witnesses, Fitzgerald and Downey, who were well on their way to London before I received the letter; but I yet hear nothing of leaving such as shall be sent for at Chester. It is too early yet to think of, at least to propose what my Lord Chamberlain mentions. The proper season has been unhappily slipt over against all the representations I could make, and I have suffered undeserved mortifications for making them, and that from those that have shown themselves to be unworthy of the credit that was given them. The dispositions of men here are much changed from what they were, and yet I think steadiness on that side would do much towards bringing us here to our former temper. But if the Court, the Papists and the fanatics drive one way he must be mad that stands in their way, and this has been the case. As to the match for my grandson it must come very fairly and with great present advantage, if I entertain any further motion concerning it.

ORMOND to LORD CLARE.

1680–81, Jan. 22. Dublin.—I have received you Lordship's of the 18th inst., and the information of Mr. Donough O'Brien, of Dogh, and though the information would of itself seem to be of small moment, yet in conjunction with other evidence and circumstances and considering the quality of Mr. O'Brien and the temper you say he is of, it may confirm the truth and reality of a plot, and therefore I earnestly desire your lordship to make use of your utmost interest and industry to make a further and more particular discovery of the Papists' designs against His Majesty, his Government and the Protestant religion. In the meantime I shall make the best use I can of the other parts of your Lordship's letter, tho' before you can receive this letter you will have heard that the Parliament is or was prorogued, and that it is probable it is by this time resolved when it shall meet again. Your lordship mentions not whether Brady the Friar be in Ireland or no; if he be it would be of the greatest importance to have him apprehended, and I recommend it to your Lordship's care. I shall represent your zeal and diligence in this conjuncture to His Majesty.

ORMOND to the KING.

1680–81, Jan. 22. Dublin.—Yesterday I received the original of the enclosed copy from my [Lord of] Clare,* together with the information of Mr. Donough O'Brien; the contents of the letter are of such a nature that I hold it my duty to transmit the copy of it immediately to your own hands, supposing it probable that the Lord of Clare may have sent another to somebody else. Your Majesty best knows what use to make of the original (which in the meantime shall

* See p. 556 *supra*.

be safely kept) and what further to command me concerning it. I send your Majesty likewise a copy of the information, and of my answer to that Lord. God direct your Majesty through all the difficulties before you.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–81, Jan. 22. London.—I sent your Grace by the last packet Sir Joseph Williamson's letter to be sworn a privy councillor there, but sent it after my other letters were gone, the Signet Office having not dispatched it till after nine at night. The talk about the town is that my Lord Sunderland is to part with his secretary's place; the candidates are Sir William Temple, Mr. Finch and Sir Thomas Littleton, and some say Mr. Seymour. I have spoke to the King several times about recruiting the Scots companies that are in Ireland, and he still promised to send his commands to raise them in Scotland by beat of drum, without which they are not to be had, and it is not certain whether they can be raised that way neither; so that I inclined to have them rather supplied out of the north of Ireland, for the beating drums in this conjuncture may be of bad consequence, and the being without their complement is ill also.

His Majesty has commanded my attendance this next Parliament and continues the same commands to you as he gave me for you at my first coming hither, and sent your Grace since by my Lord Longford. Mr. Gwyn goes next week for Ireland, and my Lord Chamberlain; he and I are to meet the day before he goes to discourse of matters, that he may inform you that by word of mouth which may be difficult for his lordship or me to write. I have thoughts whether I stay the Parliament's meeting or no to take a trip into Ireland if you approve of it; yet whatever you may conclude on that side, matters may so alter when my back is turned as may make those measures you may prudently take impracticable when I return. There came the other day about 25 witnesses out of Ireland under the conduct of Owen Murphy and the messenger Wilks brought Maurice Fitzgerald and Murtagh Dowling; the former, I am told, disowns the printed information upon which we made that brisk vote concerning there being a plot in Ireland.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1 Jan. 25. Dublin.—I have received yours of the 18th and this morning that of the 10th by Mulys. If it was good to dissolve the last Parliament and so soon to call another I think the place of sitting well chosen; but for the present I suppose it determines the question of calling a Parliament here. I desire you to deliver the packet enclosed herewith into the King's hands as soon after you receive it as you can have an opportunity, and let the seals be well

observed, for I find a packet of mine was opened in December last and a ring of 50*l.* taken out of it, for which I am to pay. I think you ought to stay till the Parliament meets, then you may expect fair weather without doors whatever it may be within; but this with submission to the King's pleasure, which you may inform yourself by desiring to know it. If you come away whatever my Lord of Shaftesbury shall say in the House touching Ireland upon the falsest information will pass for current truth, and hasty resolves may be made upon it such as may be of considerable prejudice to the King's service, if my reputation or continuance in this Government be of any importance to it. In case His Majesty would have you stay, if you can have any tolerable conveniency I think you should take your wife with you, Oxford being so far in your way hither. There is time enough to think of the match for James; that my Lord Chamberlain proposed is in a good posture. If it comes on from the other side I will not say but that the advantages may be such as I may close with it.

If the King have a mind to gratify any of the officers of his army here with leave to stay longer in England than my order allows, let it be privately signified to me by one of the secretaries, and it shall be complied with; but a formal public letter will draw importunity upon him and prejudice upon the discipline of the army.

Toby Purcell is not yet come; when he arrives he shall know of your kindness to him. A notorious Tory in Munster being ready to be sent by my lord of Orrery to prison, and at last actually perhaps too hastily sent thither by his lordship, offers at great discoveries and names many persons as guilty of the Plot, but orders will go this night for his setting at liberty and for protecting him in his way hither. The fellow's name is Henaghan, as I think in times past an attorney in the Presidency Court, but since that was suppressed turned robber. He has put his tale as well together as any of this country.

Anonymous to Ormond.

1680, January 25.—The quality your lordship has in this monarchy and the place you hold in Ireland obliges me to give your Grace a short and true account of our condition here that you may the better know how to take your measures. How the Parliament came to be prorogued and afterwards dissolved I suppose your Grace may be informed by other hands, but it may not be inconvenient to take things a little higher, that your Grace may know as well the foundations wherein our babel was built as the form and figure of the building itself. In the Parliament preceding the last there was a Bill offered for the exclusion of the Duke in the House of Commons which was contrived, managed and prosecuted by the Earl of Shaftesbury and a party of his in that

House, but the dependents of the Duke of Monmouth did so visibly appear in it that a just jealousy was thence taken of him by His R.H., but in that Bill there was an acknowledgment of his highness being the presumptive heir of the Crown, which was innocently inserted by those that knew not the mystery, but the cabal were well enough contented to have that Parliament broke to mend that flaw in another. In the meantime several traverses happened which will take up too much time to repeat. The Duke had heard of some practises set on foot by the Monmouthians to prove a marriage betwixt the King and the Duke of Monmouth's mother, and he unnecessarily thereupon put His Majesty upon declarations against it in Council, which rather animated than discouraged the party, for the people had conceived such a terror of the approaches of Popery, and consequently of the Duke's succeeding to the Crown, that they were apt enough to embrace any title to be secured against them. The Duke of Monmouth was suffered without check to go from place to place and county to county and was met and caressed like an heir apparent, whilst some thought the King by being so passive at it was not therewith displeased. In the meantime the Court became much divided. The Duchess of Portsmouth upon some resentment against the Duchess of York for a conceived slight of her was resolved to ruin the Duke. Godly Godolphin being enamoured and intoxicated with Mrs. Buckly was trusted to manage the intrigue. Sunderland in opinion of the omnipotent power of the Duchess closed in it, and by means of Sir William Temple (the chief statesman of them all) Sir H. Capel was the instrument to beget correspondence betwixt them and Shaftesbury, Montague, Lord Russell, Titus, Sir William Jones, Wil. Herbert and Sir Francis Winnington, who were the chief managers of the Commons in the last Parliament. They had others fell in with them, as Sir Nich. Cary, Boscawen, Vernon of Derbyshire, Hamden, Hotham, and other hot and violent conductors, Garaway, Sacheverill, Clarges, Birch, Hawell [? Stawell] and others, who were men thought warm enough at other times had now no vogue. A Bill was brought in to exclude the Duke, wherein no mention was made of his being presumptive heir of the Crown, nor would it be admitted to be added to it by amendment, nor any salvo to his children by name as was moved and pressed, but all left so ambiguous that the Duke of Monmouth, if the King died before him, might make his pretensions. The Bill passed the Commons with scarce two negatives, not any of those of the Privy Council in that House except Lionel Jenkins and Lory Hyde having courage to oppose it. The Lord Cavendish was for it, but took occasion sometimes to shew his dislike of the violence and virulence of the prosecutors, and once he inveighed against French mistresses, and said he doubted of the success of their endeavours, because they ought not to prosecute any actions

though in themselves just, by unjust means. When the Bill came to the Lords it was there rejected. Sunderland appeared for it and so did Privy Seal, but Halifax withstood all opposition and answered all objections made to support it, and in this conflict Essex, who had hitherto been his friend, went over to Shaftesbury and voted for the Bill, and the Duke of Monmouth contrary to the advice of his friends spoke against it in terms too indecent for his circumstances. This miscarriage of the Bill exasperated the party so much that an insurrection was feared, but the party were encouraged by Portsmouth to persist with assurance of success, and then there was a private bargain struck, Jones was to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Winnington Attorney General, Montague an Earl or Marquis, Lord Russell the Government of Portsmouth, Hamden a Privy Councillor, Titus Secretary of State, Capel restored to the Admiralty, and Holms (?) Secretary to that Commission. Shaftesbury was left out, which made him arraign and protest against the whole business ; Halifax and Seymour were no parties to this matter, and to be removed from the Court, the first by an address and sharp votes, the other by an impeachment. These proceedings were aggravated by by the daily alarms of the dangers of Popery and the progress of a plot in Ireland to massacre the English and introduce the arms of France. Your Grace had occasionally many reflections on your Government and the Lord Chancellor talked of as a great favourer of the Romish religion. They said that when the King was restored there were but forty Popish priests in Ireland, and these removed to the Islands of Arran and no blood shed to effect it, but only a resolute proclamation to give 5*l.* to any that discovered a priest (which was also the price of a wolf's head) and a strict practise of sending them when discovered to Arran Isles made them all rather quit that kingdom than go thither ; but upon your Grace's first admittance to that Government seventeen or eighteen years ago above ten thousand of that brood flocked thither and are still there, which does not only give life to all their plots, but so weakens and impoverishes the people that they are almost in a starving condition. They said moreover that in Cromwell's time, when the priests were put from the people, and Protestant ministers were found out to preach to them in Irish, and the statute of ninepence a Sunday imposed on all that avoided the Church, Popery began so much to decline that in seven years there would have been little of it left in that kingdom, and the like proceedings again would have the like effects. The great heat in the House of Commons made many hope the King would have sent to command the Duke to be informed in the Protestant religion, but it was not done, and some (upon, I hope, groundless opinion) said privately in Court the King had so encouraged him in it and was himself heretofore so well persuaded of that religion that he durst not do it. Friday, the 7th of January, was a hot

day in the House of Commons, the leaders there had purpose to vote the Chancellor, Privy Seal, Radnor, Halifax and Hyde evil counsellors and to be removed from the King's presence. They began with Halifax and Hyde, but others were by accidental motions introduced against the sense of the managers, whereby the three first escaped, but it was pleasant to see how the faction writhed when Portsmouth was named, and Sir William Jones was fain to use more art than honesty to save her; but if it had not been very late at night and the members had been fasting she had been irredeemably routed. This day's debate produced a resolution in the King to prorogue the Parliament on Monday following, which was the 9th, to the 20th. And on the 18th, two days before it was to sit, His Majesty declared in Council that it should be dissolved. The Earl of Salisbury stood up in Council to speak against it, but was not admitted to it, and when he desired to withdraw it was not only permitted to him, but he was struck out of the Council also. Essex muttered and Sir Robert Carr stood up to move, but would not be suffered to speak. Halifax was not there, and the next day all the advice of this counsel was imputed in the city to him, Arlington and Hyde, but the contrary afterwards appeared, and Seymour has the honour to be the sole patron of it, in conjunction, as some think, with Danby, whereby the mediation of old St. Albans is thought to be closed with him. The late leaders of the Commons think Portsmouth betrayed them. Sunderland was yesterday put out of the Council, and Essex and Sir William Temple with him. Conway is made Secretary of State; what will be the fate of Godolphin I know not. I pray God there be no money from France.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, Jan. 25. London.—I had yesterday your Grace's of the 18th and thought it proper in this conjuncture to show to the King, who was pleased to say upon the latter clause of it that I might see by what he did and intended to do that the Court should not drive any more that way. My Lord Sunderland is turned out of his employments and my Lord Conway is believed to be the man that will succeed him in his secretary's place. My Lord Essex and Sir William Temple were dismissed the Council; it seems I was much mistaken in my last letter in my intelligence concerning Sir William.

There was this day an address or petition delivered to His Majesty by ten of the peers and signed by fifteen. If I can remember the names I will enclose them. The address was much to the purpose the City's was, only they desired the Parliament might meet at Westminster, or else they could not freely give their advice. It will be in print without doubt before the next post, and then it will be sent you; it is much higher than ever the peers went in the Long

Parliament. Within a few days they say the King will turn out some of his bedchamber, but I cannot write this for a certainty. My Lord Halifax went this day into the country, and said he intended not to leave it until the meeting of the Parliament. Sir James Butler desires me to put you in mind of the business he wrote to you about concerning Sir John Poyntz, for some answer or other will be expected from you this term. I mentioned something of the same business upon the widow's desire above a month since.

ORMOND to the KING.

1680–1, January 28. Dublin.—Sir Robert Walsh has ever since I last came into this kingdom attempted to provoke me to a correspondence with him, but I have still declined it by making no return to very many letters I have received from him. He then betook himself to my secretary, Henry Gascoigne, and many letters he directed to him with desire they might be imparted to me, but neither that way had he any encouragement to give himself that trouble, yet by the last post he directed one to [Gas]coigne, which seems to me to give some light to my Lord [of Clar]re's letter to me, of which I sent Your Majesty a copy with mine of the 22 of this month. If Sir Robert being with Mr. Secretary Jenkins was to inform him of what he came to know I presume the intelligence is or will be driven as far as it is fit it should go. However, I thought it fit for me to send your Majesty a transcript of so much of the letter as relates to my Lord of Clare's correspondence. [Encloses the following letter.]

SIR ROBERT WALSH to HENRY GASCOIGNE.

1680–81, Jan. 22—You see I cannot leave still giving you the trouble of my scribbles, yet perhaps the tenents of the enclosed may not be disregarded. The best of your kingdom, I am confident, will not for the most part disallow therein. It's not yet cried, as most prints be. Everything having its time, I only excepted.

Here happened lately an accident: a letter from the country addressed unto Lord Shaftesbury and one therein to Lord Salisbury. The letters dropt in the carriage, and being found and taken up by a porter, being opened they were brought unto a neighbour the next door to me, one that lived in the King's Head in the Budge Row, a cook, in whose house I often in those days waited upon a great good man at the eating of many good leg a mutton. You wonder why I bring this story *sur le tapis*; but to come to our former chapter. These letters as formerly addressed were brought to be read unto one Dutton, the son of him of the King's Head in Budge Row, who lives right over here against my lodging in the White Friars. He coming to see me and used to receive any letter addressed to me, as sometimes some are to his

house, the Bull Head in White Friars, he comes to communicate unto me these letters writ from Ireland by the Earl of Clare, wherein he declares some things as being plottish, which I touch not now upon; he much wonders how slowly he hears from their lordships projected games are coming into play. I was yesternight, after Dutton's going from me, with Sir Leonell Jenkins, a most civil, well understanding bred man and a person fit to be a State Secretary. If ever I had got the report on the King's reference unto you there I am confident that this secretary would have served me. He knows civility, and when justice is in the case requisite. I cannot say as much of some upstarts, for whom, if I could from that country have but my own or fair dealing from them of that your nation I would not value at a f. some that out of nothing are raised to something, and now would hardly acknowledge him that made them. So God bless his Grace. If you may think of favouring me with a line, address it to Mr. Dutton at the Bull Head, in White Friars, for S.R., Janry. 22th.

Postscript.—The last post day I sent you a packet in which was one for my Lord Ossory, and one for H.G. And a particular little one for yourself in order, as so was superscribed, for His Majesty's Service, which I hope you have observed in a bumper. If you would say by a line I have received yours you would do yourself no wrong, and would do me right, my honest dear Harry, so I bid you good-night. My duty unto her Grace pray present, and service to your good lady. Lord Stafford's trial and circumstances I wish I could as easily send you. It's 40 sheets in folio.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, Jan. 29. London.—It is not yet declared who will succeed my Lord Sunderland in his employment of secretary, but it is still generally believed that my Lord Conway will be the man. He professes the greatest kindness imaginable to your Grace and myself, but most do think that my Lord Ranelagh will have that employment in time thrown up to him. I have nothing worth your trouble this post, but what you will find in the prints. The answer to my Lord Essex's speech and the Lords' petition in my judgment is very well writ. My Lord Burlington desires very much that the Scots Companies should be removed from his town of Youghal; what his quarrel to them is I can't imagine. I told him that the time of year was very improper, so that he does not expect it until spring. Jack St. Leger is the busiest man about the Irish witnesses next to Hethrington in all this town, as I am very credibly informed, and I believe the messengers at their return into Ireland will inform you as much. I desire that you would hereafter order

your letters to me to be directed to Secretary Jenkins his office, for I shall receive them sometimes twenty-four hours sooner that way than the other. When the other secretary is declared I will receive His Majesty's commands to whom your Grace should direct your dispatches.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680–81, Jan. 29. London.—I intended to have had the honour of kissing your Grace's hands in Ireland instead of this letter, but the uncertainty of affairs here persuaded me (together with my Lord of Arran's opinion) to stop my journey till I might be better enabled to give your Grace an account of the posture we are in; but the more particular reason was the discourse of my Lord of Conway's succeeding my Lord Sunderland in the office of Secretary of State, which though all conclude will be, yet is not yet done. Mr. Weld is upon his journey into Ireland and brings with him the order of Council appointing myself and him the other two commissioners for managing the revenue, who are to be continued with salary upon the establishment, which for my part I should have not so heartily pressed but that I had assurance of your Grace's kind inclinations towards me.

I suppose your Grace hath received an account of my Lord of Essex delivering the petition against the sitting of the Parliament at Oxford, with his Lordship's success therein, which was being removed out of the Lord Lieutenancy of Hertfordshire, and the Lord Bridgewater's being put in his place, his Lordship, the Lord Sunderland and Sir William Temple being before that removed out of the Council, and their places supplied by my Lord Oxford, Lord Chesterfield and Lord Ailesbury. Here is likewise great discourse of the removal of the Earl of Macklesfeld, Earl of Manchester and Earl of Suffolk out of the Bedchamber; but till my Lord Sunderland hath the seals taken from him men seem not to believe it, and in short everybody seems at present more in suspense than they were four days agone. Here hath lately happened a great quarrel between Sir Henry Ingoldsby and Mr. David FitzGerald, which upon complaint of Mr. Justice Warcup was referred to the Lord Ailesbury, executing the place of Earl Marshal, to compose and prevent any further inconvenience.

Mr. Williams, likewise Speaker of the late Parliament, making oath in the King's Bench that Sir Robert Peyton had lately been at his chamber and demanded satisfaction of him in discourse for a paper (which was dispersed abroad in the coffee-houses under the title of Mr. Speaker's speech to Sir Robert Peyton when he was discharged the House), which he did interpret was intended a challenge, and transmitting the said oath to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, who brought it before the Board yesterday. The Council was pleased to send Sir Robert Peyton to the Tower by their warrant

expressing for giving a challenge to Williams, Speaker of the late Parliament.

I do propose to myself as soon as matters are in any settlement here to wait upon your Grace in Ireland, and in the meantime humbly beg your Grace's favour in relation to my employment there.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680–1, Jan. 31. Dublin.—Sir Phil. Lloyd gave me notice that upon what was represented hence concerning Geoghegan I should have order to proceed against him with all the severity the law would allow; but though there be a post since arrived I have no such order. I hope their mind is not changed, if it be it were well they would direct how he shall be treated. If the above mentioned order be not sent away inform yourself upon what account it is stopped, for though the fellow be not worth a rope, yet something may be collected from what shall be ordered concerning him. I have hitherto suffered no check to be imposed upon the defective men in the remaining five Scotch companies, intending that by the benefit of allowing it to them they should at their own charge fill up their companies. But I can hear of no progress they have made towards it, though the Lt. Col. has been a good while in Scotland, and I begin to doubt that men will not be had thence with or without beating drums till the rest of the regiment be returned from Tangier, nor yet in the north of Ireland for fear of being sent thither. But it seems hard that when a plot is voted to be here, and whilst out of Munster we are so hotly alarmed, and whilst really the Protestants of this kingdom may be in greater danger than ever from the exasperation of the Papists, and their apprehension that it is intended to extirpate them and their religion, I say it is hard that in such a case and conjuncture we may not have means to fill up the army to the establishment with English or with Scotch Protestants, since if it were filled it is too little to secure all the important places in the kingdom.

As far off as the meeting of the Parliament is, I thought it not amiss to send over authority to some Lords to administer the usual oaths to the members of the House of Commons. You may cause it to be delivered to the Secretary of State or to one of the clerks of the Council, I know not which is most proper. I have recommended a concern not of the Archbishop, but of the Archbishopric of Dublin to my Lord Sunderland, wherein upon occasion I wish you would interest yourself.

Earl of Derby to Ormond.

1680–81, Jan. 31. Knowsley.—Though your Grace has been troubled of late with several letters from me, yet I cannot refrain this time because I must give your Grace my humble thanks for the present of wine you were pleased to

make me, which is extraordinary good, and which I esteem as much as I ought to do, and I hope personally by the next summer to assure your Grace I will always study to deserve your good opinion, for I really intend with my wife to pay you a visit if affairs here will give me leave. I am sure I should be much concerned upon a double account if I am prevented writing upon your Grace not only because we are not so well here as I should wish to be, but that I must be hindered having the honour and the satisfaction of being with your Grace, which I without compliment or affectation do desire, but what is less, yet I hope I may be pardoned if I say I extremely long to see Kilkenny, which I have heard so much of. My wife is now with me as I am writing, she presents her duty to you, and she desires me to assure your Grace from her that she really believes I speak my mind in what I have now said, which though without her assurance I hope I have given your Grace no reason to question, yet I know her assurance will strengthen what I have writ.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680–1, Feb. 1. London.—I troubled your Grace by the last post with the reason of my not attending your Grace in Ireland myself, instead of that letter in expectation of my Lord Conway's succeeding my Lord Sunderland in the office of secretary, which was last night made an end of ; His Majesty then delivering the seals to his Lordship without allowing any recompense to be given to my Lord Sunderland. My attendance at this time on his Lordship will prevent my intended journey at present; but in the meantime I hope I may be more capable of serving your Grace on this side the water, which I shall do with the greatest diligence and sincerity in my power.

Upon my resolution of kissing your Grace's hands in Ireland I received commands from Mr. Seymour which, by reason of the delaying my journey, I will give your Grace an account of here. He doth with the greatest frankness and sincerity desire the continuance of your Grace's friendship, and hath commanded me to assure your Grace that he shall upon all occasions be very ready to obey your Grace's commands whenever you shall please to think it fit to lay them upon him. Upon the prospect of my not going Mr. Seymour was pleased to mention something of the same kind to Sir John Davys, which he will be able to deliver better in discourse when he waits on your Grace than I am able to do in a letter.

His Majesty hath been pleased to order that the former method should be observed in direction of affairs out of Ireland to the senior secretary, but I am assured there will be a concurrence both in Mr. Secretary Jenkins and my Lord Conway for your Grace's service at all times.

Mr Justice Warcup and three of his brethren, Justices of Middlesex, are ordered to examine the last twenty-three wit-

nesses that came out of Ireland, four other (of whom Morish FitzGerald and Murtagh Downey are two) have been examined by them already and desired leave to return again into Ireland, which is given them with an allowance to bear their charges.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, Feb. 1. London.—This afternoon I had your Grace's letter of the 25th of the last and the enclosed packet for His Majesty, which I delivered to him within an hour after I received it. He had not time to read over then the enclosed papers, so that if he has any commands for you upon them they must be deferred until the next post, for the letters are sent constantly from this end of the town at nine a clock at night. Yesterday the seals were given to my Lord Conway, and he still professes great service for your Grace and desired me to let you know that Mr. Seymour will serve you faithfully in anything that concerns you or the affairs of that kingdom if you think fit to acquaint him with them, therefore I think you would do well in answer to this letter to make some compliment to this letter to make some compliment to him and give me directions to apply to him, for he is now in great favour at Court. I expected that my Lord would have said something concerning begetting a better understanding betwixt my Lord Ranelagh and you having occasion to discourse of him, but he said as good a friend as he was to him he would not pass his word to your Grace for him. Your dispatches henceforth the King would have you direct to Secretary Jenkins, who is very much your friend, and so is Mr. Cook, who is next in the office, and is a very honest man, therefore I desire you would allow him the 100*l.* a year you gave before to one Benson, who has deserved very little what has been given him. Secretary Jenkins will take it very kindly, but in modesty will not write himself. Mr. Gwyn will be employed in my Lord Conway's office, and therefore he hopes you will dispense with his coming over as he intended.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680–81, Feb. 1. Whitehall.—His Majesty hath been pleased to command me to remove into another province. Though no province at this time affords anything of satisfaction, yet I reckon it as a great comfort I have in my removal that I do thereby enter into your Grace's more immediate service, there being no man living that hath a deeper veneration than I have for your Grace.

You will, my Lord, receive (probably by this post) a petition of the Earl of Sussex to His Majesty with a reference upon it to your Grace. His Majesty recommends it in consideration of the equity of it to your Grace's favourable report. His Majesty hath likewise declared himself very graciously in favour of Mr. George Weld. He would have him have the

next captain of foot's place that shall fall in the army there. My Lord Arran, I doubt not, hath already given you His Majesty's pleasure in this particular. His Majesty commands me to send your Grace the transcript enclosed, 'tis part of a letter writ from Holland and addressed to His Majesty himself. The King says the writer is of no manner of credit with him; however, since he names certain persons and places, His Majesty would have your Grace see what is writ and leaves you to do as you see cause.

Here is a wonderful deal of art and industry used to stir up the seamen, the watermen, the hackney coachmen, the suburbs men, to petition that the Parliament may sit here and not at Oxford. The faction is enraged that the bulky I mean the wealthy part of the city, is not more forward in imitating and writing after the Lords Petitioners.

My Lord, I most humbly beg leave to insert here my humble and thankful acknowledgement of my Lord Arran's nobleness and favour towards me. I shall study to deserve it in some measure by my zeal in every thing wherein I may serve him.

VISCOUNT MASSEREENE to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 2. Antrim.—Out of a deep sense of that duty I owe your Grace and the King's service I presume most humbly to acquaint you that I have been informed since I came out of England that there are many Roman Catholic natives lately crept into the army of Ireland, particularly some of those who were recalled from foreign service. And in regard I understand it hath pleased your Grace and Council to order that such Justices and officers of the militia who give ground of suspicion and have wives of the Romish persuasion should be thereby rendered incapable of places in either of those commissions; I do in the greatest humility mention this to your Grace, whether you will not also please (by your own power as general) to give the same rule concerning the officers and soldiers of His Majesty's army here, and for better discovery of such appoint and command persons in each province and garrison (as you may please to approve) who may as the Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of each county of England usually do from time to time (and now or in a short time by you limited) make inquiry and [ ] of these and other particulars tending to his Majesty's service, and the truth of the premises, to the end that thereby it may be demonstrated fully that such transgressions are contrary to your Grace's knowledge and special command, so that in all the particular importances of the Government (in this juncture of affairs) you have had a strict regard, which with my humble application for pardon is submitted.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 5. London.—Yesterday at the Council appeared Silvester, Castle and five other, who came out of

Ireland on the account of being witnesses to the Popish plot in Ireland, they all having been examined before by Mr. Justice Warcup and two other Justices of the Peace, declared upon oath they knew nothing of any kind relating to the plot, which they then again swore and desired leave to return again into their own country with money from His Majesty to bear their charges, both which requests are granted them. Two of them likewise deposed that Eustace Comin had told them they should have clothes and money if they would make out what he had sworn, Comin being called in made some excuses and evasions that he only persuaded them to tell all they knew to be truth, but notwithstanding his pretences it did visibly appear he had been tampering with them. Amongst other things this was thought remarkable in the proceedings that Comin producing some letters lately sent out of Ireland to vindicate his reputation, they were all directed to be left for him at Sir Thomas Player's house.

Mr. David Fitzgerald and Mr. Hethrington likewise yesterday brought in their accusations against one another and have copies reciprocally ordered them with time till next Council day to bring in their answers.

A hearing was yesterday intended at the Board between Mr. Edmund Waller (who pretends a promise from the King to succeed Dr. Alestree, lately deceased, in the Provostship of Eton College) and the Fellows of Eton who oppose him as being a layman and not qualified. Counsel appeared on both sides, but neither party being sufficiently prepared with precedents, the cause was put off till Friday sennight next.

My Lord Conway Wednesday last took the oaths of Secretary of State and Privy Councillor, and being at this time both in possession and execution of his office, hath done me the honour to appoint me to attend his lordship, for which reason I humbly beg your Grace's favour to excuse my coming into Ireland to wait upon your Grace according to my intentions and duty and have taken care to prevent any complaints which might be made to your Grace from this side of the water for my absence.

I suppose Mr. George Weld will take care to wait upon your Grace with the order of Council for appointing him and myself to be continued in salary with Sir Charles Meredith, and therefore have not given your Grace the trouble to send my order, it being only a duplicate of that which Mr. Weld hath with him and concerns us both.

Ormond to Viscount Massereene.

1680–1, Feb. 5. Dublin.—I am obliged to your lordship for the information contained in yours of the 2nd of this month concerning the cre[ep]ing of many Roman Catholic natives into the army, but the obligation would have been more useful if you had been pleased to let me know who gave your lordship that information and instanced at least some

officers or soldiers of that kind who have been received into the army, which I conceive you might the more easily have done for that a considerable part of the army is garrisoned and quartered in that province and in your neighbourhood; nor can I doubt but that when your Lordship received the information you required some instances from the informer, and not receiving satisfaction therein I suppose you would not have given yourself the trouble of the representation you have made, but looked upon it as a calumny cast on the army and Government, as I must believe it to be till instances shall be given. The order of Council mentioned by your lordship concerning Justices of the Peace and militia officers is not yet in writing, and was resolved upon upon occasion of a person then before us, and we were judges of the ground we had to think him unfit to continue a Justice of Peace or a militia officer, and I think we shall reserve that judicature to ourselves, but we shall be always ready to receive any information concerning any man in employment, civil or military, that may tend to the discovery of his disaffection in point of religion, nay we have [long since] encouraged such informations by proclamation, which promises a reward to any whoever shall discover any officer or soldier [of] the army to be a Papist, which we thought might move the Protestants in every troop and company as well as others to detect their officers and fellow soldiers tainted in religion. This is an additional provision in that point to the directions the Commissaries of the Musters have to pass no officer or soldier that shall not produce an authentic certificate of his taking the oath of supremacy and receiving the sacrament within the times required. True it is there may be negligence, collusion, and corruption in the bishop or minister that certifies and in the commissary that musters, but so there may also be in anybody else that shall be employed. In conclusion, I beseech your lordship to make use of your uttermost industry and interest to find out any Papist trusted in the civil or military part of the Government, wherein you will besides serving the King infinitely oblige your lordship's, etc.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–81, February 5. London.—There came in yesterday letters from Ireland dated the 30th of the last, but none from your Grace, which I do not much wonder at since my Lord Longford was forced to pump hard to write a short letter, though the news continues still here of great risings in Munster. I know not what was enclosed in your last letter to His Majesty, but he told me the substance of them is very idle. I thought the seal might have been opened, because there was a little scorching of the paper on one side of the seal, but the seal itself was whole enough. I do intend to stay in this kingdom until I see the issue of this Parliament,

but the charge will be too great to carry my wife to Oxford, for now we live here cheaper than I have done anywhere else, and were it not for the family I am forced to keep in Ireland this journey would do me little hurt as to my purse. I intend to send for my coach horses over, for I find I save nothing by their being there, when I compute the charge of hackney coach and chair, which is not to be avoided by myself and my wife, besides the indecency will appear more in the spring than it does now. The Secretaries will take care hereafter that no licences for officers shall be offered to His Majesty's signing, but it shall be as you desire. They discourse still of alterations in the Bedchamber, but that matter has cooled, so that I believe nothing will be done in it. Captain Murray, of the Scots Regiment, goes from hence on Monday next, and if any thing happen to-morrow you shall hear from me by him, for all persons that relate to Ireland, if they have any command or employment there, will scarce be satisfied without my letter to your Grace by them. Justice Warcop has very friendly given me the copies of the examinations he has taken of the witnesses brought over by Owen Murphy, eight of them swear home against Plunkett and some against one Tyrrell, a titular bishop, and that is the sum of what they have deposed.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, Feb. 7. Dublin.—You will judge by the copy I send you of my Lord Massereene's letter to me that it is intended to proceed in aspersing the army here as if it had received many Papists, but I hope the time will come when general and false reflections will not take place. If the matter of his letter shall be spread there, possibly my return to it ought to encounter it in as many places as may be. All the marks we have to know and find out Papists by are the oath of supremacy and the sacrament. If they take them and frequent the Church service it is more than most of my Lord Massereene's neighbours, pastors or family will do, which I was about upon occasion of his letter to put him in mind of, but I considered that recrimination is seldom a convincing defence, and that I had a much better at hand. Our latest letters out of England were of the 22nd of January, so that three packets are due and much expectation there is of what that time has produced in Court and city and country elections. In the meantime many reports are raised and invented by conjecture. It will shortly be time to send James into France, but unless I can have for him an approved governor I had rather keep him with me. Much good I have heard of one that travelled with my Lord of Bath's son; his lordship and Sir C. Wyche can give an account of him.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 7. London.—I have this day your Grace's of the 28th and 31st of the last, and when Col. Hungerford

comes hither I don't doubt but I shall get His Majesty's order for the precedence he desires in behalf of himself and his under officers. The enclosed letter I have delivered to the King, which he slights very much upon the account of the person that informs; but my Lord Conway being near, His Majesty has given the paper to him, and will give him the former also, which it seems he neglected. My Lord Sunderland being out of employment, I have given Mr. Secretary Jenkins the letter directed to him and the warrant for swearing the members of the next Parliament. Your Grace will within a short time have an account of what is done in reference to the Scots recruits, the King's orders being sent about them into Scotland a fortnight since. The King has also by his letter given you directions what post they are to have, being allowed when they were here the next place to the Guards. I spoke this day and several times before to His Majesty about filling up our army there, and he still says it shall be done; but now the two Secretaries have promised to be helping in it, and they shall not want the being put in remembrance of it. The remaining part of the Scots Regiment now at Tangier the King does again say shall be speedily sent for. My Lord Burlington has very alarming letters out of Munster from his brother and nephew, Mr. Boyle, which has occasioned the strange printed papers that are published. He desired me to let you know that the English are in great apprehensions in those parts and want powder. I told him that if they did it was their fault, for they might buy out of the stores what proportion they pleased, the officers of the ordnance having sent for powder from hence for that purpose. It will not be amiss to inquire into that matter. There is a print sold about the town wherein you are chiefly concerned and myself next, but it is so ridiculously false that I intend not to make any noise or use endeavours to find out the printer; but if you have a mind at any time to have any letter put out here in print relating to Ireland or yourself I can get it put into one of those news books by the favour of an active Justice of the Peace here who is much your friend; but he has a handsome youth for his son, which son he expects some employment for in Ireland. He is a very likely young man.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680–1, Feb. 8. Whitehall.—This serves for a covert to two of His Majesty's letters to your Grace. We (though I had the honour to receive from my Lord of Arran this day your Grace's commission to divers peers) do find the warrant that goes herewith necessary to introduce it. We have also prepared and sent a commission for your Grace's hand. The alteration that you will find in the names of the Commissioners is made by His Majesty's special directions. The other letter is in favour of Mr. George Weld for a company of foot.

I cannot by this post send your Grace the remaining part of the Irish depositions, there being an order made to lodge them in the hands of the Attorney General (who is gone off this day to be a Judge in the Common Pleas, Sir Robert Sawyer succeeding to the place of Attorney) in order to make his report upon them, which are material and which not, that the useful witnesses may be retained and the others sent home. The faction is deliberating how to attack His Majesty's Guards, and yet have the laws of their side. They intend to indict them the latter end of this term, then upon their not answering to apprehend some of them, as they walk singly in the streets, and if they give not bail for their good behaviour as well as appearance to let them lie in jail. 'Twill be assigned for a breach of their good behaviour to ride or go in the head of companies or troops of illegal men that go armed *in terrorem populi*. This is their design, besides many more that they still invent and bring forth.

ANONYMOUS MEMORANDUM ON OFFICERS IN IRELAND.

Undated. I landed in Ireland, 27th Sep., 1679, and first I was in the King's and Queen's Counties, where I am much esteemed and known (but not by my own name). I am deemed and taken here to be a Catholic, all whom I found in a very quiet posture, only much grieved at the persecution in England (as they term it). Then I came back into the counties of Wexford and Waterford, where I am a right Independent and so habited, deemed and taken above these ten years (but they know nothing of my late troubles nor my own name), and I have the intrills of all their actings. Here I found the great ones of them in a very confident posture, and after many a prayer, long grace, feasts and, I think, fuddling, too, Major Dennis, of Wexford, asked me plainly if I'd make one with them. I answered when I knew it they should hear my opinion, but obliged myself before them all to secrecy. I shall here beg Your Majes[t]y's pardon as to all degrees of circumstances to avoid tediousness. But in fine I had an oath given me or mighty like an oath, and find that on Wednesday, the 4th of May, next, all the fanatics, which are Oliver's old breed, and most of them in command (which I much wonder at), are all to rise and by a design (layed on purpose) with some few ignorant Irish to fall upon all the Irish and to give out strange things against them as of theft, idolatry, promiscuous marriages, etc., and then to proclaim themselves the Protestant protectors. Now I much and many times have wondered at one thing, that all the Lieutenants of Ireland have continued or rather confirmed and settled such commands of military forces upon those that were notoriously known to be Oliver's only creatures and his immediate officers. This Major Dennis, of Wexford, has had a company of foot this many years and was a captain in Col. Pierson's Regiment that refused to march with General Monk into

England, saying Monk had a King in his belly. And this Dennis and Col. Scott (son to Scott that was hanged), Capt. Tench, one of Oliver's captains, who now commands the country troop, and one John Mitchell, lately taken in and steward to this Duke of Albemarle, are the ringleaders in this county of Wexford. Then for the county of Waterford there are enough, but the chief of them are the two Olands who said once (as 'tis publicly enough known) that they would wash their hands in the Stuarts' blood; and a most grand one is one Capt. Nicolls, who had a troop of horse under Oliver, who professeth openly he will have t'other bout yet, yet is lately made Justice of the Peace, etc. These are the prime leaders and rulers in that county, who backed with infinite of their sect keep a due correspondence with those of the north of Ireland, who are most Scots and Scotch breed and are the northern Presbyterians and fanatics., lusty, able-bodied, hardy and stout men, where one may see three or four hundred at every meeting-house on Sundays ; and all the north of Ireland is inhabited with these, which is the populest place of all Ireland by far. They are very numerous and greedy after land. These things have I traced and complied withal to find out the depth and truth of their designs. And further, too, I would have waded and travailed herein had I not suspected a warrant for my apprehension from Dublin ; but whether there was one or no I did not stay many days longer in the country, but taking my leave upon pretended business with promise of a timely return I shipped for France 4th, April, 1680, and going to Rouen found a wonderful number of English Roman Catholics, among whom I was very conversant, but heard not one word of any plot, which I much admired at. And in June I shipped for Holland.

Endorsed :—Information given to the King. Received from Mr. Secretary Jenkins, 9 February, 1680–1.

Ormond to Earl of Conway.

1680–1, Feb. 11. Dublin.—Having received so many fresh demonstrations of your favour and friendship, you cannot doubt but that I very heartily congratulate your Lordship's entrance into the management of affairs for my own sake, for this kingdom's and for the King's. When anything of more than ordinary moment shall happen here or be sent hence I shall write immediately to your Lordship, and I must ask your leave that things of less importance may also be sent you in copies or duplicates, that you may be ignorant of nothing that passes where you have so much interest and knowledge, I wish your lordship all possible satisfaction in your employment.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680–1, Feb. 11. Dublin.—Yours of the 25th and 29th of the last and 1st of this month came all at once, and a whole

cargo of prints of all sorts are scattered here; the most important and the most extraordinary is the petition of sixteen Lords and the speech made at the delivery of it. Some have taken upon them to write over the substance of the King's verbal answer, but there is yet no written one of His Majesty come to us. I wish they had come together, since I believe there was ground for a good answer and that the opportunity was not lost. By young Buck I received a letter from Sir James Butler, and something wrapt about with greenwax, and the copy of a Bill put into the Court of Exchequer by my Lady Poyntz, to which I am made a party and must answer. After I have consulted some lawyer Sir James shall have a return from me. When my Lord Burlington was here he desired the remove of the Scottish companies from his town of Youghal; the reason, I think, was that the quartering of so many officers and so few soldiers was more troublesome than profitable to his tenants. But though the rent be his lordship's, yet since the town is the King's and that I am answerable for the security of it, I shall neither now nor in the spring leave it without a competent garrison; and methinks his desire to have it without soldiers agrees not well with the danger, I hear, he says that whole province is in of surprise and invasion. Jack St. Leger's assiduity about the Irish witnesses is a stratagem to be too hard for Barret in the House of Lords if the cause should come to determination there. All dispatches of public importance will from henceforth be directed to Sir Lyonell Jenkins and your letters with them, but when any of moment shall be sent my Lord Conway shall have copies, that he may be the better prepared against their being brought to the consideration of of the Council. I write to him myself this post upon occasion of his being secretary, as I remember his grandfather was. The packet I sent the King shows that we also have a Lord of Clare in this kingdom, and that he has set up for a zealous Protestant influenced no doubt from that side, and if he will be loud and violent enough it will not be remembered or taken notice of that since he became Protestant he made his wife a Papist and left her in a nunnery in France, that he has been in Spain and there went to Mass, that his son is or was page to the French King, with whom he treated when he was in the Prince of Orange's service, and shamed me that recommended him. I give you this account of that packet, finding by a letter from Sir Robert Walsh that by accident letters from my Lord of Clare to my Lord Shaftesbury came to his hands or his sight. Whereunto I should not have given credit upon Sir Robert's affirmation if Clare's letter to me had not rendered it more than probable. In short it is marvellous to me that there should be a Popish Plot founded upon French assistance (as no man dares doubt but there was) and that his Lordship should have no hand in it, no knowledge of it. He was in Spain and France if I mistake not about

the time Oates says he was at Salamanca. He left his wife in a nunnery and his son in the French King's domestic service. He came over hither, as I think will appear, just when the design was to be put in execution. He is a man of known courage, conduct and intrigue, of a broken and indeed desperate fortune, burdened with a title very unsuitable to it. He is of a noble family, of great esteem and numerous dependance among the Irish Papists, and he is seated on the county of Clare side, a transplanted country, and therefore full of Irish, upon the mouth of the river of Limerick, the most proper place in Ireland to introduce an enemy and their fleets, who being in that river may choose on which side to land. Let all this be put together and let any reasonable man judge whether a fitter person or a more likely in all qualifications could have been created to enter into such a conspiracy than my Lord of Clare, and whether his present ostentation of zeal to the Protestant religion, when the Plot is discovered and frustrated, can mitigate the just suspicion that may with charity be had of him. Perhaps he is not worth all those remarks. Yet if his letter to me shall come to be made use of in order to asperse the King, these qualifications and transactions of his may not be impertinent. Which, therefore, you may impart to His Majesty at his leisure, and by his permission to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, the matter being so written that it may be severed from the rest of the letter.

LORD CLARE to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 11. Tarbert.—I had the honour of your Grace's letter of the 22nd of the last month, and I will not fail to obey your Grace's commands in using my uttermost endeavours to discover the Papists' designs against His Majesty and Government. I find that the friar Brady is yet in this kingdom. I have employed people to apprehend him, and if they do take him I know it will not be to much purpose as to any discoveries he will make, for he will sooner burn than discover anything which may prejudice the interest of the Roman Catholic religion; and to my knowledge they have taught the generality of their people to deny the truth (though upon oath) when the asserting of it may be destructive to the interest of their religion. This doctrine joined with their advantage in concealing what plots they had afoot these years past keeps many of the chiefest among them from making discoveries. They have yet hopes to be the prevailing party, and whilst such hopes do last it is not likely any considerable person of them will discover. I find the people are possessed with an opinion that the King, your Grace, and Council, do issue what proclamations soever to suppress Popery, yet both Papists and most Justices that should put the laws in execution do believe them to be but matter of form. Nothing can undeceive them but His Majesty's appear-

ing to be advised by his Parliament, which will frustrate for ever all hopes of Popery's reigning, and I doubt not but many of their gentry here will immediately thereupon be ingenious and discover what by the threats of their priests and prosperous opinion of their party was kept secret hitherto. I give your Grace with all humility and submission this information, as I can judge of the temper of the people in this part of the kingdom, with whom I converse in all humours. And as I conceive it the interest of all Protestants in Ireland to petition your Grace to move His Majesty for the sitting of the next Parliament in England from the 21st of next month until an effectual course be taken to secure us and our posterity in this kingdom from the designs of Papists, so I make it most humbly my particular petition to your Grace, to whose great wisdom and commands I shall ever submit.

Ormond to Earl of Arran.

1680–1, Feb. 11. Dublin.—I have writ to my Lord Conway upon the subject of his access to the Secretary's office to the effect I told you I would, and but that I thought it not proper upon that occasion to intermix anything else I would have desired him to assure Mr. Seymour that as I have long had a great value for him, so I have now as great a desire to entertain a particular friendship and all proper correspondence with him. The times and difficulties we are in require steadiness and industry, and if those qualifications be taught us from those most concerned to have them there may be hope of getting out of the briars. In short assure Mr. Seymour of my concurrence in the service of the Crown and of my service and friendship to him.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680–1, Feb. 12. Whitehall.—I continue to trouble your Grace with the depositions of the Irish witnesses as they lie before the Council. Sir Robert Sawyer is made Attorney General in the room of Sir Creswell Levinge, who is preferred to be one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. The elections are generally the same that they were last Parliament; where they have changed 'tis for the worse. We expected this day, being the last day of this term, some bloody presentment either against his R.H., or against the King's Guards, but none was made. Sir Gilbert Gerard and some few gents. more did yesterday present themselves to the Grand Jury of Middlesex attending the King's Bench, beseeching them to give the thanks of the gentry and freeholders of the county to the petitioning Lords. The day is not yet set for His Majesty's moving for Oxford.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680-1, Feb. 12. Whitehall.—Yesterday Mr. David Fitzgerald and Mr. Hethrington brought in their articles against

one another to the Council in due form; the second article against Hethrington being for casting an odium upon His Majesty and Council in not taking notice of a Bull formerly produced by him to the Board, which he reported did discharge some Irish priests from their allegiance to His Majesty, but was not minded either by His Majesty or Council; this was fully proved upon him, to which he endeavoured to make excuses and evasions, but was severely reprimanded by my Lord Chancellor. Barnard Dennis had likewise proved upon him that he had sworn before Justice Warcup, and at several other times with oaths and imprecations, that he knew nothing relating to Her Majesty or the Duke, and after that by an information taken before the Lord Mayor, accused the Queen and Duke with knowledge of the Plot. These were the material things proved, though a great many wrangling and harsh words were used on both sides. Mr. Hethrington would have gone upon the proof of his accusation, but the Board, being tired with their quarrel, it is ordered they shall both answer one another at Westminster Hall. It is referred to Mr. Serjeant Maynard and the rest of the King's Counsel to peruse the informations of the witnesses, prepare the evidence and adjust all things in order to the trial of Oliver Plunket and other gentlemen which came out of Ireland, and to consider whether the raising money with an intent to levy war be an overt act of treason within the Statute of Edward the 3rd, and to report their opinions therein to His Majesty in Council.

Sir Creswell Levintz, Attorney General, hath his writ to be a Serjeant, in order to succeed Sir William Ellis in the place of Judge, and Sir Robert Sawyer is to be Attorney General in his room. The Lord Wooton's patent is under the seal for the title of Earl of Bellamont in Ireland. My Lord Bodmin is likewise to be called up to the House of Peers by writ; some others are named, but I do not find any certainty in it. Sir John Davies acquaints me he is very shortly leaving England, who will give your Grace a more full account of what I mentioned in my late letter concerning Mr. Seymour.

Postscript.—Since the making up my letter to your Grace I received an information that the Grand Jury of Westminster have this day brought in their verdicts upon the persons following for these crimes:

High Treason.—Robert Ely, John Butler, Paul Strange, Lawrence Sulyvane, Wm. Bradley, Sir John Davies, Wm. ffinch, John Shatall.—Witnesses.—Capt. Shirley, Macnamara, Sampson, Ivy, etc.

Misdemeanours.—Da. Fitzgerald.

Ignoramus.—Primate Plunket, Sir John FitzGerald.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680-1, Feb. 12. London.—All that I have to trouble your Grace with this post is that I was informed by Justice

Warcop that the Grand Jury have found the bills this day against my Lord Tyrone, Plunket, and the others that are in prison upon David Fitzgerald's account. They have also found a bill against Sir John Davys for treason, though all that he is accused of can amount to no more than misdemeanour if proved. It was the intention of the leading men of the jury, Sir William Waller being one, to have indicted you and me together with the Queen and the Duke, but the witnesses would not be prevailed with to swear home to that point, though David Fitzgerald proved yesterday at the Board that they had been tampered with by Hethrington and one Dennis. What to advise Sir John Davys to I am to seek in, and he is much confounded at the proceedings, as I cannot blame him for, the like having never been done to anyone before in his station. I am told there is a committee appointed to take the state of Ireland into consideration. Upon the discourse I had with the secretaries before His Majesty, your Grace will, I hope, make some observations upon what my Lord Anglesey has writ in answer to my Lord Castlehaven's memoirs.

PRIMATE BOYLE to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 12.—Your Grace have been so infinitely obliging by that handsome character you have been pleased to recommend Sir Wm. Davys, that I doubt not of its success by the appearance of my Lord Arran. I have, therefore, presumed to send you enclosed draught, if your Grace shall think fit to transmit it to Mr. Secretary Jenkins with your Grace's letter, which I return to your Grace here inclosed.

Directions shall be sent over for the attendance on this business and to discharge the fees.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, Feb. 12. Dublin.—Upon the death of Sir Robert Booth I have once more ventured to recommend Sir William Davys his promotion, my Lord Chief Justice Keating declining the preferment, and I have done it in the terms you will find in the inclosed copy of my letter to Mr. Secretary Jenkins. If the letter should come to be imparted further than I mean it should, and that perhaps some I do not mean to reflect upon should take themselves to be concerned, you have liberty to declare that I mean my Lord Privy Seal and my Lord of Essex and no other. My concern for Sir Wm. Davys is out of my steadfast belief of his loyalty and mettle as long as he shall be supported, and he that looks for more from much the greater part of lawyers will be disappointed, and as the world goes it is well if they may be depended upon so far.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 15. London.—I was yesterday and this morning before a Committee of Council appointed to look

into the posture of affairs in Ireland, and was desired to bring along with me such papers as I had by me relating to the condition the army and stores were in. I told them that when I was before them above two months ago I informed them all I knew, which was that the stores were in an ill condition, and that many of the soldiers of the army were unserviceable, all which you had several times represented to the Secretaries and Lords of the Treasury. The report they intend to make to the King is that 1,000*l.* barrels of powder should be sent over, and that orders should be sent by His Majesty for your raising in Ireland a thousand men to supply the vacancies of the army, and that you should send over such officers as you think properest for to be employed about such an undertaking, at the cheapest rates you can. The money for that purpose must be had out of the reducements lately made, for there cannot one penny be had from hence, and for the powder it must be paid out of that fund too, but a competent time and instalments will be granted for that. Much fault was found that no authentic account of the stores was to be had. George Legge produced one of the 31st July last left him by my Lord Longford, but signed by nobody. Complaint was also made that the militia was not enough looked after and that they wanted arms, etc. That arose from letters out of Munster. Pray let as brief an account as the matter will bear be sent over in relation to proceedings in that affair; for my Lord Privy Seal is very brisk upon that point, saying that the Irish did pretend there was a massacre intended upon them when they began theirs in '41. It was also observed that you did not answer all the points of the letter His Majesty writ to you (or was writ by his command) when the committee sat last upon those affairs, the proclamation or printed order being all that they know was done upon it.

There are some of the Irish witnesses now that will swear that Mr. Hethrington and Sir William Waller would have tempted them to swear against the Queen, Duke and your Grace and Lord Chancellor, with reflections also upon His Majesty. A great deal of this was proved already at the Board against them, upon which His Majesty has ordered my Lord Chancellor here to look into the matter and give order for the prosecution of them, and I am advised by some to bring an action of conspiracy against them in your name, but I dare not venture upon it, the persons I must deal with to prove this being men that I dare not rely upon, but if the King's Attorney prosecute the matter keenly, it will in my judgment do the business as well, and I will give him a fee if necessary.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680–1, Feb. 15. Whitehall.—The Committee for the Affairs of Ireland sat this day in order to dispose of the money that will accrue by the suspension made in November last as shall

be best for His Majesty's service. Among other things that lay before my Lords they found a letter of his Majesty's of the 16th of November last directing your Grace to call the military officers to their commands, with several other intimations of His Majesty's intention and pleasure. The letter goes herewith enclosed, and my Lords have commanded me to desire your Grace to let them know with your best convenience what you have done upon it. I was able to tell their lordships that I had seen a proclamation in print relating to the execution of the first part of His Majesty's letter; and that I doubted not but that your Grace had done or was doing your part in the other points of it. I will not anticipate your Grace's answer to any things that my Lords of the Committee are like to lay before you for your advice, as, first, how to make the militia on that side more useful; and, secondly, what you will judge to be the best course for levying the recruits intended, and for conducting and defraying of them till they be got over? Their lordships will desire an authentic account of the remains of stores, we having none perfect since '74. The Commissioners of the Ordnance were present, and are ordered to bring in their proposals for furnishing the stores. They say they have already 9,000*l.* worth of stores in Ireland, and have not reimbursed themselves of above 800*l.* all this while. My Lord of Arran assisted at the debate, and will (I doubt not) give your Grace a more perfect account of it than I can.

ORMOND to VISCOUNT MASSEREENE.

1680–1, Feb. 15. Dublin.—I have received your lordship's of the 9th instant with the enclosed informations of dangerous words spoken at several times by Cormack O'Hagan and other persons. I desire your lordship would either yourself take the examination of the said Cormack and of such others as were said to have been in his company and may be found, or direct the Justices of Peace next adjacent to do it; and, having examined the persons accused, to confront them with the accusers, whereby possibly further discovery may be made, or what is deposed confirmed, and then to send me the examinations and what further information may be given. Particularly I conceive Alexander Brenan and his wife should be examined touching the words spoken by Cormack O'Hagan and such others as there shall be cause to suspect may be secured either in jail or upon good bonds for their appearing at the next assizes, as your lordship or the Justices of Peace shall judge to be most proper. Having again perused your lordship's of the second of this month I conceive the expression you used does not restrain the Roman Catholic natives that were said to have crept into the army to such as were recalled from foreign service, but that Roman Catholic natives in general and particularly some of them that served abroad were gotten into the army, which seems to me to imply that other

Roman Catholic natives were likewise got in beside those that were recalled from foreign service. That all such as served in foreign parts or even in France are disaffected to the Protestant religion may be too hasty a judgment, nor will the suspicion of any city justify it, much less will it follow that because they came in great numbers to Chester that therefore they are received into the army here. The single instance your lordship gives of Marcus O'Conlan, though it be not absolutely convincing, being but the bare assertion of a person accused for a spy, yet that there might be no colour for calumny I would have given order to have him turned out of the army if I had sooner known he had been in it; and I shall be the more careful and strict herein, in regard it appears that Jesuits can get into pulpits in meeting houses and conventicles, and that it may be as easy for Popish lay soldiers to get into armies if great care be not taken to prevent it. It will, therefore, behove your lordship, and it is your proper work to be careful in general as you are a Privy Councillor, and particularly where you have authority to govern and command, to call upon the Commissioners of Array and the officers of the militia to put and keep themselves in a readiness to serve the King and preserve themselves according to their respective commands and instructions, and to be very vigilant that none be of the militia but such as have taken or shall take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and the blessed sacrament according to the use of the Church of Ireland, whilst I and the subordinate officers of the army do the same on our part: these duties being on all hands carefully observed and performed we may by the blessing of God hope to keep the Government in safety and the kingdom in peace, notwithstanding suggestions and general rumours.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 19. Whitehall.—His Majesty's letter that goes herewith enclosed was first intended to come from the Council to your Grace, but upon second thoughts of the importance of it I was commanded to prepare it for His Majesty's hand. The proceedings to contrive an indictment of treason against Sir John Davys begin to appear very enormous. They will come to light in a few days; when the discovery is perfected I shall transmit it to your Grace. In the meanwhile I am extremely concerned that Sir John Davys cannot be relieved against the processes that go out upon such occasions but by a *nolle prosequi*. His Majesty expressed this day a gracious sense of his displeasure at this insolence that was acted upon his servant. Our elections are in a manner the same. I do not find we diminish in that small number of good men we had. Here and there we add to them rather than lose them. One would imagine that the humour does something abate; as it is, and indeed must be, in violent motions, a good hearty reform with us at Court would work a strange turn to a settlement and a security to our religion and the monarchy.

ORMOND to COL. JOHN FITZPATRICK.

1680–1, Feb. 19. Dublin.—I have seen yours of the 8th of this month to my wife, wherein are two particulars most proper for me to say something to. That there have been arts and endeavours sued to raise distrusts and the ill consequences of them betwixt the person you mention and me we have both been sensible of for a good while, and advantage to that end has been sought for from the observation that friends and enemies have not been common to us both, as often it does not fall out that they are to men that have lived so long in the world as we have, and in such changeable times and considerable employments. I am sure the attempt has had no success with me, and I persuade myself not with him. The two persons you named on my part have never yet gone about to give me ill impressions of my friend, discouraged perhaps by a belief that it would be in vain. If they declare themselves unsatisfied with him on their own account I would help it if I could, but it cannot be reasonably expected I should declare war against them, and the same justice and no more I expect on his part. My son Arran forgot to give me any notice of your *éclaircissement* with the other person you mention, but the knowledge of it comes time enough, since having once offered at a good understanding and correspondence betwixt us when he was in a station more proper for me to seek it than he is now, and having received no kind of return, I conceive the repetition at this time would have no better success and therefore I do not desire to be named to him unless he gives the occasion.

ORMOND to JOHN FELL, Bishop of Oxford.

1680–1, Feb. 19. Dublin.—Yours of the 15th of the last month came not to my hands till the 18th of this. By what accident it was so long in the way I cannot tell, but so many other things being out of order it is not strange the post office should be so too.

That University has been the residence or retreat of Kings and Parliaments in time of war and pestilence, and tho' (God be praised) neither of those judgments drive them thither at this time, yet I hope their meetings there may tend to the preservation of peace and the establishment of future prosperity. I do not doubt but that their reception will be suitable to the good affection, conduct and renown of the place, your lordship having so much of direction in it.

My grandson improves visibly in his person. He grows taller and leaner, and I keep him to college hours of rising. I can brag little of his proficiency in letters, in exercises he does tolerably well. Till I find a governor to my mind I mean as well as I can to perform some part of the office myself and keep him with me. I am in great care to serve my Lord Courcy; in times so unsettled, the circumstances of his age and fortune considered, I was inclined to have brought him hither, but here he will find or be found by more and by nearer relations

than at Court ; and in travel, if he had means for it, he will be more exposed to perversion. All the resolution I can for the present come to is that he stay at Oxford till the end of the first session of Parliament, upon the resolution of which much more depends than what concerns him or your Lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, Feb. 19. Dublin.—Yours of the 5th, 7th, and 12th, came all together. There is no doubt but that my Lord of Clare or anything he can say, as he has carried himself in the world, would at any other time signify little, but I am deceived if in this conjuncture some pernicious use be not made of him and of his letters. My Lord Chamberlain knows him well and I wish he might see what he has written. I take it for a good sign that no more is made of it. I suppose the Grand Jury had not before them the examinations taken against O. Plunket ; if they had, sure they would not have returned *Ignoramus* upon his bill. You shall do well to cherish the good inclinations of the Justice. I confess I wonder how my Lord Burlington thinks it his interest to procure and spread abroad such hot and incredible alarms out of Munster, and in the meantime is so ill informed as that the English in those parts cannot furnish themselves with ammunition, for so his intimation implies, or it can signify nothing, when it is well known to his brother that the enclosed proportions have been at Cork above a year and half and were sent thither for the use of the militia and other Protestants. It were good to know if he would tell from whom he had his information, but I doubt he will not.

Capt. Murray is landed but without any letter from you. He has brought a list of officers to be some placed and some advanced in the regiment. I wish there were soldiers in proportion. I will do all I can to have those companies filled. I have read over my Lord of Anglesey's remarks on my Lord Castlehaven's memoirs, and to my thinking never saw antagonists met upon more equal terms for the seasonableness of the argument, the mistakes in matter of fact (to give it a soft name), and for the incoherent deductions. I confess I am afraid to enter into a contest in print with such a man as my Lord of Anglesey, a man I have seen detected in public of misinformation and mean artifices for sordid sums and yet never blush at the matter, but appear the next day as brisk and confident as his favourite Thornhill when convicted of forgery in an open full court. But, since it is the King's sense, something shall be said ; though I can hardly vindicate my own actings but I must reflect upon those of a numerous and considerable party in conjunction with whom he was in rebellion.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680-1, Feb. 19. London.—I have your Grace's of the 7th with the enclosed copy of a letter from my Lord Massereene

and your answer. Your report of the army's having Papists in it has been here a good while ago and has been sufficiently answered upon all occasions, but I believe that lord was the occasion of the report then, tho' his advice to you is but lately. I am infinitely troubled for Sir John Davys upon a double account, first because he is persecuted chiefly upon your account, next because he thinks that if he had not come over upon my letter the Parliament would have let him alone, and consequently the Bill of Indictment had not been found against him; but I am sure if I had not answered for him in the House that he would come over upon my intimation of what was then moved in the House, he had been sent for by order of their Lordships, and that perhaps in custody. We have some hopes that the indictment against him will be quashed, the King having given direction to his Attorney General and others of his learned counsel to look well into the matter, for his Ministers of State here may be served in the same kind, if indictments of treason be found for the King without any of his learned counsel's prosecution. So many of your nephews and near relations going for France at this time makes a great noise with us here, for what is published in Harris his news book is from a letter writ by Mr. Boyle to his uncle Burlington, though his Lordship never intended, as he says, it should appear in print. I herewith send your Grace a copy of a petition given me yesterday by one of the parties concerned. It is against Sir William Davys and aimed at you in the bottom. My Lord Ward ordered the sending it to me, because he was informed I had somewhat to do in the county palatine. I knew not how better to inform him of the designs against him than by sending this under your cover.

Ormond to Earl of Conway.

1680–1, Feb. 20. Dublin.—I understand by my son Arran that some letters and papers concerning our Irish Lord of Clare have been by His Majesty put into your lordship's hands. I therefore think it proper for me to send you his last, which is a reply to the answer I sent to his first. Your lordship will observe that he persists in his advice to have me interpose with the King for the sitting of the Parliament in order to those popular ends he mentions. Now tho' he has sufficiently shown that he is a man prepared for any change that he hopes to mend his condition by, and so may of himself put on the zeal he professes, yet I am persuaded he proceeds not at this time without direction out of England, from whence I conclude it is intended that some use shall be made of him and his letters in a fit conjuncture. In this I am confirmed by what Sir Robert Walsh writ to me, not because he writ it, but because what he writ is of itself very probable, and that the persons he speaks of are like to be the correspondents. I have sent my son Arran some remarks upon that lord's

course of life which your lordship may call for; more may be found upon inquiry. If the trouble I have given the King and now your lordship be impertinent let it be imputed to the constitution of the times, when things more frivolous and persons much more inconsiderable have great weight laid upon them, of which the finding of a Bill of indictment of high treason against our Secretary of State, Sir John Davys, is an extraordinary instance. My Lord Granard read a few but very obliging words to me out of a late letter of your lordship's to him. What I have said upon the first notice given me of your access to the employment I can but repeat, what remains being only to make it good, as I shall by all the manifestations I can give of my being your Lordship's, etc.

EARL OF CONWAY to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 22. Whitehall.—I have ever acknowledged myself infinitely obliged to your Grace for your favours upon all occasions, and must now do it particularly for the honour of your letter of the 11th instant. If the King hath placed me in a station that can make me any way serviceable to your Grace I am sure it is one of the chiefest satisfactions I shall receive by it. My inclinations were such in the privatest capacity, and the earliest of my endeavours were to give your Grace assurance of it by my Lord of Arran when I entered upon my present employment. 'Tis true the affairs of Ireland do always pass by the eldest secretary, but the good correspondence that is and ever will be between Mr. Secretary Jenkins and myself will at least give me the opportunity of being your Grace's solicitor in all your affairs and all your commands.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 22. London.—I had late on Saturday night your Grace's letters of the 11th and 12th instant and showed His Majesty that part of your letter which concerned the Irish Lord, a copy of which I have left with Mr. Secretary Jenkins by his order, that when occasion serves proper use may be made of it, for I find the King has no great reverence for that noble peer. My Lord Burlington's desire was to have the Scots companies removed from his town, and any other sent in their room, but he is not fond of having above two companies at most. Mr. Seymour is not yet come to town, but I showed your letter to my Lord Conway, who will bring us together when he arrives. Jack St. Leger, I am afraid, will be found to have tampered farther with the witnesses and Ingoldsby than was necessary for that work he has in hand against Barrett.

The King has complied with your recommendation of Sir William Davys and the warrant is already signed by His Majesty as the Secretary will inform you. I told His Majesty

that he might remember who they were that hindered his preferment before, and that was no small inducement to him to do the matter now with expedition, but your Grace will find by the petition I sent over last post that he will be attacked in Parliament, and this preferment, I believe, will hasten it rather than hinder it; I hope you have your eye upon some able man to succeed him in the County Palatine, for I am much against his keeping both, or having Mr. Herbert in his place.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 22. Whitehall.—I no sooner laid your Grace's recommendation of Sir Wm. Davys before His Majesty, but His Majesty was graciously pleased to declare it was sufficient to satisfy him, and to give order that a letter should be drawn for his Royal signature, which letter was signed the same day (that is Sunday) and goes herewith enclosed. His Majesty, when he was told upon what interest it was that Sir Wm. Davys was not promoted when your Grace recommended him last, was pleased to infer that that was a good reason why he should now be considered and sped.

My Lord, I take leave to forbear addressing myself to His Majesty about the Post Office till I have first spoken with several persons (as my Lord the Earl of Arran, Mr. Hyde and Mr. Frowd) from whom I may possibly learn some particulars that may be fit to propose by way of remedy. I will at the same time inform His Majesty of your Grace's reflexions upon that extract of a letter that had been writ to His Majesty and that I sent you some while since by his command.

Mr. Attorney's report to the King is not yet perfected, the rest of the King's Counsel having not had time enough to attend it, but it seems that it will affect some men (their names I cannot yet tell) with having entered into a downright conspiracy to impeach the Queen, the Duke and your Grace with high treason. By the stat. of 35°H. VIII. c. 2 the King hath his option in trying treasons committed out of the realm, either to try them at the King's Bench or else by Commission of Oyer and Terminer in any county that he shall limit. It is Mr. Attorney's opinion that the King should in Sir John Davys's case proceed to an option and choose the latter way; that is direct the trial to be before Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer in Surrey, Oxford, or any other county where an impartial jury may be had. This course appears hitherto to be most advisable for Sir John Davys, for whom all good men are very much concerned, and I should think myself very happy if I were able to serve him in this present occasions, nor shall I (as long as I am free myself, which I do not expect should be long) omit any occasion to do right to his innocency. The King's letter for Sir Wm. Davys is

taken up by a person particularly employed to take care of it, so that it comes not (as was intended) in your Grace's packet.

FRANCIS GWYN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 26. Whitehall.—I am in dispute whether I should beg your Grace's pardon for my not writing oftener, or for troubling your Grace so often with letters that have so little of importance in them, that being my particular case at this time. The last Council day there was a debate concerning the means of giving relief to Sir John Davys in the present persecution that hangs over him, at which time, though His Majesty and the Board were all sensible of the many hardships he lay under in relation to his trial, yet no way could possibly be found out other than to expedite his trial here at the King's Bench the beginning of the next term.

John Moyer, Duffy, and Gormly came to the Council to accuse Hethrington of endeavouring to persuade them and others to swear against the Queen, the Duke, and your Grace. They made oath of it, but coming late the full hearing was put off till the next Council day; His Majesty and the Board inclining after the full hearing the matter to order Mr. Attorney General to prosecute Hethrington upon the said informations. There was likewise a long hearing at the Board between the inhabitants of Bermudas and the company in defence of their Governor, Sir John Heydon, the result of which was a *quo warranto* is ordered to be brought against the charter of the company.

His Majesty hath declared his intention of leaving London on the 14th March, and yesterday in Council had the Justices of Peace of Middlesex before him, to whom he gave in charge to be very careful in his absence of the peace within their limits and to see the laws put in execution, and particularly that of the 15th of his reign, wherein it makes it *præmunire* to say the King is inclined to Popery, with other words which are by that Act made treason, and yet are too often made use of.

EARL OF ARRAN to ORMOND.

1680–1, Feb. 26. London.—Sir John Davys his friends have attempted twice in Council to get His Majesty to do something on his behalf, but I find the Privy Council will not venture the advising any thing extraordinary; so that he must either undergo his trial in the common way or else within two terms will be outlawed of treason, if he submit not himself; and what to advise his lady on his behalf is very difficult, though without doubt if he appeared and were sure of justice the indictment ought to be quashed, for if all that is sworn against him were proved, as we are informed of the matter, it cannot amount to more than misdemeanour, but by law an indictment can't be quashed but by the party's

pleading to it himself. Thus to my great grief stands his business. Sir Robert Stephens has already got such an interest in Hampshire, where he has purchased an estate, that he stands for Parliament man for the town of Portsmouth against George Legge, and Legge is afraid he will carry it. I have sent my Lord Longford a paper concerning Needwood Forest. Pray let me have your commands about the matter, for tho' I find the King has no great reverence for Ned Vernon, yet he deserves well from your Grace. Little Drake has a petition ready to put in to the House of Commons when they meet, complaining of yours and the Board's injustice to him, and arbitrary proceedings in the matter in difference between him and the Farmers. It were necessary a brief of those proceedings should be transmitted.

Earl of Arlington to Ormond.

1680–1, Feb. 26. Whitehall.—I did not make haste to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's of Jan. 3rd, because I have met nothing since that you could read or I write with any sort of satisfaction. On the 12th March His Majesty goes to Windsor to pass two nights there, and on the 14th overtakes the Queen upon the road to accompany her into Oxford. What we shall do there or how long we shall stay there God only knows. I am persuaded neither of the parties does, and I think as little whether we shall agree or fall out for a further time, there being reasons and transactions on both sides capable of making either conclusion probable. Things bearing this aspect towards my eyes, your Grace will forgive me if I affirm nothing.

My cousin Bennet was in town this last term, but came not at me, neither would he let Mr. Charlton know where he lay, which is a sign he is yet under correction at home. Our part is to expect what will be said to us the next time, instead of asking or proposing, which if it be worth the considering your Grace shall be troubled with it.

My Lord of Bath tells me Mr. Durel is not desirous to engage in any new governments, but considering the man is very valuable in that capacity I have desired the Dean of Windsor to write to him. When I have that answer we shall know what we have to trust to, and if it be a perfect negative cast about for another.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680–1, Feb. 26. Whitehall.—I am very much concerned that I can write nothing to your Grace that can be acceptable touching the proceedings relating to Sir John Davys. 'Tis the general opinion that he should undergo his trial, and if the ordinary precautions be used in calling for the sheriff's book, we cannot but have a reasonable jury. The sessions for Middlesex are this day over without presenting either the Guards or His Royal Highness. The King sent for the Justices

of Middlesex to appear before him in Council last night. They were all reckoned upon by the King as very worthy men. The King spoke excellently to them.

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, March 1. Dublin.—Yours of the 15th, 19th and 22nd I have not answered. In the enclosed copy of mine to Mr. Secretary Jenkins you will find much of what I can for the present say to the matters spoken of at the committee, and by that time I shall be able to say more, I doubt they will not be at leisure to consider it. However, the best account I am able to give shall be prepared. Your mentioning my Lord of Anglesey's being of the committee puts me in mind to ask whether he may not deny the little book to be his, or say that it was printed without his order or consent, and in the last place whether His Majesty desires it should be answered. If he does it cannot be made so soon nor so short as may be thought, for I had rather say nothing to it than not enough to stop his mouth. Mr. Secretary Jenkins in his last letter tells me the discovery of a conspiracy to accuse the Queen, the Duke and me of high treason was in the hands of the Attorney and others of the King's Counsel, but could not then tell me the names of the conspirators or of those that detect them. I do not expect that credit will be given to it by the prevailing party, much less that justice can be had. If anywhere complaint is to be made I think it should be in the Lords' House, for to expect reparation from a London jury in such a case I take to be vain. I have heard no more from my Lord Massereene upon the old subject since my last to him, of which, I think, there was a copy sent you. But it is now found that many of the common soldiers among the foot have Popish wives, and I believe it to be true. It were better it were not so, but so it has been in all Lieutenants' times, and how now to help it or prevent the clamour it may occasion I know not, unless we had the recruits mentioned, which might do it for a time. But unless there were English women to be had for them it would not last long, for those recruits would get them some women or other in a short time.

It was impossible to foresee what has befallen Sir John Davys. His staying here would not have prevented it, for we see divers that are here are in the same case, and by the way I wonder nothing is said of them from the King and Council, because I am of opinion when the Parliament meets they will not be forgotten. I find the bringing Sir John off is under consideration. I knew only of my nephew John Butler's going out of the kingdom, who, having quit his command in France upon expectation of serving the King against the French, and having nothing to live upon, is gone again to begin his fortune. As I remember it passed into a vote that something should be prepared to banish all considerable Papists

out of England, and sure if it were good for England it is more so for Ireland. There was a good despatch in the promotion of Sir Wm. Davys. His letter came last night, and I signed his warrant this morning. I presume it will not stay long at the Seal. He is in his circuit. I agree that it is not fit he should hold his place in Tipperary, but I cannot put Mr. Herbert by the succession without affronting him in a high degree. I design Mr. Worth to succeed Herbert, and Turner him. I suppose the negotiation managed by Mr. Charlton with Mr. Bennet is wholly mortified, having heard nothing of it, and I am told my Lord of Bath's son and his governor are not yet returned. Till he comes, or till I find one I may upon sight and discourse approve of, I mean to keep James with me and execute the place myself.

Buck's son came hither with a very unreasonable expectation and request. I own his father was a very honest faithful servant, and that I thought so may appear by the enclosed computation of what he got by being so, which I send you that you may satisfy anybody that may doubt it.

PETITION OF GRAND JURY OF CLARE TO LORD LIEUTENANT.

1680–1. March 1.—To his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The humble petition of the Lord Viscount Clare and of the Justices of the Peace and Grand Jury at the Assizes held upon the first of March in the county of Clare in Innish, 1680.

That your petitioners do find the dissolution of the last Parliament in England has encouraged the Papists in Ireland to as great insolence as the sitting of the Parliament gave them terror and reason to submit to the Government.

That whilst there is not a Parliament sitting in England it cannot be expected any great discoveries can be made of the Popish horrid Plot, which was to destroy His Majesty and all His Majesty's subjects of this kingdom as well as in England; the Papists having taken an opinion (how unjustly soever it is) that they are favoured, and that what orders or proclamations are issued to suppress Popery are but matter of form not to be executed, as the world has seen hitherto, and as if the magistrates were likewise of their opinion, for who will be forward to punish those he thinks are favoured or who will leave a party he believes will govern.

Therefore, that our magistrates may be encouraged to do their duty and that all discouragement may be given to Popery, we most humbly pray your Grace to move His Majesty that the Parliament may sit in England upon the 21st of this month and continue until an effectual course be taken to secure the Protestants of this kingdom and their posterity from Popish designs, which will be easy when by that resolution of His Majesty the fountain is made clear, most of the youth in Ireland will undoubtedly receive wholesome streams and soon conform to the Church and laws,

which will secure us and our posterity from the apparent dangers we now are in.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Clare.

W. Hickman, Henry Lee, Hen. Ivers.

Grand Jury.

John Gore, foreman; John Colpoys. Tho. Hickman, Tho. Boucher, Mountyfort Westroppe, Robert Cole, Don O'Bryen, D. O'Bryen, Augustine FitzGerald, Hen. Hickman, Rawley Newdegate, Ja. Fitzgerald, Nicho. Devereux, Ja. McDaniell, Joh. Bennis.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680–1, March 1. Whitehall.—I have the honour of a letter from your Grace of the 19th past, which His Majesty was pleased this morning to hear distinctly read to him.

It is a Justice of Peace named Mr. Warcup (a very active man) that gave His Majesty the extract I sent your Grace of a letter pretended to be written (by no ill-willer of your Grace) out of Ireland. He received it from one Manning that belongs to the Six Clerks' Office in Chancery, to whom it seems it was addressed from that side. Warcup I know, and by him I'll endeavour to trace it to the writer. However, His Majesty is very well satisfied with the answer you are pleased to give upon the several calumnies. The depositions I took leave to send your Grace were transcripts of what I found in the hands of the Clerks of the Council; seeing the omission I'll endeavour to supply it.

The alarms that come hither out of Ireland are very extravagant and (which makes them less heeded) are very frequent, but whether they come (most part) out of Munster, or from elsewhere, I cannot yet tell; but here is a great family that those alarms are said to come from and that they have it in letters out of Ireland. His Majesty is pleased to leave your Grace wholly to yourself as to the pretensions of Mr. George Weld, and is very well contented those engagements you are under should be complied with in the first place. In the meanwhile Mr. Weld must have patience, but whether he should have notice of this His Majesty's pleasure from your Grace or from me is a matter of form that I must beg your Grace to direct I may be instructed in.

Your Grace's suit that His Majesty's pleasure for the exempting of some particular persons from bearing their share in the suspension intended may be declared and ordered in full Council as the suspension was, is taken by His Majesty to his particular consideration, and so are the cases of the persons named in your letter, but I hope that excellent expression in your Grace's letter will have that weight with it as it deserves in His Majesty's present deliberations. I mean that, that no private person can be in greater need of the King's bounty than the public is of His Majesty's providence at this time.

Fitzharris, a son of Sir Edward, is found to have been tampering with one Everard (formerly a prisoner in the Tower) to embroil the King with his people by seditious libels. They hammered (as it appears by Sir Wm. Waller and Smyth, the convert priest of Durham, whom Everard had so posted in the room they met in as to overhear what passed between him and Fitzharris) a most pernicious black-mouthed libel between them. Everard, Smith and Sir Wm. Waller will prove that Fitzharris gave the first lines by way of instruction for the libel, and made several amendments to it. This will be of extreme danger to Fitzharris's life, yet I am persuaded there are some ingredients of refined malice in it, that I do somewhat doubt they were masters enough of their art to mingle so much venom together with so much skill, so that I think there is some evil spirit behind the curtain that is not yet seen.

Lord Chief Justice Keating to Ormond.

1680–1, March 1.—Being this day assured that His Majesty had signified his royal pleasure for making Sir William Davys Lord Chief Justice of his Court of Chief Place, I conclude thence that Serjeant Osborne will succeed Sir William in his place of Prime Serjeant, and thereupon make bold to mind your Lordship of your servant Sir Richard Stephens to come into the room of Serjeant Osborne.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, March 1. London.—Though the packet came to town on Saturday last I had your Grace's letter of the 19th of the last month but this day. The enclosed papers will convince the Board and those who have a mind to know the truth that arms and ammunition are to be had in Munster by any that want and are willing to pay what is reasonable, provided they are persons qualified. My Lord Anglesey is at present very ill of the gout, but before he was ill I took notice to him of the letter he had put in print which reflected so much upon you, and he knew to be false. He protested he gave no leave for the printing it, neither did he design to reflect on you, but the contrary. I told him I believed he thought to save himself by aspersing you at this time, but it would do him no good. The papers you sent over relating to my Lord Clare I am afraid are not to be found, they were so little regarded by His Majesty; but if I can retrieve them I will have His Majesty's leave to let my Lord Chamberlain have a sight of them.

Captain Henry Boyle to Ormond.

1680–1, March 1. Castlemartyr.—I had the honour of your lordship's last night of the 26th of Feb. and am very glad that together with my most humble acknowledgment

for it I can give your lordship an account that some of the rogues who were guilty of the late robberies have been so well pursued that they are taken, and from them we hope to know the whole gang of them. I am very confident if they be not discovered and taken it will not be the fault of any gentleman in this county either English or Irish, for such villains make no distinction either of religion or countrymen; but the militia of this country, which your lordship is pleased to call so great, tho' they are indeed a considerable body of men, yet bad horses and the want of arms and ammunition renders them less valuable than they might otherwise be. And how to mend these defects without money, and how to get money without a sufficient authority to levy it, which most think cannot be done without an Act of Parliament, is what the Commissioners of Array have often met about, but to no purpose.

There is a report as if complaints should be sent out of this country by letters for England setting forth that the militia of this country had been denied necessaries for their money, and that an account of this is come to Dublin; they must be very ignorant of the condition of this country that do not know arms, etc., have been long lodged at Cork for the militia to buy them at certain rates, and that besides several merchants have by licence from the Lord Lieutenant and Council brought over arms, etc., for the militia, some of which have been sold for that use; and I am confident hardly any man of any sort throughout the whole province but knows we are to be supplied for money either by the storekeeper or by the merchant of sufficient arms for the use of the militia; but we hope at this assizes at Cork to find some expedient if possible to be better provided than now we are.

My cousin Supple's wife died yesterday morning, to his great trouble, and not without reason. She was a very good woman and died with as little concern and as much religion as ever I saw anybody.

My uncle Burlington writes to me that care is taking in England to put Ireland into a good posture, that one thousand young men are raising to recruit the foot companies, and orders coming to mount the great guns in several places and other good things for the advantage of this kingdom, which if it please God to accompany with a good correspondency on all sides in England will end to the great happiness of all people.

Petition of the Grand Jury of Co. Clare to the Lord Lieutenant.

1680–1, March 1.—The humble petition of the Grand Jury of the county of Clare held at the assizes the first of March, 1680. Your petitioners being awakened by the votes of both Houses of Parliament in England as well as by our own observations into a sense of our danger by the horrid designs

of the enemy of the Protestant religion by law established, we in the first place think ourselves very happy by your Grace's great care and vigilancy, but since we have not any settled guards of the standing army nor militia yet formed in this county, we humbly beseech your Grace to have that favourable regard for us as to put us into such a posture of defence that if we be at any time assaulted by foreign or domestic enemies we may be always able to give that account that may become His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects.

And we your petitioners shall pray.

John Gore, foreman; John Colpoys, Thomas Hickman, Mountyfort Westroppe, Rawly Newdegate, Robert Cole, James FitzGerald, Don. O'Bryen, D. O'Bryen, Augustine FitzGerald, Hen. Hickman, Thomas Boucher, Nicho Devereux.

SIR WILLIAM DAVYS to ORMOND.

1680–1, March 2. Clonmel.—Having received a copy of a petition of the Lord Ward and others against me from his Grace the Lord Primate, and finding that the matter thereof relates to your Grace's Court of the Palatinate, I hold myself in duty bound to acquaint your Grace with the true state of that case, which cannot be contradicted, because it is drawn from the several orders from time to time conceived in that case by the Court. The thing mainly desired by the Lord Ward, etc., was the dissolving an injunction which now happens to be granted to them before I received the copy of their petition against me, which yet troubles me lest it may seem on the other side as if gained by threats and menaces; but whether they will be satisfied or not with the last rule of Court my principal aim is your Grace's satisfaction. My Lord, I have now served your Grace near three apprenticeships in that Court, and I do not remember that in all that time any one complaint of me has come before your Grace, as no question the Lord Ward, etc., had complained to your Grace (which they ought to have first done if oppressed in your Grace's Court before they should appeal to any other judicature) had they known me faulty in any arbitrary proceedings or unjust oppressions of any man in your Grace's Courts there.

WILLIAM WORTH, Recorder of Cork, to LORD PRIMATE.

1680–1, March 4. Cork.—This day I received the honour of your Grace's letter about Mr. Sealy's having a militia foot company in this city, and his arming that company at his own charge, which proposal of his, although it is very fair and handsome, yet, my Lord, there is already so many companies and troops raised within the liberties of this city that it is almost impossible to raise more, and so sensible the people of this place are thereof that they intend to petition my Lord Lieutenant to reduce the Militia already raised to five companies of foot and one troop of horse, and these they will arm

very suddenly; for we have already taken course for the arming most of the militia of this city, and therefore I humbly beg your Grace to desire my Lord Lieutenant that no more militia may be raised in this city, for both the Mayor and several others of this place desired me to write to that purpose to your Grace. Before I received your Grace's letter since my return home I have examined narrowly into the business of Major Hore's, who was likely to be robbed in the west, and the story thereof made a great noise here, but upon strict enquiry I cannot find there was above four men that attempted to rob him, and to break into his castle, one of which is thought to be a serjeant of the Scotch Regiment, and formerly under the command of Sir James Murray, who, when he was commanded to Tangier, ran away from his colours and has ever since been skulking up and down the country; and some of the rest, if not all, are such kind of fellows as ran from their colours when the Scotch companies were commanded to Tangier, and are this country men, but because they speak French the people of the country will not believe but they are French men sent over to cut their throats. But for the other robbery which was committed on Mr. Murrogh near Castlelyons it is found out that those who committed it were all Irishmen and great cow-stealers; one of them being apprehended has discovered his confederates. I have here enclosed sent your Grace a copy of a petition which was found on ship board by some of the officers of the Custom House of Youghal in search for papers in a ship which lately came from France. Some people here has got it translated into English, but it was found written in Latin, but whether the thing is real I cannot tell. But upon the perusal thereof your Grace will find it agrees pretty near with their common notion of their own affairs, penned in excellent Latin, and a foreign style not usual to this country, but when your Grace has perused it your Grace is best able to judge thereof, and therefore it is humbly submitted to you by, etc.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, March 5. London.—I have given my Lord Longford an account of proceedings relating to Fitzharris, and my Lord Conway told me to-day he had informed you of the particulars he stands accused of. He has directions from the King to recommend Mr. Henry Progers to your Grace for the reversion of the Serjeant Porter's place, Sir Edward Brett's nephew, who had the reversion before being lately dead I suppose he was father to your page. Mr. Progers is a very honest gentleman, and I promised this morning to write on his behalf but I must do right to everybody, and therefore at Sir Edward's desire I asked the King whether he had not first promised to recommend one Mr. Brett upon my Lord Dorset's application before he gave order to my Lord Conway for the other. His Majesty said it might very well be, but he did

not remember it, but spoke very kindly of Sir Edward. I have heard by several credible persons that the Lords of the Cabal say this letter my Lord Anglesey has printed must either do your work or his, but from whence they ground that opinion I can't guess, for they must go back many years before the Act of Indemnity, and if that be laid aside your adversary will be in a very ill condition himself.

Sir L. Jenkins to Ormond.

1680–1, March 5. Whitehall.—The King will be on Monday sennight in Oxford. I wish our preparations for that meeting did bear proportion with the diligences of the adverse party. Yorkshire and Wiltshire have had the ordinary instructions obtruded upon them as the act of the gentry by a mere surprise, that is one man handing a paper to be read in a crowd while all was in a hurry and nobody heeded what it was. But at the Assizes at Salisbury the Grand Jury presented the paper as seditious, and the author to deserve punishment. Fitzharris confesseth nothing, tho' 'its morally impossible but he must know the author of that pestilent libel. The city is quiet at this time, I mean the fermentation ceases working, having spent itself very much. His Royal Highness's youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella, died on Wednesday last.

Ormond to Capt. George Mathew.

1680–1, March 5. Dublin.—I spoke this day with my nephew Anthony Hamilton concerning Nenagh and I find him ready to comply with my desires. In order to it he tells me he will send for a rent roll of that farm, for he says a part of it is let, but he cannot tell for what, to whom, or for how long. When that is known it will remain only to know and value what is stocked and of all this I suppose you may get some account, that if it be possible we may get into possession by May.

My Lord of Anglesey, in answer to a foolish and unseasonable book of my Lord Castlehaven's, has made many scandalous reflections upon me for my actings in the cessations and peaces. I have caused one of them concerning my acquisitions to be transcribed and send it you because you can best instruct me how to confute him ; the rest I am providing for. There is yet come over but one printed copy that I know of, and that I keep by me. If more come one shall be sent you.

Lord Clare to Chief Baron Hene.

1680–1, March 5. Ennis.—Having considered since I parted with your lordship that the Parliament in England is to meet upon the 21st of this month, and that it is to be feared some evil members that wish not well to the Protestant interest might advise His Majesty to prorogue or dissolve it, I thought fit humbly to pray your lordship to send under your lordship's

cover by the next post the petition, which I with some Justices of the Peace and the Grand Jury of this county delivered your lordship for my Lord Lieutenant, if your lordship be not of opinion that it will do as well to deliver it when your lordship goes to Dublin.

Tho' we be very inconsiderable, yet being the first county of the circuit of this province and that we have not a fanatic or factious man a dweller among us (if he be not a Papist) it may show His Majesty the sense of the rest of the kingdom and convince him that the Papists have not that power in it which some persons to my knowledge have endeavoured to persuade him to twelve years past. As for any expressions in the letter, our meaning is good and our condition requires we should speak now somewhat feelingly. There is nothing in it but what I will justify to be most necessary for the preservation of the Protestant interest in this kingdom.

CAPT. HENRY BOYLE to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680–1, March 8. Castlemartyr.—I had the honour of your lordship's of the 5th instant, wherein you are pleased to say that you acquainted my Lord Lieutenant with what I had writ to your lordship concerning the reports spread of the Militia in this county, and that his Excellency was very well pleased to see what I had writ. I most humbly thank your lordship for the trouble you gave yourself in it, but I hope my Lord Lieutenant did not think I was the author of such a report, for if ever it should be my misfortune to be so far engaged in public business as to appear upon the stage, I shall never have cause, I am confident, to complain of the Government, or if I had it should be for what I might be very well able to prove, and not for such things as everybody are able to contradict, which may be done in this case very notoriously. Your lordship is pleased to observe that the Militia of this county is in a very ill condition, and it is very certain they are so, but that which renders them most despisable is their want of arms, which we have hopes to supply them with, and to mend our condition at this next Assizes. My uncle Shannon is now here and has received his Grace my Lord Lieutenant's letters concerning Mr. Dudley Fitzgerald. His lordship tell me he hath another evidence about the business of Macroom, and such as I believe will not be favourable for Mr. Fitzgerald. Since the robbery at Castlelyons we have heard of no other attempt, which makes us hope that those villains being taken such rogueries will cease in these parts.

COL. THEODORE RUSSELL to EARL OF GRANARD.

1680–1, March 8. Galway.—I have in obedience to my Lord Duke of Ormond's command followed the directions of Mr. Robeson, Surveyor General, and sent enclosed to him the value and charge of the necessary repair for the two

citadels. That being done, in one of them will be found lodgments for two companies and four companies in the other. In this nothing is said of the defects of the town walls or gates or drawbridges, which are in no small disorder. The copies of the charge as the workmen have computed it, being the same I sent to Mr. Robeson, is here on the other side set down for your Lordship's view, the cheapest that it is possible to be done, as the workmen do declare to this, if your lordship can hasten the matter it will be of no small consequence to the King's service.

CAPT. JO. FFOLLIOTT to ORMOND.

1680–81, March 6. Cork.—In obedience to your commands (may it please your Grace) I humbly present you with some affairs and passages in this county. At my coming to Cork I found the people under a great consternation, fearing the French invading aud the Irish rising, though upon no probable measure I can meet with, but by what they hear from England (I hope 'tis not first transported from hence). For my Lord of Cork and Lord of Winchelsea, young Jack King, my Lord Kingston's brother, being on his travels for France went to receive his lordship's commands, they being together told him that Ireland was inevitably lost past recovery by a combination of the French and Irish, and their lordships often repeated the sense they had and sorrow they lay under for so great and certain a destruction. My Lord Shannon (one that saw it tells me) had lately a letter from his brother Cork dissuading him from his resolution of leaving Ireland for some time. I humbly suppose (my Lord) till after next rent day, for should my Lord Shannon leave this kingdom before, I fear his lordship looks on't as lost, and so my lord no more rent to be paid, which to some it may be were as heavy a burden to sustain as a wounded conscience. I most humbly refer the meaning of these things to your Grace's wisdom. I only beg leave to say that I am of opinion the fathers of some have eaten sour grapes, and their children's teeth are set on edge. My Lord, most of our principal men believe that a settled Militia would much contribute to our present quiet, and preserve us for the future, yet I am assured at the last meeting of our Commissioners of Array some of our grandees opposed the raising money to arm our Militia, for fear of a Parliament. This humour was first broached by the late Lord Orrery and still pursued. My Lord, one Mrs. Townsend wrote a letter to her husband, Col. Townsend, being here, that a priest on his death-bed wrote to her that (being afflicted in mind), by such a day all the Protestants were to be murdered, which did much alarm this country I find, but the day being past and nobody killed and all quiet but a few robberies committed by common thieves, that hubbub is over. The report of two barrels of powder found in a tree is quite false, nothing but old rotten

barrels found in an old rotten tree. I most humbly beg your Grace's for this presumption.

Earl of Conway to Ormond.

1680–1, March 8 (received).—I have shewed His Majesty your Grace's letter of the 20th past and the copy of my Lord Clare's to your Grace of the 11th. It is the same which His Majesty finds himself surrounded with from all parts by contrivances and are to strike terror into him, as if he were beset on all sides. But His Majesty doth not look upon it as very terrible from my Lord Clare and thinks it would become him better to meddle only with his own business.

Sir John Davys's case is the hardest in the world, and yet His Majesty can give him no relief without great inconvenience. It hath been often debated in Council, considered and reconsidered by Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor, and the result is that they can propose no way but to have him tried by the King's Commission of Oyer and Terminer in some other county, and not in the county of Middlesex. Upon which I said all the witnesses that can come in to clear him were in Ireland, that your Grace, my Lord Granard and the Bishop of Meath were the chief, and that it was impossible your Grace could be there, and great difficulties I thought would be upon others; to which there was no other answer but that as many as could come must come, for they could do nothing else.

We have had no less than eight witnesses before the King and the Council, who have deposed upon oath how they were tampered with to swear against the Queen, the Duke, your Grace and my Lord Chancellor of Ireland as the contrivers and carriers on of the Popish Plot. I suppose your Grace will hear from others the story of Mr. FitzHarris, the son of Sir Edward FitzHarris. It hath given the King the trouble of three Council days extraordinary, and I believe Mr. FitzHarris will go near to be hanged.

I humbly beg your Grace's pardon for troubling you with these affairs, which are foreign to those wherein I desire to serve your Grace, but in all things I shall be ever ambitious to shew my inclinations and my zeal to be esteemed, etc.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, March 8. London.—I had yesterday your Grace's of the first with the copies of your letters to Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Secretary Jenkins, and I find you judge very right, for the Court is in such a hurry that there will be no time to mind the affairs of that country, but I put the Secretary in mind to show your letter to the Council before their going to Oxford, towards which place the King sets out on Saturday next, but stays at Windsor on Sunday. I believe His Majesty has not taken the pains to read my Lord Anglesey's book,

and therefore I did not think it proper to know his pleasure whether he would have you answer it or no, but I am of opinion that an answer should be made (tho' not put but during the sitting of Parliament) to vindicate you as to the world, for either of the Houses would be glad to find a fault in one of you, and I think you will do yourself no honour in contending with him. He owns writing the contents of the book, but not the giving way to the printing of it.

Before I received your letter I had discountenanced the prosecuting of the business of the conspiracy so far as it concerned you for the reasons you mention in your letter, and I believe as little good is to be expected in the Parliament as matters now go, or are like to be carried, when we meet. I intend for Oxford with my Lord Chesterfield on Friday sennight and I believe we shall lodge together.

I hear Fitzsharris owns nothing farther of the business he was imprisoned about, but that he will be a farther discoverer of the Plot. I find the prints say nothing farther of him. The first letter you writ on behalf of the Archbishop of Dublin is mislaid, but I have this day given Mr. Cooke a letter I had from his Grace upon that subject, it were well the form of a letter should be sent over from thence, for Mr. Cooke can't tell how to draw one here. The Bishop of Down was to see me this morning and desires for his health sake a longer licence of absence.

Francis Gwyn to Ormond.

1680–81, March 8. Whitehall.—The great affair that hath of late taken up the Board hath been the examination of Mr. FitzHarris. The occasion of his being first brought thither (I suppose your Grace hath already heard) for endeavouring to publish a most treasonable libel, and upon his examination it did appear that though he was the compiler and director of it himself, yet he intended to have charged one Everard (who was a very busy man in discovering the Plot) and some of his gang as the contrivers of it, but Everard being beforehand with him discovered first, and the foul draught appearing to be mended in several places with FitzHarris' own hand, and an addition to it all writ by himself, with three witnesses to prove his discourse with Everard, was to press him to print it, and encouraged him by hopes of a reward from the French Ambassador, laid it so close upon FitzHarris that the matter being treason almost in every line, there was no probability but FitzHarris would have incurred the penalty of a traitor. So the matter rested the last time FitzHarris was before the Council, but on Sunday night the Sheriffs of London, who had been in Newgate with him, waited upon His Majesty and acquainted him that FitzHarris had something more to discover. Whereupon His Majesty commanded both the Secretaries and Mr. Attorney Gen. to go to Newgate on Monday morning to re-examine him. When

they came to him they found he then came in with a new discovery concerning the Plot, speaking in general words only, and to-day again upon the Secretaries and Mr. Attorney being with him he says more in relation to the general Plot in England and Ireland, much of the same nature with some of the witnesses that went before him. What will be the consequence of it I submit to your Grace. His Majesty intends to remove on Saturday next to Windsor and on Monday to Oxford.

Sir Cyril Wyche to Ormond.

1680–1, Tuesday, March 8. St. James's Square.—I think myself extremely happy in the opinion your Grace is pleased to express of me in yours of the 1st instant upon your hearing I am one of this Parliament, and I must needs say this for myself, that were it in my power as well as it is in my prayers there should be that perfect good understanding between the King and his Parliament that no artifices on any hand should be able to diminish. But what is in no man's single power to effect is not only in every man's, but every one's duty too to endeavour, and in my humble station I will do my utmost to promote it. I am very sensible that we live in a time when 'tis almost impossible to preserve the character of an honest man, and the most exact circumspection that can be used is seldom able to preserve one from very hard censures on one hand or other, and sometimes on both. It was therefore against my sense and intention to have come yet upon the stage again, but to have waited a time when moderate counsels had been more likely to have succeeded; but having submitted my judgment to that of my friends, I have resolved too not to quit those principles of loyalty and honesty and zeal to the true Protestant religion, which I have hitherto preserved and will carry to my grave, for any fear of being misconstrued or misrepresented. If my utmost diligence can be of any use to your Grace, 'twill be my honour to be found doing you service. If you shall be pleased to send me any particular instructions I will carefully follow them; if not, I will in general do what is in my mean capacity to vindicate your Grace from those aspersions which none but very distempered times could cast upon your actions.

Sentence of Court Martial upon Captain Thomas Bridges, March 8, 1680–1, Dublin.

At a court marshal held in Dublin the 8th of March, 1680.
Arthur Lord Viscount Granard, Field Marshal. President.
Sir Wm. Flower, Sir Tho. Newcomen, Sir Cha. Feilding, Maj. Rupt. Billingsley, Capt. Oliver Long, Capt. Rich. Coote, Sir Oliver St. George, Col. Carey Dillon, Capt. Robt. FitzGerald, Lord Viscount Blessington, Sir John Peyton, Capt. Cha. Murray.
Assistants.

Upon information given by the Advocate General against Capt. Thomas Bridges, capt. of a foot company in His Majesty's Army, that the said Capt. Bridges having made deductions from several of the soldiers in his company of a considerable sum of money due for their quarters at Ballymoney in the county of Antrim some years since, which was not paid to the inhabitants, notwithstanding he had received several positive orders to discharge the same from his superior officer; and that the said captain had used great fraud, practice and deceit in procuring counterfeited a certificate that many of his company had received the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, when in truth the whole certificate was forged in order to deceive the Mustermaster and his commissaries. And upon examination of several witnesses and perusing the muster rolls and certificates aforesaid, and upon hearing of all that can be offered by all parties, it was ordered and adjudged by the Court aforesaid that the said captain shall satisfy and pay unto the inhabitants of Ballymoney aforesaid what shall appear to be deducted by him or his clerks from the soldiers towards the discharge of the quarters aforesaid, and that he shall likewise pay unto the officers and soldiers of his company such sums of money as by a report delivered to the said Court by Capt. Oliver Long and Capt. Richard Coote doth appear, and it was likewise ordered and adjudged that the said Capt. Bridges for his disobedience, neglect and practice aforesaid should be cashiered his command in His Majesty's army aforesaid. And the said captain was cashiered accordingly.—Jo. Topham, Advocate General.

Capt. Richard Eustace to Ormond.

1680–1, March 9. Lisburn.—Since my return to my quarters I find the people more decent in their expressions of the Government and Governors. I wish it were as sincere as they would have it thought, but the contrary appears with their presumption, for on Sunday last was seven night one of their preachers, Streton by name, and a stranger in this country, preached in a barn near this town, to whom many of the inhabitants resorted, a thing never before attempted in my Lord Conway's town nor country of Kilulta, for he always vigorously suppressed them upon their first appearance. Sir G. Rawdon sent my ensign with a party to the place, who (after the parson had done) brought him to Sir George, who thought fit to reprove, but not commit, him; which soft usage gave him encouragement to make application to Sir George to build a meeting house in this town, which he, Mr. Adare the Presbyterian preacher of Belfast, and Mr. Hutchinson another preacher (but esteemed a moderate man) pressed with so great importunity that nothing would satisfy them but a compliance, which they missing of went away dissatisfied, but was heard to declare that they did not doubt in a little time

to establish their desires by authority. Their presbytery has of late enjoined a general fast, which on Thursday last was kept with great strictness and abstinence from all labour (though on Christmas Day they'll plow), the whole day being employed in preaching, fasting and praying for deliverance from all Papists and their adherents, of which number they declare our Church in general. I have this week put myself in the way of several gentlemen at their landing from Scotland, as Lieutenant Colonel Monro and others, who say that his Royal Highness his behaviour (in appearance) pleases most of the nobility and gentry, but all agree that the fiery dispositions of the kirk and people is rather smothered than extinguished. The most loyal of that nation amongst us here are of that opinion. I dare not venture to recommend any man in our parts for the purpose your Grace mentioned, but if your Grace will be pleased to honour me with any trust I do promise all the faith that can be expected from a loyal subject, a true Churchman and a passionate lover of your Grace and family which firmly binds me to seek all occasions of proving myself, etc.

Postscript.—It will never be known to nor suspected by any that I am sent, for I have often declared my resolution (if I could get leave and a licence) to wait on His Royal Highness. I will not presume to trouble your Grace any further, but do humbly offer myself with all willingness and sincerity to your Grace's disposal.

JOHN ROAN, BISHOP OF KILLALOE, to PRIMATE BOYLE.

1680–1, March 10. Limerick.—When I was last in Dublin I had some discourse with my Lord Lieutenant concerning Bishop Moloney, whom his Grace believed was in France, whereas I then was and am still of opinion he is in this kingdom, besides other I have this reason that in the beginning of November last the parish priest of Tullagh died and the parishioners chose of themselves one Grady to succeed; where he had scarce continued three weeks, but there came an order from Bishop Molony under his own hand for the induction of one White. The original order I expect this week to be brought me, so that it is evident he could not be in France.

I thought fit to acquaint your Grace of what I presume your Grace may have some notice of before this can arrive at Dublin, which is concerning a petition of our grand jury at Innish [Ennis]. The Archbishop of Tuam (who had a trial for some lands, and now knows what discouragement a Bishop hath to be tried by a Popish jury, that is the common jury in that county), he with myself lay at the house of Mr. Gore, the foreman of the jury, who, on Friday night at 11 a'clock, was pleased to impart first to me, and we both to the Archbishop, what a petition was presented to the jury, the Lord Clare being the chief promoter. I told them my sense, which

the Archbishop did likewise, that it was a petition scandalous to the Government, and of such a nature as could not be well resented, etc., therefore advised them (for besides the foreman there was another of the jury with him) to suppress that petition that it might never see light, and truly those two persons, Mr. Gore and Mr. Thomas Hickman, were convinced, and promised they would endeavour to suppress it, at least never to promote or join in it. But they told me they now being so far engaged must needs have some petition to offer, that they may stop the mouths of their fellows, and therefore desired I would dictate one for them, which I was loth to be known in such matters. One of them took pen and paper, and I confess the Archbishop and myself did help them to draw a petition (a copy of which is endorsed on the back of this) and those persons early the next morning got it engrossed and presented it to their fellows, who all but three were convinced of their folly in the former, and adhered to present this, which accordingly was done by the foreman. But the Lord Clare and the other dissenters were earnest for the presenting the Lord Clare's petition, for he was foreman in that, and would not cease their clamour till that petition was also presented to the judge, which the foreman at last did, but with this reserve declaring to the Judge that he did not present it as from the grand jury, and desired his Lordship not so to receive it, but only to satisfy the others' importunity, and for his Lordship's own satisfaction in the nature of the thing it was delivered, which his Lordship might make what use of he pleased. After our coming to this place I found that there were many copies of that factious petition dispersed abroad and, as I understand, by the Lord Clare. I thereupon demanded of my Lord Chief Baron whether he had given any copies of it, he replied he had not nor shewed it to any but his brother Judge, so that I am satisfied my Lord Clare hath dispersed them, and I hear that my Lord Lieutenant hath one sent him. I was therefore the more willing to satisfy your Grace in the whole proceeding, in regard my Lord Chief Baron will not be in Dublin to give an account for some weeks longer. The petition endorsed on the back of this letter runs as follows :—

"To his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The humble petition of the Grand Jury for the County of Clare, held the first of March, 1680, Your petitioners being awakened by the votes of both Houses of Parliament in England as well as by our own observations into a sense of our danger by the horrid designs of the enemies of the Protestant religion by law established, We in the first place think ourselves very happy by your Grace's great care and vigilance, but since we have not any settled guards of the standing army, nor militia yet formed in this county, we humbly beseech your Grace to have that favourable regard for us as to put us in such a posture of defence that if we be at any time assaulted by foreign or domestic enemies we may be always able to give

such account as may become His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects."

ORMOND to EARL OF ARRAN.

1680–1, March 12. Dublin.—I think I have made no return to yours of the 26th of the last or 1st and 5th or this month, and possibly this may find you at Oxford or ready to go thither. Something I have said to each of the Secretaries upon the case of Sir John Davys, as it may affect any of the King's servants and in consequence himself if the edge of those laws that ought to protect his person and prerogative may be turned against both by perversion and combination. Sir John Davys carried with him, as Mat Barry tells me, the papers that relate to the proceedings against Drake, and since he may not appear before there may be use of them, it may be fit to get them into your hands, but I believe the Parliament will not begin so low as with his complaint.

What I now send Mr. Secretary Jenkins will not only shew that there was no ground for the suggestion that arms and ammunition could not be had in Munster for the Protestants, but that Mr. Boyle gave no countenance to the report, and by the extract of another it will appear what the opinion of sober Protestants is of the danger of that province from a single Irish insurrection. I have made some progress in an answer to my Lord of Anglesey's foolish libel, which would be short if I intended only his confutation, but the occasion being given I am advised to enlarge to other purposes.

I cannot imagine why my Lord of Clare is so much despised, when we have experience that every little insect that will be a villain has power to sting. I send my Lord Conway by this post the copies of two addresses gotten by him to be presented to the Judge in the County of Clare, praying that I would interpose with the King for the sitting of the Parliament, and I believe copies of these addresses are sent into England and to other counties here. The petitions are not so come to me as that I need to take any notice of them, but when they do I shall not know what to say to them. I know what should be said and done, but cannot judge of the season; you shall do well to look out my letters concerning that Lord and impart it to my Lord Conway. I have given his Lordship my sense concerning the reversion of Sir Edward Brett's place, but have received none from him or any other of particulars concerning Fitzharris, but I wonder to find him a libeller against the King and Sir Wm. Waller a discoverer. My Lord of Longford tells me you had the ill fortune to dine with him the day he was apprehended. I, without further information, cannot judge of the consequence; but whatever it can be, if it produce what you say it shall I cannot wish it had not happened. I suppose order will be taken that the posts shall pass by Oxford as long as the King is there. I have received a letter from the Lords

Commissioners of the Treasury concerning the revenue, but it is too hard to understand what is driven at by it, and it is so perplexed, contrary to their style in other matters, that it is impossible anybody could contrive it but Sir James Shaen. All I can collect out of it is that he would make show as if the Farmers were more ready to pay the Civil List than the Army are to receive, and then to hook in a permission, whilst they are in arrear, to pay Rider's and other debts, and maintain themselves out of the growing revenue.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, March 12. London.—The King went early this morning to Windsor and last night he had Fitzharris before him in Council. He owns the plot in general, but will not come to all particulars until he is assured of his pardon, which the King says he will not give him tho' twenty Parliaments should address for him, but it is likely his mind may alter. He accuses Father Patrick and Col. Richard Hamilton with most of the officers of his regiment; he was sent to the Tower after his examination at the Board, but the night before he was examined by the Sheriffs and Sir Robert Clayton, which, I suppose, will be given to the House of Commons. In that examination I believe he enlarges more than in his others. My Lord Burlington has still, as he says, more alarming news out of Munster, that a Castle was taken by force, and that the Irish continue in a great body in arms.

Sir Edward Brett desired me to send his petition and reference to you. I need say nothing on his behalf, for you know him better than I do. There is an ensign here who is of the army of Ireland or rather an ancient who is afraid he shall not overtake the muster. His name is Banting, as I take it an ensign to Beversham; he could not get a recommendation from the Secretary because the Court was in such a hurry, but I desire he may not suffer. I believe I shall have nothing to write until I go to Oxford.

Ormond to Earl of Conway.

1680–1, March 12. Dublin.—I have two of your Lordship's to answer, one without date, the other of the 5th of this month. It is certain that in calm and settled times my Lord of Clare's interest and contrivances would have little effect, but in this conjuncture men of less quality and industry have been able to contribute much to our disquiet. By the papers I send your Lordship you will find how busy he has been in the county he lives in, and that it is suspected copies of the petition of the grand jury there are dispersed, that some of them may be sent into England and others into other counties, in hope that the example will be followed. How to carry myself upon so surprising an occasion I am to seek. The Judge, I think with more prudence than he received the address, keeps it in his hands till his return hither, which will not be till the

Parliament has sate some days, and by that time I hope by your Lordship to receive the King's directions how to receive and what answer to give it.

I have great kindness for Sir John Davys and compassion for his sufferings, but I look upon the King's part in the case with greatest trouble, in that he cannot find a way to protect his servants from danger and disgrace when they are attacked by palpable contrivance and conspiracy by very incredible witnesses and accused of a more incredible crime. My Lord Primate and I could do him little service if we were upon the place, because we were not by when he is said to have discouraged the witnesses and undervalued their information. It is not strange that his Grace and I should be accused for contriving and carrying on the Popish Plot there, that amongst the shoal of witnesses that went hence none could be found that would swear it.

The reversion of the serjeant porter's place is most humbly laid at His Majesty's feet without dispute, but if the doctrine be true that he should in this case grant a reversion, His Majesty will infallibly be importuned to grant reversions of all places, and what then signifies the steward's privilege of giving places in the household when they shall be void. It was at my suit that the King granted Sir Edward Brett's kinsman, that is now dead, the reversion of his place, and I did it for nothing but to oblige a gentleman that had served His Majesty and his father long and gallantly, and if reversions come to be given at the instance of any other he so far puts himself into my office.

QUAERES.

[Undated.] Whether the Irish Parliament, which in my Lord of Strafford's time gave His Majesty with so much cheerfulness ten subsidies, were not the same which was in being when the rebellion broke out and so loyally declared against the rebels? And whether it did not consist of more Catholic than Protestant members?

Whether the army raised by my Lord of Strafford with those subsidies did not consist of more Protestants than Catholic officers and soldiers?

Whether His Majesty's consent to the disbanding of that army were not extorted from him by the Long Parliament in England? And whether he received not the Lords Justices' advice from Ireland to do it?

Whether was Sir Henry Tichborne joined in commission with Parsons and Borlase, Lords Justices?

What party did they all take when their Commission was superseded? Or what became of them?

Whether was Sir John R[ead,] whom they put to the rack, a Protestant or a Catholic?

Whether the now Earl of Anglesey were not a member of the Long Parliament and of the Committee for Irish Affairs,

when the insurrection happened in 1641, and whether he did not constantly attend the House in England from their first meeting until he was amongst the 40 members excluded in 1648 ?

Whether he took the covenant or any other oath against the Government and religion established in England by law ?

Whether the Protestants which fought under the Duke of Ormond's Commission from the year 1646 to the year 1648, and from 1648 to 1650 were equal in number with those who with arms opposed him in those times and would not acknowledge the King's authority ?

Why did not the Earl of Castlehaven engage with his Grace at Kilrush ? and if under suspicion of disloyalty why was he not secured ?

What authority had Glamorgan to treat about a peace with the Irish ? and what peace did he make ? and with whom ? and when ?

What advice is that which the Earl of Anglesey insinuates to have been given by the Earl of Castlehaven to his Grace when he asked which of his enemies he should treat with ? *vide* page 69 of the Letter from the Person of Honor &c.

Ormond to Lord Derby.

1680–1, March 13. Dublin.—I have two of your Lop's and one from your wife since I writ to you. That from Chester was brought me by a servant of mine. I suppose you were in that place upon the election of Parliament men, and that you have contributed towards the choice of men of moderation and temper, true lovers of their religion, King and country. I am sure there was never more need of men so disposed. If it please God to give good success to the meeting at Oxford, it will produce many advantages to all honest men and I may hope to see your Lop. here to my great satisfaction, being with great reality, my Lord, your Lop's most affectionate grandfather and most humble servant

Ormond to Earl of Conway.

1680–1, March 14. Dublin.—The Lord Primate received this morning an account of the county of Clare petition in a letter from the Bishop of Killaloe. Some of the subscribing persons by their names I suspect to be Papists, or at the best such Protestants as the Lord of Clare, who is said to have gone to Mass in Spain since his conversion, whose lady is in a nunnery in France, and his eldest son page to the French King. If it be true that the Bishop Molony be still in Ireland I cannot but suspect a correspondence betwixt the Lord of Clare and him, for all his Lordship's pretended zeal for the Protestant religion and to suppress Popery, since nothing in my opinion can more conduce to the Papists' ends than dividing of Protestants, which is endeavoured by that petition. When I had written thus far I received from the judges of

that circuit a copy of the Lord of Clare's letter to the Chief Baron, of which I send your Lordship a transcript. It no way lessens the suspicion I had before. Your Lordship by the second short and more dutiful petition will observe that most of the gentlemen, Justices of the Peace and of the jury, would have retracted the first, but my Lord of Clare having engaged them was able to hold them to it.

DONOGH O'BRIEN to LORD BLESSINTON.

1680–1, March 15. Limerick.—Although I presume your Lordship has an account before now of the Lord Clare with some other Justices of the Peace and the juries' proceedings on a petition at the late assizes held at Ennis, yet I hope it is not too late for me to acquaint your Lordship that I was not only against it, but that I am not any of the Donoghs O'Bryen among the subscribers to the petition, the one of them being the grandson of Bryen of Newtowne, whom his Grace your father knew, and now to be married to Ivers' daughter, that is Lord Clare's steward, by whose influence and his own ignorance, this being the first jury he was ever upon, he assented to that rude and unparralleled petition. The other Donogh O'Bryen so called, though I know not why, because he is not of any family known amongst us, and in himself a poor mean man, having no other calling or subsistence but a minister's proctor for gathering and setting his tithes and other dues; and although these two to the scandal of the name of O'Bryen, and the rest of the jury-men, may be thought to be the authors of this petition, yet from my own observation I can assure your Lordship that they were ignorant of the design till that unfortunate Lord brought the petition to them, and by frequent importunities and ill grounded suggestions prevailed upon most of them to agree to it; some of them I will not say by my persuasion being to this day dissenters to it. This I will not affirm for them who signed to it as justices and not jury-men with him, because by their forwardness in the matter and going with him to persuade the jury to join in the address I am induced to believe they were privy to his design, which by some remarks I took before assizes I observed did put him upon having such a jury impanelled as would join with him in this matter, and now that I have troubled your Lordship with an account of the truth of this affair, I entreat your Lordship to acquaint my Lord Lieutenant and his Grace your father with it, that I may not fall under their displeasure, nor by any misrepresentation be deprived of the character of a true and loyal subject to my King in their esteem.

Since my Lady Catherine hath told your Lordship that she will refer our difference I am very free to it, and that your Lordship shall be the sole judge of it, and shall wait upon you the next term or sooner if you appoint it.

Annexed to this I send you the copy of the petition.

Sir William King to Wm. Ellis.

1680–1, March 15. Limerick.—In obedience to his Grace's commands I ordered the officers commanding the several companies here to inquire after and make return to me of the names of such soldiers in their respective companies as are now married to women of the Popish Communion, a list of which I here enclosed send to you to be presented to his Grace. Some of the soldiers contained in this list are so old that I fear if they be dismissed before some other provision be made for them they will starve, they not being now able to betake themselves to any other way of livelihood, and many of them married before the companies were under our commands, and being withal men of English birth and extraction, and are fit objects of his Grace's mercy and consideration. The Tories I formerly acquainted his Grace I hoped I had got set twixt the counties of Limerick and Tipperary could not be found, though I had full assurances they should, but instead of them the officer brought me two persons suspected for harbouring such, but their being no proof against them, and I on the whole examination finding many faults in my informer, I thought it not fit to put the poor men to unnecessary troubles. Some of those lately suspected for robberies committed near this place being apprehended and tried, were found guilty and executed, and among them that soldier of mine I formerly gave his Grace an account of, which is all that offers at present.

Encloses a "List of Soldiers within the Garrison of Limerick that are married to women of the Popish Communion."

Earl of Longford to Ormond.

1680–1, March 17.—The bearer, Mr. Hamilton, happening to be at Ennis when my Lord Clare and the Grand Jury delivered their petition to the Judges (a copy whereof his Lordship gave him), I thought it my duty to acquaint your Grace with it and to let your Grace know that his Lordship values himself much upon this exploit, having in discourse with the bearer told him that while the Parliament was sitting there were several gentlemen in that country ready to make further discoveries of the Plot, who since the dissolution of it have been discouraged to do it. How far your Grace will think fit to take notice of his Lordship's proceeding before the return of my Lord Chief Baron I most humbly submit it to your Grace's judgment. But if my Lord Primate pursue his resolution of turning all those out of the Commission for the Peace who have Popish wives and breed their children Papists, I hope his Grace in that general rule will not make an exception of his Lordship, who takes such liberties of reflecting upon the Government. The bearer knows nothing of the intimation I have given your Grace of this whole matter.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE KEATING to ORMOND.

1680–1, March 18. Longford.—On my arrival at this place I understood from the Earl of Longford and Lord Granard that the Lord of Clare (which I thought almost impossible) had to his many former indiscretions added one folly more. But neither of their Lordships could tell me certainly what the substance of his Lordship's desires are; however, it brought fresh into my thoughts a complaint which the Lord Clare made the last time I saw his Lordship, when pointing out the causes of his misfortunes he ascribed them all to this, that he having offered to His Majesty in a long letter which he took the boldness to write unto him his advice for settling this kingdom in a firm and lasting peace; amongst many other expedients conducing in his judgment to that end he proposed the seizing of all the Popish clergy as well regular as secular, this to be done in one night, which he undertook should be done in that part of the country and to ship them all for Spain. This letter he saith the King gave the Lord Arlington and the Lord Arlington to Father Patrick, who took a copy, and shewed the original to his Royal Highness, and from thence he dates all his misfortunes, and told me (as I remember) that he had written to the Lord Arlington to demand reparation or that he must acquaint the Parliament with the whole proceeding. I was immediately on my guard, and discoursed the matter but very slenderly with his Lordship, being then bound for Court, but I now plainly perceive that his design is to make a noise with that matter, which ought to alarm Lord Arlington for his defence. This may it please your Grace is what I thought my duty to let your Grace know.

SIR L. JENKINS to ORMOND.

1680–1, March 18. Oxford.—The hurry of my removing to this place hath hindered me these two last posts from giving your Grace an accompt of your commands in your two letters of the first of this month, which are the last yet come to hand.

Both those letters were read in Council, and His Majesty was pleased to approve of what your Grace hath already done, and is now doing, in execution of His Majesty's orders of the 16th of November last relating to the army there.

His Majesty likes well of your Grace's admitting such officers of foot as are past service or otherwise cannot attend to part with their commands; so he does your Grace's thoughts of drawing into the field as soon as the season is proper for it. The way you are in, my Lord, for recruiting the Scotch Regiment is to His Majesty's liking, tho' some thought the officers have too good a bargain to be in full pay till they do fill up their companies, which they will be in no great haste to do. However, it was His Majesty's judgment that the course taken by your Grace was the best. My Lord of Longford's state of the stores was ordered to be sent (as it is)

to the Commissioners of the Ordnance, and the arrears that the Revenue there is in to the Establishment was referred to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. As to the prosecuting of the Earl of Ranelagh, His Majesty's pleasure was that the suspension should be taken off, only his accompts are now depending before the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; and my Lord of Ranelagh begins now to be in that good condition of health as to be able (in a short time) to attend them, in order to have a state and a report made of his accompt, and then proceedings may and will be had at law as cause shall require.

Your Grace's other letter of St. David's Day consisted of two points, the one for a letter to your Grace to issue out a commission for taking the Vice-Treasurer's annual accompts, the other about the fast indicted by the Scotch Presbyterians in that kingdom. When the clause about the letter was read it was moved by the Lords of the Treasury that they might have a sight of that letter, and leave to alter it if need were before it should be presented to His Majesty. Your Grace will find they have added a clause in the latter end, which being presented to His Majesty he was pleased to approve of and to sign. The draught that your Grace sent us was upon the ancient forms; if this addition happen not to be to liking I suppose your Grace will not proceed to issue out the commission till His Majesty's pleasure be further known. That letter comes to your Grace by Mr. Cooke's packet, who sent me the Lords Commissioners' amendment.

As to the Presbyterian fast His Majesty is pleased so far to take notice of it as to direct your Grace and the Council to do what may lawfully be done to prevent for the future and to suppress such meetings, and to send for the ringleader Alexander to answer for his part in the offence, His Majesty being resolved not to suffer this encroachment upon his regal authority, since it is in order to some further insolencies. I must beg your Grace's pardon for that His Majesty's letter to that effect does not come by this post, His Majesty being now out of this town at Cornbury, and not expected back till this day's post be gone.

I have a third letter to account for to your Grace, that came by the same ordinary with the two former, though this be dated the 19th February. It is in favour of the see of Dublin. His Majesty was graciously pleased to say that no grant should pass of Russell's lands but to my Lord Archbishop of Dublin and his successors, and this is the scope of your Grace's letter. My Lord Archbishop, in a letter to my Lord of Arran, desires that a letter to this effect may be procured from His Majesty. It is my humble opinion that the draught must necessarily come from that side, for it does not appear (to me at least) that the King hath such an estate in the land hitherto as he can convey legally and validly to that see, and possibly the seals on that side will not move to convey

the estate when it shall fall to the King, upon a letter hence that is writ before the estate come to be the King's. For this difficulty I have not brought either your Grace's letter or the business itself before the Council or the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, where certainly it must go, and therefore I humbly conceive it would not be amiss that there were a petition drawn by my Lord Archbishop that might be referred if His Majesty should so please to the Lords Commissioners here, and from them, if need should be, to your Grace, but all this I submit.

His Majesty hath been here ever since Monday; only went out yesterday to a horse-race near Burford, lay last night at Cornbury, and is expected here this evening. We have no Lords of the Parliament (those that followed the Court excepted) come to town, and but very few Commoners, nor is it known what the angry men will begin with. I pray God to make the session calm and healing.

Capt. A. Douglas to Ormond.

1680–1, March 21. Tanger.—There is no doubt but you have heard by the public letters what hath passed betwixt us and the Moors, who are very well satisfied to make peace, which we believe will be shortly concluded. The ambassador was very well received by the King at Meckenez, who promiseth us the same freedom and liberty of the country as the Moors have. I would write to your Grace more particularly of the circumstances of our affairs here, but I refer it to the bearer, Ensign Power, who hath carried himself very civilly amongst his comrades, and in the King's service with all the conduct and courage could be desired. We hope to return shortly to our old station in Ireland, for we have no pleasure here in time of peace and without money, and our agents have never written to us. I hope your Grace will pardon the freedom I have taken to assure you that we all here are with greatest respect imaginable, etc.

Earl of Arran to Ormond.

1680–1, March 22. Oxford.—I got here on Saturday last, but had not your Grace's of the 12th instant until yesterday in the afternoon. I was so lame with a fall that I got at tennis the day before I left London that I could not stir abroad before this morning. In my last I gave an account of Sir John Davys, who, I suppose, is by this time in Ireland; he has carried along with him the papers relating to Drake's business.

My Lord Burlington is much concerned at the report that he should have said the Militia could not be furnished with powder and arms and denies he ever said so, and desires me to set him right with you as to that particular. My Lord Conway told me this morning in the House that he sends you directions to turn out my Lord Clare from the Commission of

the Peace and his militia troop. I had not time to have any long discourse with him. The post goes from hence every day at one of the clock in the afternoon. The King's speech I conclude will be sent you by other hands, but lest it might be omitted for want of our being settled yet, I send you one. It's believed the House of Commons will be very high upon it when they are a House; this afternoon at three they present their Speaker. This is all I have to say or have time to write, therefore pray excuse me to my Lord Longford for not answering his of the 13th.

LORD LIEUTENANT ORDER to the MUSTER MASTER-GENERAL.

1680–1, March 23.—Whereas by the sixty-fifth Article of the Laws and Ordinances of War published by us for the good conduct of His Majesty's Army in this kingdom it is provided that the Mustermaster General or his deputies shall not suffer any officer or soldier in any troop or foot company to pass muster, unless he shall produce a sufficient certificate under the hand of the Bishop of the diocese, upon a certificate made to him under the hand and seal of the lawful minister of the parish wherein they were quartered or garrisoned that they had received the blessed Sacrament of the Communion, according to the discipline of the Church of Ireland, the Easter or the Christmas next preceding the said muster. And whereas divers officers and soldiers of the army do frequently neglect the due observance of the said article and occasion thereby the stop of their pay, when the same would otherwise issue of course with the pay of the troop or company to which they belong, and afterwards make application to us for the removal of such stop and further time to perform the duty by the said article required, we have thought fit for the prevention of the like neglect in future and the trouble given us by petitions on that account hereby to declare that if any officer or soldier shall hereafter omit receiving the Holy Communion once every year at Easter, Whitsuntide or Christmas, and producing certificate thereof according to the said article, his pay at any time stopped on that account shall stand checked without remission, and such officer or soldier shall lose the same. And we hereby require you or your deputies at the next muster of the troops and companies of the army to make known this our pleasure at the hand of each troop and company, and you are to give it as an instruction to the Commissaries of the muster at least once a year in their several circuits to do the like at the head of each troop and company they shall muster, that all concerned may take notice thereof and return certificate as aforesaid by the last day of Sept.

And for so doing this shall be a warrant given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 23rd of March, 1680–61.

To our trusty and wellbeloved Abraham Yarner, Esq., Muster Master General.

[*Endorsed*] Draught of an Order to the Muster Master.

COL. EDWARD COOKE TO ORMOND.

1680–1, March 24. Oxford.—The 14th the King came hither. His handsome reception, first by the Lord Norreys as Lord Lieutenant of this county (and one perfectly your Grace's servant), next by this Corporation, and lastly by the University, hath been so amply gazetted that I shall decline repetition. Tuesday and Wednesday following His Majesty graciously spent in receiving the addresses of all gentry presented by the Lord Lieutenant, knighting two, Sir George Pudsey and Sir Rich. Crooke, this City's Recorder, and a very loyal person (tho' brother to Upton Crooke, once in Ireland), and in tiring the courtiers in trying all the walks in and about this city, and early on Thursday morning took coach for Burford, where His Majesty's Plate (formerly given to Newmarket) was removed, and that day to be run for. At the park at Witney Townes End, once Lenthall's (your Grace's quondam landlord) now my Lord Clarendon's, Will Chiffinch met His Majesty with his little devil black beagles (slower than your Grace's were) and his hawks; but to show His Majesty's partiality to the latter, tho' the former brought their new started hare into his view, he cried let them go and went a hawking. His Majesty deemed the heats worse than Newmarket, but the hawking hunting country much better. As he came into that town he was met by the reverend magistrates, welcomed with a hearty speech and a rich saddle, and so eat his own dinner at your Grace's old quarters. That ended, he hastened to the course, where he saw these four horses dispute for the two silver salvers he gave. A bay horse of Sir Ralph Dutton's, rode by Mr. Viner, His Majesty's 'querry, who having just saved his distance the first heat in despair ran no more. The next a famous black gelding of Mr. Wharton's (eldest son to the Lord of that name). A bay horse of Mr. Rowe's called *Bullethead*, bought by him of my Lord Suffolk for 150 guineas, designed to win all the plates, he offered to bet six to four he won the place against all the horses in the field, and my Lord Secretary Conway offered him for his horse and his share in the plate 300 guineas, but was refused. He rode his own horse, but the winning horse was Mr. Gristin's roan bred by my Lord Exeter and rode by Nick Baynton. There being money laid between the black gelding and roan they tied for the first heat, whilst *Bullethead* saved himself by only saving his distance. But *Roan* at ease won that heat. The second *Bullethead* strove for, but in vain, *Roan* having feld him ere half the course was run over, so that by the laws of the course two heats being won, nothing less than a distance the third heat could win the plate from him. It was resigned to him. And the King that night supped and lay at Cornbury, and dined there next day, being splendidly treated by its worthy proprietor. In the Friday afternoon it fell to my share to guide His Majesty hawking towards Oxford, at which he had very satisfactory sport, tho' quite

tired with it, on Campsfield took coach and returned to Oxford. Monday both Houses met ; His Majesty's speech I presume your Grace hath. The Chancellor's was only directions to the Commons to go choose their Speaker and present him at three in the afternoon on Tuesday. Williams, the former Speaker, was unanimously chosen and approved by His Majesty. I found the character of His Majesty's speech different in the Commons' mouths. Many allowed it to be an excellent gracious one, all the rest a subtle crafty one, and so unexpected that they should be put upon taking new measures. Their Lordships have only possessed themselves of a Bill for repealing that Act made in Queen Elizabeth's reign calculated chiefly against Popish recusants, but since most severely extended against Protestant Dissenters, who one party would fain greatly indulge ; but if I miscalculate not they are weakened since last Parliament in that House, and I believe this Bill will scarce pass there, because so hotly pursued. Their Lordships have also read several addresses on appeals (one from Jack St. Leger) and appointed days for hearing. The Commons have burnt all their daylight in taking the oaths hitherto, a task will take up part if not all of this day. So that I have nothing more to be accountable for at this present.

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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

REPORT

ON

MANUSCRIPTS

IN VARIOUS COLLECTIONS

VOL. VI.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF

MISS M. EYRE MATCHAM;

CAPTAIN H. V. KNOX·

CORNWALLIS WYKEHAM-MARTIN, ESQ.;

&c.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—THE MSS. OF MISS M. EYRE-MATCHAM.

The collection in the possession of Miss Eyre-Matcham consists of a part of the correspondence and other papers of George Bubb Dodington, and includes interesting letters from Henry Fox, Lord Bute, Horace Mann, Lord Talbot, the Irish Chief Baron Wainwright and Lord Chancellor Bowes, James Thomson, the poet, and others. On the whole, the letters present Dodington in a more pleasing aspect than that in which he is generally viewed. He probably sums up pretty correctly the opinion of his contemporaries when he says: "It has always been my lot to be represented as an arrogant, self-sufficient, empty coxcomb, and in the same quarter of an hour . . . a deep, designing, dangerous spirit." Posterity has endorsed the former rather than the latter view. But that he could be a warm and steadfast friend is shown by his defence of Byng (in a speech called by Horace Walpole, who did not love Dodington, "humane, pathetic and bold") and of Lord George Sackville after Minden. And many of the letters in this collection prove the real affection felt for him by men such as Lord Halifax, and his kindness of heart and willingness to help others (see letters from the Duke of Argyll, John Scrope and the Earl of Strafford, pp. 4–7). He was a kind patron to James Thomson, the poet, who thanks him for advice and encouragement, as well as for many other obligations, in a letter written just before his journey to Italy with Lord Talbot's son, in 1730. Thomson was then ardently looking forward to "seeing the fields where Virgil gathered his immortal honey" and to gaining inspiration from treading the gound where "men had thought and acted so greatly." His next letter, written a year later, is in strange contrast to the earlier one. He had been through most parts of France and Italy, and had found his enthusiasm for travelling go off very fast. As to fine statues and pictures, "how little of these suffices; they are highly ornamental in life, if one can have them at home and (prudent addition!) without paying an extravagant price," but to run abroad to stare at them is mere folly. All that is needful is to send men of genius to study the fine arts and import them into England, where, "though we cannot reach the gracefully superfluous," he hoped we might never lose "the substantial, necessary and vital arts of life, such as depend on liberty, labour and all-commanding trade." After this beginning we are not surprised to hear that the poet's muse did not cross the channel with him, and was perhaps still lingering in the Dorset woods. And, truly, no doubt she was. Nothing could more plainly show than does this letter where Thomson's source of inspiration lay.

The first letter in the collection was written by Lord Stanhope

before George Bubb had taken the name of Dodington, and while he was minister at Madrid. This is followed by two from Admiral Byng to George Dodington the elder on the question of Gibraltar, the difficulties of his own task, and his desire to return home and see quiet days. Letters from (Russell) Lord Orford, the Duke of Argyll, John Scrope of the Treasury, the Earl of Strafford and the Earl of Tankerville bring us to Thomson's letters, already mentioned, and to one from Leonard Welsted, written from the Tower (where he had a clerkship in the Ordnance Office), defending himself from the imputation of having ridiculed his patron, and broadly hinting that although Dodington might think his poetry inferior to that of Thomson, other men did not.

In 1732 and 1733 there are several letters to and from Frederick, Prince of Wales, in the first of which Dodington begins by posing as a candid friend who scorns to flatter, and ends with as fulsome a piece of flattery as one can well imagine.

The Prince's earlier letters are short, friendly notes; but in the autumn of 1733 he wrote a long letter on the subject of divers stories then current to Dodington's detriment, in which, although he takes his friend's part, there are signs of a rift in the lute. Dodington, then on the eve of going over to Ireland, defended himself at great length, but the rupture with the Prince followed not long afterwards.

On p. 16 is a supposed petition, dated in February, 1739–40, from a Miss Hamilton to George Denoyer, the popular dancing master, praying him to procure her a post as rocker in the Prince of Wales' nursery, on the ground that, as she heard, no person was admitted into that part of Norfolk House who was not a Hamilton—an evident skit upon the number of Hamiltons whom Lady Archibald, the Prince's mistress, had placed about his court.

In this same year, 1740, Dodington again joined the Prince of Wales' party.

Three letters from Thomas Prowse, M.P. for Somersetshire and a member of the secret committee for investigating the charges of bribery and corruption against Walpole in 1742, illustrate the strong animus of the majority of those composing it—an animus so bitter that some of his more moderate antagonists ceased to attend the meetings. When their report was presented on June 30, the charges were so insignificant as almost in themselves to form a defence of the fallen minister (see Mahon's History, iii, 121, 123); but this was not the view taken by Dodington and his party. They were eager to take further steps, "for the world having seen such a scene of iniquity incontestably proved, and the author of it still unpunished," together with the many other strange events of the last session, "are at a loss to guess on what ground they stand, and are doubtful (perhaps with reason) whether they have been gainers by the change hitherto effected."

Letters written in the autumn of 1744 show the deep depression of the party to which Dodington at this time belonged. "If we can do nothing," he wrote in a letter to Sir Watkyn Williams Wynn, "let us at least agree in that nothing, and show that it proceeds not from meanness, but from a noble despair." And again to Hills-

borough: "If I foresaw any moral possibility of repelling the broad ruin that now stares us in the face, I should call upon your Lordship." But almost immediately afterwards Granville's ministry fell, and in the "broad bottom" administration which followed, Dodington was made Treasurer of the Navy.

At this point there is a hiatus of some years in the collection, and the next papers relate to Dodington's return to the Prince of Wales in the spring of 1748–9. At this time also Dodington's *Diary* (printed in 1784) begins, and helps to elucidate the letters. At the beginning of March the Earl of Middlesex was sent by the Prince to Dodington to offer him "the full return of his favour." His answer, accepting the Prince's offer, was given on March 11, and on the same day he resigned his office of Treasurer of the Navy. His professed reasons, as given to Luke Gardiner, were—the hopeless state of the country and his own powerlessness to remedy the evils he foresaw, so that he thought it better to retire than to "stand loaded with emoluments, without the power of doing any real service" either to his country or his friends (p. 20). His statement to Mr. Pelham, as related in the *Diary*, is almost identical with this. He agreed, however, to act until the appointment of a successor, and did not actually quit office until the 3rd of May. After this he was made much of at Leicester House; invited to sup or to dine, and appointed Treasurer of the Chamber, with a salary of 1,200*l.* a year, though it would appear from a passage in the *Diary* that this was made up to 2,000*l.* by the Prince, privately. This for the present. In the future, when the Prince should come to the Crown, he was to have a peerage, the management of the House of Lords and the Seals for the Southern Province, and was allowed to kiss hands, by way of acceptance, upon the spot (see *Diary*, p. 4).

A short note from the Prince of Wales (written in Dec., 1750) brings this chapter of Dodington's history to a close, so far as these papers are concerned. Frederick died in the following March, and the next document calendared is the "memorial of several noblemen and gentlemen" concerning the education of the new Prince of Wales (p. 22). The matters of which the memorial treated are mentioned on pp. 122, 123 of the *Diary*, and the paper itself is alluded to on p. 132.

On p. 20 is a curious letter from a Miss Fanny Bowyer to the Prince. This is perhaps the lady whom Horace Walpole mentions in 1766, when he says that Madame de Corstin is very like "old Miss Bowyer" (*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, vi, 412). Following this is the memorial concerning the Prince of Wales, mentioned above, and a paper on the state of affairs at Court in 1753.

In 1754 Horace Mann gives an amusing account of Elizabeth Pitt's* conversion (or re-conversion, as he considered it) to the Roman Church. The lady's object seemed to be to attract as much notice as possible, and she even went so far as to demand the Emperor's protection, on the plea that the English nation would be so displeased with her as to become her enemy. Mann hastened to assure the Imperial ambassador that he was very sure "her nation would be as indifferent about the religion she professed—as she was herself."

* Sister of William Pitt. See H. Walpole's Letters, iii, 206, 260; iv, 30.

A series of letters to a young friend named East and his mother show Dodington as a kind, but by no means always a judicious, mentor of youth. In one of the letters he incidentally mentions that he has not played at cards for ten hours in ten years.

Writing to Lord Halifax in August, 1755, Dodington mentions Lord Holderness's mission to Wolfenbüttel to endeavour to arrange a double marriage for the Prince of Wales and the Princess Augusta. "For the contingent that we are to furnish," he says, "I have known them ever since they were born, and better goods for domestic as well as public happiness never were put out of hand."

On September 2, and again on September 3 of this year Pitt visited Dodington, as we learn from the *Diary*, and on the 6th Dodington exactly echoes his sentiments as regards the foreign subsidies, in writing to Halifax (p. 30); yet when Fox, proving more pliant than his rival, was about to be made Secretary of State, Dodington, who ever loved the rising sun, and who also had certainly a warm attachment to Fox, wrote to congratulate him :—

"That of all those who are in the King's service or likely to be so, you are one whom I most cordially wish to see in the first rank, is a truth that I hoped to convince you of by contributing both to the placing and supporting you in it, and not by words. . . . I always wished you should be an actor—a principal actor—but where honour and reputation, as well as power, and profit distinguish the part you appear in; for, dear Mr. Fox, believe an old man that loves and esteems you, there is nothing else worthy of an honest, noble, well-regulated ambition."

Both Newcastle and Fox were anxious to engage Dodington, but doubted whether he would accept the "subsidiary treaties." They therefore wrote to Halifax (who was known to have great influence with him) praying for his assistance, stating that the King had "given his word that he will no longer put his negative on Mr. Dodington," and mentioning in confidence that permission had been given to offer him the comptroller's staff. On Oct. 10, Newcastle and Dodington had a long conference, but separated without coming to terms. On the 19th, however, they "settled preliminaries," and on the 22nd Dodington kissed hands as Treasurer of the Navy.

In the autumn of 1756, the burning question was the establishment of the Prince of Wales. The King wished to get him away from his mother's control; the Prince did not wish to leave her. Newcastle dared not meet Parliament until he had come to terms with Leicester House, and at length persuaded the King to allow the young Prince to remain with his mother, and to consent to their wish that Lord Bute should be Groom of the Stole.

On October 17, as Horace Walpole states, Fox had begged leave to resign, being discontented that all the power was "engrossed by the old monopolist." At this juncture, on October 19, he wrote to Dodington that he had had a good deal of serious talk with the King the day before, that the Duke of Newcastle "did not know his own mind till then if he does now"; that the King keeps his temper, but that what will be the issue of it all he cannot tell; it is in other hands, and he is not sorry for it. In November, Newcastle and Fox resigned, and Dodington lost his place as Treasurer of the Navy.

In Fox's next letter, written on March 12, 1757, he sketched a

ministry which he believed would be acceptable to the country, but declared that if the King kept Pitt and Temple two months longer he should look upon them as complete conquerors and "Leicester House the Court." He wished Dodington to approach Halifax on his behalf, but the latter declared that as Mr. Fox had no positive proposition to make, he could have no positive answer to return. On March 15, Fox informed Dodington that Tempie had had "an unkindly audience," but he believed they did not mean to resign on it :—

"So," he continued, "now things tend to delay again; and you and I think alike of the consequence of that. . . . Pitt, &c., have by their faults and want of judgment, put themselves into our power; it is now our turn, by the same means to make them again masters."

Dodington seems to have suggested that Halifax would prefer to be Secretary of State. To this Fox replied :—

"Capacity is so little necessary for most employments that you seem to forget that there is one where it is absolutely so—viz., the Admiralty. It is there we want Lord Halifax's active ability. . . . Now, when the King with difficulty can be brought to open his closet door to Lord Halifax as head of the Admiralty, do you believe his declining that office will leave a possibility of his being Secretary of State?"

The great object was to extricate the King and country from their difficulties, and this could only be done by placing men "not where they chose, but where they may best answer the great purpose they are called upon for." A few days later he mentions his intention of calling upon Ministers "for a contradiction of the prevailing lie . . . of an intended message for English troops to be sent to Westphalia. They say Pitt would not carry such message, and is therefore to be turned out." On April 2nd the downfall of the ministry was known to be imminent, and Fox was busy arranging the administration which he believed it would fall to his lot to form. He offered Dodington (through Hillsborough) the Treasurership of the Navy, and had already got Winchilsea's promise to go to the Admiralty. Matters were not, however, so easily settled, and at the beginning of June Dodington wrote :—

"I hear you are come to town, but not much more informed of the settlement of the administration than the King himself. How long is this gentleman to trifle with his sovereign and benefactor and to keep our destiny in suspense; you of too much consequence, I of too little, to be trusted with or admitted to the honour of supporting him?"

To this Fox the next day replied that it was impossible to recollect half the absurdities he had that day heard.

"The Duke of Newcastle went to the King not to accept, but to desire till Tuesday to determine. . . . If he accepts, it is against the advice of all his friends; yet he will accept, and let those friends make his situation ten times worse than it would be if they did not meddle. But he is to act against their advice, and yet they are to advise him. I, in the meantime, will not be of the system (as you will persist to call what those do who never had a system). I will take what I take from the King. He is certainly engaged in honour to you as well as to me. . . . I am sick of what passes, and will neither see him or them more till I kiss his hand, and that I ever shall kiss it is doubtful."

Fox's last letter to Dodington at this crisis was written on June

6, when Newcastle had been to the King to know what terms he might offer Mr. Pitt :—

"The King gave the Duke little encouragement to think he would condescend to such terms as they would accept, and the Duke gave the King as little to imagine that he would come in without them. His grace is to be at Court to-morrow, when, according to present appearances, they will part for good and all. . . . But the very reverse of this conjecture may prove to be the event. *Incertus non perturbatus.* I'll go to dinner. Adieu."

This is the last letter from Fox in the collection.

Following the Fox letters are several from Lord Talbot and Horace Mann. Talbot praises Lord Bute, discusses the war, and complains of the treatment of the militia. In 1760 he writes warmly of the young King, and congratulates Dodington on being raised to the peerage.

Horace Mann, writing from Florence in March, 1758, evidently replies to a letter from Dodington describing the "union of counsels" in the ministry and the popularity of the King of Prussia. Not long after this Horace Walpole wrote to Mann :—"Our unanimity is prodigious. You would as soon hear 'No' from an old maid as from the House of Commons." Another letter from Mann about this time tells of his efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the dowager Lady Orford and her husband, Mr. Shirley, and a third discusses the probable consequences of the death of the King of Spain and the English success at Guadaloupe (pp. 42, 43).

On George III.'s accession to the throne, Dodington lost no time in applying to Bute for some mark of favour from the young King and the Princess, who had ever been his most gracious mistress. He exerted himself to please Bute by getting "as many members" as he possibly could (and his parliamentary patronage was very large), and by sending him verses of a flattering nature.

"Quoth Newcastle to Pitt, 'tis in vain to dispute:
If we'd quarrel in private, we must make room for Bute.
Quoth Pitt to his Grace, to bring that about,
I fear, my dear Lord, you or I must turn out.
Not at all, quoth the Duke, I meant no such thing,
To make room for us all, we must turn out the King.
If that's all your scheme, quoth the Earl, by my troth,
I shall stick to my master, and turn ye out both."

There are many letters from Bute to Dodington and Dodington to Bute in the collection. In June, 1761, the Earl appears to have saved Dodington, or rather Lord Melcombe, as he had now become, from a dangerous accident, apparently when riding. Some months later (Feb., 1762), defending himself from a hint of Lord Melcombe's that he had broken his promise by not preferring a friend of the latter, at a time when it "rained bishoprics, deaneries and canonries," he says :—

"I own, and that without blushing, I have been unfortunate in the means I have for years taken of cementing friendships and procuring attachments; others, with much less trouble, perhaps without my honesty, succeed better; . . . but I repine not . . . and shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my King and country in the best manner my poor talents will allow me, happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed and placed on other shoulders."

In the following April he complained of not being well, and began

to think that a little more of what he had gone through would prepare him for a longer journey than he wished to take. A few days later Melcombe wrote an indignant tirade against the treatment of Bute by the people, and especially by Pitt's party, who were attacking him publicly "in all conversations, and now in writing, personally, in the strongest and most audacious manner." He ended by lamenting the decline, not of Bute's kindness but of his confidence towards himself, and assuring him of his unswerving attachment.

The answer to this letter is not amongst the papers, but there are two short notes from Bute, written in the summer of the same year, in a very affectionate strain, and urgently desiring to see his "noble friend" to talk over with him important business and interesting news.

In October, 1761, two short notes from Young, the poet, offer emendations to Dodington's metrical *Epistle to the Earl of Bute* (p. 50). It has sometimes been stated that this was merely his *Epistle to Walpole* (the parody on which is noticed on p. 5 of this collection) altered to suit the circumstances; but this is an error, as they are entirely different.

The second section consists of letters on Irish affairs (1725–1762). The earlier letters are chiefly from Lord Chancellor West, Baron Wainwright, W. Cary and Dr. Hart, Bishop of Killmore. They tell of the amusing plan of the Irish House of Commons in 1725, who, in order to make an estimate of what the revenue might produce in two years, "thought it necessary to take a *medium*" of what it had hitherto produced, and gravely did so by taking one year, and that the highest ever known; of the friction between Lords and Commons on the question of the "communication of bills" in 1733–4; of the difficulty in carrying a bill for the relief of the creditors of Burton's Bank, "the struggles to defeat and the arts to embarras it" being, as Wainwright said, incredible; of the plot to oust Wainwright from the Exchequer by "kicking him upstairs"; of the great run on the banks in 1744; of the mischief brewing by the papists, and of the solemn vote of thanks given to a valiant cornet "for his great zeal and intrepidity in rummaging the monasteries, friaries and seminaries of Galway," and carrying off their papers (pp. 55–61).

In 1735, John Bowes, the Irish Solicitor-General, appealed to Dodington for help against a bill in the English Parliament which he feared would tend to promote the growth of popery; and also repeated a speech made against him by "that eternal snarl Swift." Alluding to Dodington's place as Clerk of the Pells, and speaking of the good nature of his countrymen, Swift had said:—

> "One Carey, last session, introduced a gentleman from England, dressed him in a suit of Irish manufacture, which cost thirty shillings, and then showed him for a patriot, upon which the good people of Ireland gave him seven hundred pounds per annum."

Sir Arthur Acheson thought that too much had been made of a small matter. Luke Gardiner had been "talking like a great patriot," and said no gentleman of the country should be forgiven that wore anything but the manufactures of it. The Dean retorted

that Gardiner had got into employments worth two thousand pounds, while he possibly might lay out ten in a suit of clothes, and then made the speech about Dodington, but only in the "way of rattling the Dean has always indulged himself in," and which, it is to be feared, "he will never be broke of."

There was a good deal of opposition to the vote for Dodington's salary, and Wainwright advised him—if this sort of thing went on, and he was supposed to owe an obligation to every man who did not vote against him; if he must "work for them in Parliament and treat them in Piccadilly"—to arrange for some equivalent, give up the 500*l.* a year, and "deprive them of the topic." In the end, however, the matter was settled in his favour, and the vote was passed without a division and with only a few words of objection which never "rose to the shadow of a debate."

In 1736, Wainwright reported that affairs went on very quietly from respect to the Duke (of Dorset), though he did not believe this would last:—

> "When we are at peace, and marching on cheerfully and quietly, a mine is sprung, and the engineer protests he had no thoughts of disturbing the General or the army, but there were two or three fellows that he had a mind to toss into the air, or to beat their brains out. . . . An Englishman turning Irish is like a dog running wild and herding with wolves; he has his own domestic tricks to add to their savage dispositions."

A letter from Dr. Lewis Bruce gives an account of the discussion in the House of Lords in February, 1756, in relation to the creeds of the church; and one from Bowes (now Lord Chancellor) describes the tumult in Dublin in December, 1759, on the alarm of an intended union with Britain, when the mob broke every door in the Parliament House, and, surrounding the coach in which the Chief Justice and the Chancellor were sitting, insisted on the latter being sworn that he was against the Union. To this letter Dodington replied very gravely. However diverting the sight might be "of a Chief Justice swearing a Chancellor in the hands of an enraged multitude" it was a thing which he saw with great concern, and the more so because he did not see a remedy. His love of Ireland, he continued, made it very distressing to him to see "a Protestant multitude attack a Protestant government, in a country where all together do not make a sixth of the whole," and though all is said to be quiet again, "methinks we are dancing upon a mine that may spring at once, in the very moment that we imagine we are most entertained and entertaining." He congratulates his friends, however, upon their escape, and also sincerely rejoices at their safety from foes without, "for had not Hawke been more and Conflans less than a man, Ireland must have been as much lost as Minorca." The allusion is, of course, to the sea fight of Quiberon Bay.

There are other interesting letters from Chancellor Bowes, in more than one of which he refers to Lord George Sackville's court martial. "The military trial of one not under that command" is, he says, new to him, and he is wishful to see on what reasons the Attorney and Solicitor-General founded their opinions; it seems strange to him "that the judges saw no ground to doubt of the legality of the jurisdiction of a court martial in the case," and he

believes it may be a precedent which may have very ill consequences (p. 74). Several other letters from the Chancellor follow, discussing the political situation in 1760 and 1761, and especially the question of sending bills (particularly money bills) over to the English Parliament. The latest Irish letters in the collection tell of the arrival and favourable reception of the Earl of Halifax in 1761, and the last of all is from Halifax himself. After a toilsome six months, he was preparing to leave Ireland, where, "what with claret and with business," he declared, he was almost dead, although he had been "as sober and busy a lieutenant as any of his late predecessors."

In the text of the Dodington and Knox Reports, proper names are given as spelt by the writers.

S. C. Lomas.

II.—THE MSS. OF CAPTAIN HOWARD VICENTE KNOX.

The manuscripts which form the subject of the following report consist for the most part of the official papers and correspondence of William Knox, best known as Under Secretary for the Colonial Department from 1770 until 1782, when the office was abolished. Knox was born in Ireland, in 1732, and in a memorandum preserved amongst the papers he gives the following account of his ancestry *:—

"My grandfather was of the same family with John Knox, the Scotch reformer, but I know not how nearly related. He married the daughter of Porter, laird of Barnwell, and passed into Ireland as a settler, and took up lands in the lower part of the County Antrim in the latter end of James' or beginning of Charles I.'s reign. He accepted the commission of cornet in a troop raised for the King and commanded by Captain Hamilton, and appears to have been a royalist from principle, for when that troop was taken prisoner in Carrickfergus Castle by Oliver Cromwell, he, with the other officers, refused to be incorporated in Cromwell's guard, with the same rank as they held in their troop. Their lands were accordingly confiscated, but, in hopes that things would come round, they sat themselves down upon portions of their former property, under the new proprietors. At the Restoration they were disappointed, as all Cromwell's grants were confirmed, and no compensation made them. My grandfather had no resource but in the change of his principles from a Royalist to an anti-Stuart, and he brought up his sons in the strongest principles of Whiggism. He lived to see James II. of that race detested, a fugitive in Ireland, and had the satisfaction of numbering his two eldest sons amongst the defenders of Derry and [*blank*].

"My father was the youngest of his children, and was then too young to carry arms. When the war was over, he was thought to have a turn for the church, and he was sent to Glasgow to be brought up a Presbyterian teacher. The detection of an amour with a bedmaker, it is said, was the cause of his quitting that University, and with it all thoughts of the pastoral cloake, and pursuing the study of physick at Edinburgh, where he received his diploma about the time Bishop Burnett was scheming a union between the churches, he was chosen by the University to convey up to London their demands on the part of Scotland; which introduced him to Bishop Burnett and Archbishop Tillotson. He found the former very ready to admit the claims of the Scotch Church, but the other not so willing to make concessions on the part of the Church of England. The difficulties that opposed themselves to an accommodation he perceived arose more from the claims of the clergy than the difference in their persuasions. Great numbers must necessarily be deprived of their benefices, and neither would give way to the other; nor had the patrons of the Comprension (*sic*) scheme interest enough with the Administration to obtain pensions for those who should resign.

"My father returned to Ireland, and began to practice physick in Dublin, but finding a city life disagree with his constitution he removed into the country. He married shortly after the youngest daughter, Nicola, of John King, Esq., of Gola, in the county Fermanagh, and fixed at Clonish [Clones], in the county Monaghan, where I was born in the year 1732, the youngest of all his children."

The papers in this collection contain nothing which throws light on William Knox's early life, but he must, as a young man, have shown considerable capacity and intelligence, for, when only four and twenty years of age, he was appointed Provost Marshal of Georgia by Lord Halifax, going out with the new Governor, Henry Ellis, in December, 1756. Knox's narrative of his journey to and proceedings in Georgia will be found on p. 245. Many of the names

* This Memorandum is not calendared in the Report, as it seemed to find its more fitting place in the Introduction. It is written in a copy-book, uniform with that which contains the "Political Anecdotes." It was partly printed i "Notes and Queries," 8th series, Vol. xii.

are indicated only by initials, but these are easily identified by the registers of the proceedings of the Council, the official entries showing that Knox's account of what happened is extremely accurate. At Charlestown, in South Carolina, Knox for the first time met William Henry Lyttelton (then Governor there), afterwards one of his most intimate friends. At first there was a good deal of friction between Ellis and Knox, but gradually the Governor appears to have found out the value of his subordinate, and they became firm friends, as is shown by the many letters from Ellis in the present volume.

In 1760, Knox made up his mind to return to England. Neither the climate nor the country of Georgia was agreeable to him, and he complained that the whole burden of affairs lay on his shoulders. His residence in the colony had not, however, been without satisfactory results, as he had set up a plantation there, with every prospect of a good return (p. 82).

Not many weeks later his plans received a sudden check upon the receipt of news of the death of his brother and father. As the desire of ministering to an aged parent had been his strongest reason for wishing to return, he determined to postpone his intended voyage, if he could acquire something better than his present office. His salary and fees together at this time only amounted to 150*l.* per annum, on which he was expected to keep up his position as a member of Council in a land where every necessary of life cost nearly twice what it did at home.

Governor Ellis was, just at this time, going to England, and offered to propose Knox as his lieutenant during his absence, but Knox declined this, partly indeed from the difficulty of carrying on the government without support, but partly also from lack of means. He would have liked the post of English agent with the Indians, urging his knowledge of the people in general and of the Indians in particular, and especially emphasising the need of kindness in the treatment of the latter; it "being ridiculous in the highest degree to think of gaining an influence among a people who are as free as the wild beasts and as jealous of their liberty, by assuming a superiority over them." The expected vacancy, however, did not occur.

In February, 1762, the legislature of Georgia appointed him their agent in England, and he received the King's permission to return. He farmed out his office of Provost Marshal, let his plantation and negroes, and before the end of April was in England (pp. 85, 86).

At the end of the year 1762, when the preliminaries of the Peace of Paris were under discussion, Knox was brought to the notice of Lord Shelburne, as able to give him valuable information and assistance in regard to the provinces of Florida and Louisiana, the acquisition of which was treated by the Opposition as a matter of no importance.

Lord Shelburne, soon after, gave him a commission to execute in Paris of "a pretty hazardous nature," it being in fact to procure, out of the French King's bureaux, maps and plans of the French islands and fortifications in the West Indies; but, on reaching

Paris, Knox found that, some short while before, a draft had been purloined for the Duke of Cumberland, in consequence of which the Government had taken precautions, and there was no longer a chance of anything being obtained.

Shortly before going to France, Knox was introduced to Charles Townshend, "and became very intimate with him." While in Paris he sent a long letter to Townshend giving his impressions of the country and the people, and ending with a description of his most Christian Majesty, attended by a procession of all his ministers and great officers of State, setting out to shoot partridges (p. 88).

The English statesman whom Knox most heartily admired, and with whose views he was in fullest sympathy, was George Grenville. His connexion with Grenville had already begun when he returned from France, and from that time he never thought of leaving him "either in or out of office." In November, 1764, he sent Grenville a paper—probably that called "Hints relative to our Commerce" (p. 286)—some of the materials for which had been collected during his visit to France, desiring Grenville, if he found anything "worth adopting," to make it his own with confidence, as it was meant only for his use.

Two intimate conversations at Wotton are recorded on pp. 250, 252. Knox's friends, Lyttelton and Ellis, shared his admiration for Grenville, and were greatly pleased by the intimacy. Lyttelton, in 1767, congratulated him on having paid a visit

> "to a man who will know how to do justice to your talents, and who is himself such a fund of useful knowledge that everybody who frequents him must improve from his conversation, especially when matters of government are in question."

In June, 1768, Grenville sent Knox a long letter, chiefly on the subject of preventing the American Colonies from manufacturing their own raw materials, a possibility which filled the minds of English statesmen and English merchants with dismay. Grenville believed that to stop all manufacture was an impossibility, and that "the attempting to do it by force, notwithstanding what Lord Chatham declared in the House of Commons, of 'filling their towns with troops and their ports with ships of war,'* would be most violent and unjust," but urged that every encouragement should be given them to produce and export raw materials. His letter ends by a strong protest against giving up Great Britain's right of taxation, and, as the inevitable consequence, her right of sovereignty, "which is inseparable from it, in all ages and in all countries" (p. 96).

This was followed by another letter on the same subject. Knox was in favour of the plan proposed by Franklin, that the taxes should be, as it were, compounded for; that each colony should furnish a certain quota, and that all taxes should cease to be imposed, except in case of refusal by any colony to provide its contingent.

> "To such a surrender," Grenville wrote, "I can never be a party, as I think it the highest species of treason against the constitution and sovereign authority

* In his letter of Aug. 15 (printed in Knox's *Extra Official State Papers*) Grenville alludes to this at more length, saying that he would never give up the right of taxation, but could not "go as far as Lord Chatham did, by his solemn declaration in full Parliament in his speech for repealing the Stamp Act, that 'if the Americans should manufacture a lock of wool or a horse-shoe, he would fill their ports with ships and their towns with troops.'"

of this kingdom to deprive it of one-fourth of its subjects ; but tho' I cannot adopt nor approve of such a plan, yet I can submit to it, . . . and so far I am from thinking, if I had the power, that I have a right to carry matters to extremity, as you tell me it is supposed I would . . . that if I were to see the King, the Parliament and the people ready to run into extremes on that side, I would employ all the means in my power to prevent it" (p. 7).

Many other letters follow upon this subject and others allied to it. At this time Knox was diligently writing on political matters. On Sept. 11 Grenville congratulated him on having almost got through the tedious business of correcting for the Press, and hoped soon to have the pleasure of seeing his "performance upon the State of the Nation" complete. A month later he assures Knox that he has read the papers sent him with the greatest pleasure.

"They are written with so much temper and force, with so much knowledge and precision, that I am persuaded they will do you great honour, if ever you shall think fit to avow yourself as the author of them.* The general principles laid down in them correspond so much with my declared opinions, and are so favourable to the public measures I have pursued, that to express any approbation of them to you, who are so perfectly acquainted with both, must be unnecessary. I will therefore only return you my sincere thanks, both as a public man and as a mere individual, for having put them in so clear and advantageous a light."

After criticizing certain points, Grenville concludes: "I rejoice to hear that a work of this national importance . . . is likely to be as universally circulated as it deserves" (pp. 101, 2). While Grenville thus showered generous praise upon Knox, the latter showed that he still looked up to his leader for advice and counsel, and Grenville's next letter is a careful reply to questions which Knox had propounded to him (p. 103).

In 1765 Knox married Letitia, daughter of James Ford, Esq., of Dublin, and in either 1766 or 1767 a son was born, to whom Lyttelton stood godfather. This child died in infancy, but in 1768 a little daughter arrived, whose "spiritual direction" was undertaken by Lord Clare ; and in 1769 Lyttelton's hope of having another godson to replace the one he had lost was fulfilled.

During the summer of 1770 Knox was appointed joint Under Secretary with John Pownall for the colonies, and served successively under Hillsborough, Dartmouth and Lord G. Germain until the suppression of the department in 1782. Germain and Knox appear to have worked very harmoniously together. Lord George's letters are business-like, but always courteous, and he evidently appreciated his subordinate's superior knowledge and experience in relation to America. Sometimes he made alterations in Knox's drafts (see pp. 126, 135, 149) ; occasionally he demurred, but did not alter, as in a letter written in September, 1777.

"I like the letter to Sir G. Carleton very well in general. I had rather not have said that the information which Haldimand was to receive could not fail of being of the greatest use in the conduct of his administration. As I do not believe a word of that sentence, you must absolve me from the crime of signing what I do not think true" (p. 138).

This, however, was only a question of opinion. If the "useful information" was to come from Carleton, Germain would naturally protest against the compliment, as (in spite of his assurances to the contrary) he disliked Carleton extremely. In matters of policy or

* This treatise, published anonymously, was very generally supposed to be the work of Grenville himself.

the conduct of the war it is not to be supposed that Knox's voice would have great weight. In fact, Lord George would appear to have been only too ready (with the King's support) to undertake the control of military operations. It may be, however, that he was not personally so responsible as is sometimes supposed. On p. 132 is a letter from him to Carleton, evidently in reply to a protest from that commander against the powers exercised by the Secretary in regard to military affairs. Business of such importance, he assured Sir Guy, received the fullest consideration from his Majesty's principal servants, and was then submitted to the King, who, after mature deliberation, gave such orders as he thought proper. The execution only of these orders belonged to the secretary's department, and for the manner, but not for the matter of the despatches must he be held responsible. In some cases Germain went even further, for in July, 1778, after he had received his instructions for a letter to the Commissioners in America, and had had the draft drawn up and revised it, he desired that Lord North, some other ministers, "and in short the whole cabinet, if possible," should see the despatch before he signed it.

Knox was by no means so opposed to concessions to the colonies as was his chief, although he was quite as strongly convinced that England's sovereignty over them must be maintained at all costs. It has been seen that he advocated the abandonment of all taxation, supporting the idea of some voluntary proposal as an equivalent; nay, he went further, and thought that "there were many unjust as well as unpolitic restraints upon the colonies which ought to be taken off."*

Not only Grenville and Germain, but North and Thurlow, valued Knox's opinion and sought his help. In August, 1778, Lord North desired to consult him in relation to compensation for the American loyalists.

"Nobody," he wrote, "knows better than you do what difficulties are in the way, or is better able to point out the proper methods of surmounting them" (p. 146); and again, as to the position of General Clinton, "I mention this to you for your consideration, for perhaps you may agree with me that care should be taken, &c." (*ibid.*).

Germain states also that North "had a kindness" for Knox, and used to talk confidentially with him, a view which is certainly borne out by the account of the interview of which Lord George was speaking (p. 274).

Knox's acquaintance with Thurlow began when General Burgoyne called for an enquiry into the cause of his miscarriage at Saratoga. Thurlow, then Attorney-General, came to Knox for information as to "the motives, measures and failure of the expedition," and the Under Secretary at once put into his hands a precis which he had drawn up (according to his annual custom) of the letters of that year. Thurlow examined it and exclaimed:—

"'Why, this is the very thing I wanted, and you have done it already; pray, do the ministers know of this?' 'Yes, Sir, they have all had copies of it.' 'Then,

* His sympathy with Ireland, as regards the irritating restraints imposed upon her trade, helped to widen his view, and he hoped to be able to comprehend his own country in any indulgences given to America (p. 258). See also his pamphlet, published in 1765, *The Claim of the Colonies Examined.*

by God, they have never read it, for there is not one of them knows a tittle of the matter'" (p. 270).

From that time Thurlow was always very civil to Knox, who regularly visited him at his levées after he became Chancellor, and in time was admitted to a closer intercourse, an account of which will be found on p. 298.

In the spring of 1782 the suppression of the American department deprived Knox of his office, while the "fatal revolt of New York and Georgia" had left him without income from his American property. After the recovery of Georgia, he had indeed re-established his plantations there, and towards the end of 1783 his private fortune had so far recovered itself that he was able to buy an estate in Wales, and to ask the King for the baronetcy which his circumstances had not allowed him to demand in compensation for the loss of his office in 1782 (p. 193). He states elsewhere * that he had a definite promise of this baronetcy from the King, but the promise was never fulfilled. Moreover, when the time came for settling the compensation to be given to the American loyalists, Knox found to his dismay that his name was "placed in the class of neutrals, or such as had rendered no service to the King during the war," and this although the State of Georgia had passed an act for the sole purpose of confiscating his property, on the ground "that he had always shown himself inimical to the liberties of America, and was then, as Under Secretary of State, counselling and advising the King of Great Britain in his arbitrary and tyrannical designs." A full statement of his grievances will be found in his "Case" and memorial to the King on pp. 196, 197. His own belief was that by his efforts to preserve English trade and navigation from being sacrificed to America, he had "excited the enmity of Mr. Pitt and of the omniscient Mr. Rose."†

For the rest, he entirely disclaimed any hostility to ministers, and enumerated the many occasions on which he had given help to Government. Yet the only attention he had received was the offer of a knighthood, when he "came up with the address from Pembrokeshire." This was in 1786, when he was appointed High Sheriff for the county (p. 195). The offer of knighthood was not likely to be very gratifying to a man who believed himself entitled to a baronetcy.

This neglect made Knox very bitter against the Government in general and Pitt in particular; and on May 25, 1788, he wrote to Lord Walsingham announcing his adherence to "a middle party (*i.e.*, Lord Rawdon's) that has sprung up from the inattention and partiality of Mr. Pitt in disposing of offices":—

"Look then into the offices and say how they are filled? is the common exclamation of the gentlemen I allude to. Behold two Secretaries of State [Sydney and Carmarthen] who cannot write a sentence of English, Commissioners of the Treasury who do not understand arithmetic, and Commissioners of the Admiralty who do not know larboard from starboard. . . . His two substitutes for Secretaries of State, Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Dundas, are certainly able, but they are both much disliked, and one of them at least suspected of want of sincerity. . . . Perhaps it was wise in so young a man to decline the assistance of the

* In a letter in the possession of Capt. Knox, but mislaid, and therefore not calendared.

† See letter to Eden, dated 19th December, 1785; British Museum, *Add. MS.*, 24, 428 f. 280.

follow in 1768–70, and then either the correspondence flagged or the letters have not been preserved. A short note in 1777, when Lyttelton had become Lord Westcote, urges Knox to come down and taste the lampreys and venison of Hagley; then silence again until 1782, when he expresses his satisfaction that the power was in Shelburne's hands (rather than in those of any other opponent of Lord North), as he had always had a very high opinion of his talents, although widely differing from him in political sentiments.

The letters during the next twenty years are few and far between, although always affectionate and intimate in tone; but there are two written within a very short time of each other, in April, 1803. In the earlier of these he says:—"I am in mourning for my very old cousin, Lady Chatham, who survived all her brothers many years. It is no personal loss to me, for she lived at so great a distance from me that I have had no society with her for a long time past." Lady Chatham lived, during the last years of her life, at Burton Pynsent in Somersetshire, the estate which had been bequeathed to her husband by a devoted admirer. The letter written a week or two later than the above ends with a frankly personal outlook upon public affairs, so naïve as to be amusing. "Upon the whole, I will only say 'give peace in the remaining part of my time, O Lord,' for had the war with its income tax continued my affairs would have been much deranged" (p. 217).

In 1805 he mentions that his much lamented friend Champion had left him his library as a legacy. This was Anthony Champion, an old schoolfellow of Lyttelton's, who edited his poems.

His last letter is dated Jan. 4, 1807:—

> "I will not omit to tell you, my very worthy old friend, that I am this day completely eighty-two years old, and shall give and partake of a cheerful dinner with some of my neighbours. What a pleasure would it be if I could add you to their number! Yet I will not propose a journey to you in the winter; I believe I shall outlive it and shall be happy in your company if you will favour me with a visit in any one of the next summer months."

The old man's belief was well-founded, for he lived until the autumn of 1808; but there are no more letters from him in the collection, and so the curtain rings down upon a friendship which had lasted for fifty years.

Next in order amongst Knox's correspondents is Henry Ellis, ex-Governor of Georgia,* under whom Knox had worked when Provost Marshal of that province. After leaving America, Ellis led a wandering life, apparently in search of health, and, from the summer of 1774, seems to have spent most of his time at Spa. His letters give the gossip of that fashionable watering-place, intermixed with comments and reflections upon public affairs. He was a bitter opponent of the Americans, and found it impossible to conceive that they could hold their own against England. "The ignorance of people upon the continent," who thought such a thing possible, struck him as amazing (p. 112). As time went on, however, his optimism forsook him, and he became "very miserable" in

* Best known by his "Voyage to Hudson's Bay," written after his return from the expedition in search of the North West passage in 1746. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1749.

regard to the political outlook (p. 143). He spent the winter of 1778–9 at Marseilles "very agreeably, particularly as none of my own country-folks were there, who are the most restless and discontented people upon earth." A general order had excluded all British subjects from the ports of France, but Ellis obtained an exception from King Louis in his favour, and associated freely with the French, who treated him with "uncommon attention." In 1780 the King of Sweden was at Spa, and Ellis, whom he distinguished by his notice, pronounced him "one of the most amiable and captivating princes" he had ever seen. Gustavus III. praised the King of England as "a most worthy and well informed prince," and begged the Governor, on his return to England, to assure his Majesty that he should never forget the good he had done him. Ellis could not tell what this good was, but said it seemed to have made a great impression on the King of Sweden's mind.

In the winter of 1780–81 Ellis was again in the south of France, where he found the people so "warmly attached to their prince and to the honour of their country" that faction dared not show its head a moment. Although the effects of the war were pretty severely felt, there was no appearance of discontent, and hardly any murmuring. So little did he suspect the storm that was soon to burst over the land. Some suspicion had, however, as he said, crept in, in relation to Neckar's publication of the state of the Finances (which at first had produced a most favourable sensation), and an officer declared to him that there were above 160 millions of debt concealed from the public (p. 176). A few weeks later he mentions Neckar's fall.

Ellis, like Knox, suffered severely from the loss of his American possessions, and the close of his life was clouded by financial anxieties in consequence of the threatened failure of the bank into which he had put much of his capital. In August, 1805, there was a violent earthquake at Naples, where he then was, and he had a fall, followed by a paralytic attack. From this he partially recovered, but the improvement was only transitory, and he died on Jan. 28, 1806 (pp. 223, 224).

Intimately associated with Governor Ellis was George Cressener, who sent Knox letters of news concerning foreign affairs. He was a shrewder observer than Ellis, and from the first was doubtful as to the issue of the quarrel with America, emphasising especially the smallness of the English force there and the need "to ensure success by numbers." But he was just as bitterly hostile to the insurgents, and spoke of the Bostonians as men in a high fever, whom bleeding only could bring to their senses (p. 117). In this same letter he gives an anecdote showing the violent temper of the Prince Royal of Prussia, who in the following year became King Frederick William II. "Judge," he concludes, "what a king he will make, with such a fiery disposition." In his next letter he alludes to the effect which Montcalm's letters must have produced, writing with evidently no doubts as to their authenticity. In the spring of 1777, Cressener lost his wife, and appears to have left Bonn (whence all his letters are dated) and gone to join Ellis at Spa (pp. 129, 135). Although he does not seem to have kept up his correspondence with Knox, his friend's optimistic despatches always had a hearty welcome from

him, giving him, as Ellis said, new life when he was in a desponding condition.

Amongst Knox's other correspondents may be mentioned Lord Clare, with whom he was evidently on very intimate terms, and who was godfather to his eldest daughter; his fellow Under Secretary, John Pownall, from whom there are many letters in the collection; Lord Hillsborough; Sir Grey Cooper, who quotes Shakespeare and Swift in one of his letters, and in another says that he is so anxious about public affairs that he still "ingeminates the sigh of Falkland;" and Lord Rawdon, from whom there are two long letters on the position taken up by himself and his friends in 1789. In one of these he gives Knox the excellent advice already alluded to, against too bitter an attack upon his adversaries (pp. 203, 205).

The second section of the papers in this collection contains letters and documents relating to Ireland, the earliest letter writers being Sir Lucius O'Brien and Sir John Blacquiere, who in 1776–1778 discussed matters of trade, especially in relation to exports and imports and the fishery (pp. 231–233, 236).

In 1778 are many letters from Sir Richard Heron on the same subjects. He also alludes to the attempts made at this time to relieve the Roman Catholics of Ireland from their disabilities. The most violent opposition was expected "against repealing the gavelling clause, which the Roman Catholics abhor, and their opposers—even moderate men—consider as the palladium of Ireland." Dean Tucker, of Gloucester, wrote, somewhat later, that as regards the repeal of the persecuting laws, he had one short remark to make: "that when the Papists are reforming the very worst and most mischievous parts of their religion by their open disavowal of persecution, some of us, who call ourselves Protestant, adopt those very principles which they are casting off."

Other correspondents in Ireland are Edmund Pery, General Cunningham (on the Mutiny Bill), William Eden, the Marquis of Buckingham (acknowledging a letter from Knox containing praise of his "ever dear and honoured father," George Grenville), and Archdeacon Hastings in relation to the publication of Knox's "Extra Official State Papers."

The last document relating to Ireland is a paper by Knox on the question of Emancipation, in which, referring to the doctrine of the Real Presence, he observes:—"The only difference is that the Catholics believe *more* than the Church of England. The latter inculcates the belief of a spiritual eating the flesh of Christ, the Catholics believe that they eat it carnally, but the Protestant dissenter denies both, and is therefore further removed from the Church of England than is the Catholic."

Following the Irish papers are *Reminiscences, Political Anecdotes, &c.* Knox's proceedings in Georgia and his conversations with George Grenville have already been mentioned. These are followed by the circumstances of Lord Hillsborough's resignation in 1772, Anecdotes at Spa, and a memorandum on the proceedings attending Lord G. Germain's appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies. A difficulty had hitherto been made in considering the American Secretary as a Secretary of State at all. Lord Hills-

borough " was only held to be first Lord of Trade with Seals and Cabinet." Lord Dartmouth's commission was the same, and Lord Weymouth had refused the department on that very account. Lord George being a commoner,

" it became necessary to make some alteration in his commission, for the former commission made it a new office and consequently excluded him from the House of Commons. A commission in the terms of those of the other Secretaries obviated this difficulty, for there were precedents of three persons being at the same time Secretaries of State."

But opposition was expected, especially from Lord Weymouth. "The King, by one of those minute strokes for which he is so eminent, removed all difficulty." When Council met, and the Lord President moved that Lord Weymouth might be sworn, the King replied: " There are two Secretaries of State to be sworn; let them both be sworn together "; which was done accordingly. Lord Weymouth perfectly understood the King, and accepted the situation (p. 256).

Next follow papers in relation to America; a sketch of the King's speech to his Cabinet on June 21, 1779—when " he sat down at the head of his library table, and desired for the first time since he became King all the ministers to sit down " (p. 260)—and a note on the proposed changes in July, 1779.

A quarto copy-book contains a number of personal sketches, entitled " Curious Political Anecdotes." The first gives an account of an audience of Lord Rockingham, as narrated by the King to Lord G. Germain. In the course of it, Rockingham alluded to the fact that he always received his rents :—

" As I found," said the King, " I was in to be treated with a long harangue, I thought this was a good opportunity to make him shorten it by diverting him from his subject, and asked him how he managed so well. This made him talk a little about his own affairs, and took him out of his speech; and when he came to resume it again, he could not take it up in form, but huddled the substance together."

Lord Rockingham urged the importance of liberty to export woollen cloth from Ireland :—

" But," said the King, " I could not help observing how people are affected by their particular interest, for I was talking of what Lord Rockingham proposed to Lord Hertford, and he said the exportation of woollens would do nothing for Ireland: advantages in the linen were the things wanting " (p. 266).

Sir William Howe, Lord Hillsborough, William Eden, Wedderburn, Thomas Hussey are in turn the subjects of sketches; followed by one on Lord Thurlow, part of which, in relation to Knox, has already been quoted. A curious little anecdote is told of Thurlow in relation to the proposal to apprehend Handcock, Adams and other American leaders. The two under secretaries were in the outer room awaiting the end of a sitting of the Cabinet when Thurlow, then Attorney-General, came out :—

" ' Well,' cried Pownall, ' is it done ? ' ' No,' answered Thurlow, ' nothing is done. Don't you see,' added he, ' that they want to throw the whole responsibility of the business upon the Solicitor-General and me, and who would be such damned fools as to risk themselves for such——fellows as these. Now if it was George Grenville, who was so damned obstinate that he would go to hell with you before he would desert you, there would be some sense in it.' He walked off, and the project was dropped."

An account of a Cabinet meeting on " the Dutch business " in 1780 states that Lord North and the President (Bathurst)

" fell asleep as soon as the business was opened; Lord Hillsborough nodded and

dropt his hat; Lord Sandwich was overcome at first, but rubbed his eyes and seemed attentive; Lord Amherst kept awake but said nothing. Lord Stormont, the reader of these important papers, the Chancellor and Lord George Germain only gave them consideration, but when the others awoke, they approved of what was proposed."

There is a long account of the circumstances which preceded Lord G. Germain's removal in 1782. On Jan. 18 Germain had a final meeting with Lord North on the subject of America:—

"The conference lasted an hour, and the report Lord George made to me [Knox] of it was to this effect. Lord North said it was impossible to continue the war; that America was lost, and it was vain to think of recovering it. Lord George offered to treat upon the *uti possidetis*, but that, Lord North said, they would not accept; nothing but independence would do, and that, Lord George said, would never be given by him, and therefore, if such was his purpose, he must look out for another Secretary of State. . . . In the conversation, Lord North said there was no objection to Lord George's person, but to his declared principle of never consenting to independence, which made the difficulty; 'and yet,' says he, 'your being out of the way won't mend matters, for the King is of the same opinion.' Some days later the King told Germain that Lord North had spoken of the necessity for his going out, because of his avowed principle of treating with America upon any footing but preservation of sovereignty. 'If you mean by his going out,' said the King, 'to relinquish that principle, you must make other removes.' 'No,' replies Lord North, 'for no one else has declared that principle.' 'Yes,' says the King, 'you must go further; you must remove ME'" (pp. 275, 276).

After a paper on Lord Thurlow, giving the story of "the Regency business" in the Chancellor's own words, there follows a sketch of Charles Townshend. Knox accompanied him home after the debate in the Lords on the Cyder Bill (in 1763), against which forty Lords voted, and which he thought a death blow to Lord Bute's administration; and as Lady Dalkeith (his wife) and Knox sat at supper, which he never eat, he walked about the room, entertaining them with his observations upon what had passed that day, in his eccentric manner:—

"'The Burial is gone by, Knox (says he); Lord Pomfret and Lord Denbigh, the two black staves men. Whose funeral is that? Lord Bute's. Then comes Lord Hillsborough, tolling the big bell—bum, bum!' These three were the only lords that had declared themselves attached to Lord Bute in the debate, and their manner of speaking, which he took off, made the allusion highly ridiculous. 'Do you know (says he again) the meaning of the other speeches you heard?' The Duke of Newcastle said, 'My Lord Bute, you thought it was an easy thing to govern this country through the King's favour. Now I can tell you that, altho' I had as full possession of the late King as you have of the present, I found it necessary to take the great connexions of the country with me, which you are endeavouring to break and oppose; but take my word for it, you will find your seat at the Treasury an uneasy one if you don't change your plan, of which what passes here this night is only a specimen.' Then Lord Mansfield. 'My Lord Bute, you gave me reason to think I should be of your cabinet, but you have neglected me. . . . I will now show you that I can punish you if I choose to do it, but as I don't mean to break with you, but only to teach you to behave better for the future, I will bring you off now.'"

Townshend's manner of reading a book, Knox says, was curious:—

"He turned over the leaves at the beginning extremely quick, first glancing at the middle of each page. 'That's all preface,' says he. He then ran over the facts with more attention, and when he had gone through them, turned over the remainder of the leaves as he had done the beginning, saying, 'that's all conclusion, I can do that myself,' and he received oral communications in the same manner, always confining the narrator to the fact."

The sketch closes with an entertaining account of the advice given by Townshend to Yorke, when the latter was offered the choice of being Attorney-General or Master of the Rolls in 1764. Before deciding he came to consult Townshend.

"That is (said Townshend to Knox) he wishes much to take one of them, and

to throw the blame of his quitting the Opposition upon me. We are very good friends, but I'll be cursed if he makes me his stalking horse to get into office. So go into the next room when he comes, and stay till he is gone, and then I'll tell you what has passed.' When he called me in, he began with laughing most heartily. 'My poor friend (says he) came to me under great embarrassment for my advice, and I think I have sent him away ten times more embarrassed than he came.' "

And, truly, so he did, for Townshend put before him the pros and cons for each of the offices in so bewildering a manner, that Yorke waited and hesitated until he (for the time being) lost both.

The subject of the last sketch is Lord Lansdowne.* Knox's intercourse with him in 1763 has already been mentioned. After that, they met but little until his Lordship (then Earl of Shelburne) brought the seals of the Southern and American Departments to Whitehall in 1782, when he held out hopes of continuance in office, or at any rate of ample compensation, to the Under Secretary, who had then been in harness for nearly twelve years. Knox was not greatly inclined to work under him, and this feeling was shared by others, "Pollock's terror and Sir Stanier Porten's exclamation of 'God be thanked I am not to be under you again' making him feel happy to be at liberty to withdraw."

"Sir Richard Sutton had long ago told me that of all ministers, Lord Lansdowne was the most difficult to please. He was never satisfied with what anyone did, or even with what he did himself, but altered and changed without end. As an instance, he mentioned his having prepared a draft of a despatch for Tuesday's mail. His Lordship directed him to alter and write it over again for his signing in the evening." More alterations and fresh transcripts followed, and "before the letter was sent off, it had been nine times transcribed, and the Friday night's mails detained for it till two in the morning" (p. 283).

Knox's own experience soon proved to him that it was not without reason those who had served with Shelburne in office "abhorred him as a principal." He attended day after day without being able to obtain instructions, and was finally sent for between ten and eleven o'clock on a Sunday night, when he positively refused to go. The Earl made Knox inform him of the reason and purpose of every order and movement during the progress of the late war with America, but was so ill-informed of its geography that Knox had "to lead him through the map and describe the country" as he went along.

Some miscellaneous papers, chiefly in relation to American affairs, are followed by letters and other documents on the subject of presents to the North American Indians, a business in which Knox was actively concerned. The value of those sent out in the years 1775–1779 amounted to about 87,500*l.*, and in 1781 the demands made by the officers charged with their distribution fell little short of 55,000*l.*, without reckoning charges of freight or delivery (pp. 293, 294).

On this head, there is an interesting letter amongst the Stopford Sackville papers (8to ed. vol. ii, p. 252) written by Lieut.-Col. Benj. Thompson in January, 1782, declaring that unless the expenses of the department could be reduced, he should certainly vote for its abolition, for the expenditure of late had been enormous, and the advantages derived from the Indians "perfectly trifling."

An incident showing the temptations to which an official was

* Always spelt "Lansdown" by Knox.

exposed in the management of such matters occurred in 1782, when a merchant to whom Knox had applied refused to do anything because Knox rejected his proposal of laying an extra profit of 6,000*l.* upon the goods, and dividing it between themselves. This, as Knox said, showed the danger of employing traders to do business for government, as their own interest "suppresses all feelings for the public service."

On p. 294 will be found a list of things, useful and decorative, which were chosen for the Indians round Niagara.

After the text of the present volume was completed, Captain Knox found and sent up a packet of letters from Dr. Philip Skelton, which it was thought a pity to exclude. They, therefore, form a short supplementary report at the end of the volume. Dr. Skelton, whose name is said to be even yet remembered in Donegal for his goodness and charity,* was a learned divine, who wrote much, and delighted in buying books. But his life was devoted to the service of his poor parishioners, and twice, in time of famine, he sold his library in order to feed his people. In 1770 he published his collected works by subscription, designing the profits to be given to the Foundling and Magdalen Hospitals. He had not, he said, helped to fill either of these institutions, but those who *had* done so refused to support them (p. 442).

His letters are written in a tone of deep despondency in regard to England and England's future, but are full of loving kindness to his friends and desire to help his fellow-men. He eagerly accepted and carefully distributed contributions sent to him for his poor weavers; but in spite of his goodness to them, his Ulster parish gradually became a hotbed of discontent, and in 1780 the old man withdrew to Dublin, where he died in 1787.

The editor is indebted to Capt. Howard Vicente Knox (great-great grandson of William Knox, and the present owner of the MSS.) for the information that after Knox's death they went to Lady Dillon (Letitia Knox), his daughter, who arranged and docketed the letters. All endorsements, not in Knox's own handwriting, are hers. From her the collection passed to Miss Carew-Smyth, Knox's grand-daughter, who passed them on, in or about 1889, to Capt. H. V. Knox and his wife. A few of the letters calendared in this report are printed, partially, in Knox's "Extra Official State Papers," but have been included in this volume, in order not to break the continuity of the correspondence, and the rather, as Knox's book has long been out of print.

In a small packet with the letters is a silver tinselled, jewelled leek, and a note by Lady Dillon, saying "This was given to my dear Father by the Prince of Wales on St. David's Day [1810], who took it out of his hat, asking my father to give him his in exchange, saying they would exchange again next year on St. David's Day, but, alas, my dear Father had passed away before that date."

At the British Museum (Add. MSS. 34413; 21703; 18902) there are letters from Knox to William Eden, General Haldimand and George Chalmers. A list of his writings is annexed to his life in the Dictionary of National Biography.

S. C. Lomas.

* See his Life in the Dictionary of National Biography.

III.—MSS. OF CORNWALLIS WYKEHAM-MARTIN, Esq.

This selection of letters addressed to Admiral the Honourable Sir William Cornwallis, G.C.B., although without claim to any very high importance in a historical sense, possesses interest of various kinds naturally arising out of the Admiral's own position and achievements. He belonged by birth to two famous English families which reached a very high point of renown and prosperity during his own lifetime. His long and distinguished services embraced the most glorious period in the naval annals of Great Britain. And while the earlier letters present a most pleasing picture of English family life, of union firmly knit by pure affection, governed by high principle, and directed to worthy aims, many of those of a later date are the unstudied effusions of great seamen, whose deeds lend undying lustre to our national records.

Sir William Cornwallis, born on February 20, 1744, was the fourth son and youngest child of the fifth Viscount and first Earl Cornwallis, by a marriage with the eldest daughter of Viscount Townshend, a leading statesman in the reign of George I. He appears to have entered the navy at the age of eleven. When the correspondence opens in April, 1761, we find him sharing as a Lieutenant of the *Thunderer* under Captain Proby the glory of a successful action with a Spanish frigate near Cadiz. There are only a few letters to him from his father, all written in the course of that year. They are affectionate and full of good counsel, urging him particularly to cultivate the esteem and friendship of his superior officers as the surest means of professional advancement, and pointing to the example of his eldest brother, Lord Brome, who, at the age of twenty-three, already commanded a regiment in Germany with great reputation. A letter from Brome himself, overflowing with fraternal regard and with grief for the recent death of their brother Harry in Germany, belongs to the same period. The Earl died in 1762, leaving his two younger sons, James and William, still minors, and but slenderly provided for, under the guardianship of their mother. James, who had gone to Merton College, Oxford, soon won a fellowship, and entering the Church under the favouring auspices of his uncle, Frederic Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained rapid preferment. Having thus happily got her elder charge "off her hands," all Lady Cornwallis's cares and aspirations centred in William, her favourite child. All her efforts and resources were employed in pushing him forward in the navy. Having obtained for him from Lord Halifax, now at the head of the Admiralty, the command of a schooner in which he sailed for the West Indies, she set her heart on having him promoted to the rank of post-captain before the close of the Seven Years' war.

The Whig party, to which the Cornwallis and Townshend family

belonged, had been ejected from office. Party spirit ran high, and promotion depended on political patronage. It was only by bringing social influence and personal charm to bear on reluctant Ministers that the Dowager Countess could hope to accomplish her aim. And the exulting sense of desert with which, intent on compelling her son's approval, she unfolds to him the skilful manœuvres by which, with the help not only of confederates of her own sex, but of Admirals Burnaby, Keppel, and Rodney, she obtained promises of the coveted rank from Lord Halifax and his successor Lord Egmont, is delightful. Meantime the schooner *Swift*, which William commanded, was cast on a desert island. By the strenuous exertions of captain and crew the vessel was saved, and made its way in much hardship and peril to Jamaica. Cornwallis at least must have found ample compensation for his misfortune in the generous solicitude which it evoked. His eldest brother, who seems always to have made his interests an object of particular concern, and his unmarried sister Mary eagerly contended for the privilege of making good his losses. But his mother jealously asserted a superior claim. "I told them," she wrote, "I was able to assist you with whatever you wanted, and I would give up that pleasure to nobody." It appears, however, from a letter written to him by Admiral Keppel, that her efforts to have him posted were frustrated by some blunder or change of purpose on the part of Admiral Burnaby, who commanded in the West Indies; and her mortification on this account was not lessened by a display of professional sensitiveness which must have appeared to her ungracious, if not ungrateful. William seems to have thought that her eagerness for his promotion outran discretion, and to have asked her to abstain from any further application to the Admiralty on his behalf. Thenceforward she schooled herself to a severe control of indiscreet feeling. "All her happiness," she told him with touching submission, "consisted in obeying his wishes." In 1765 the Whigs, returning to office for a brief period under Lord Rockingham, conferred on him the rank so much coveted for him by all his family.

Some of the early letters of the Dowager Countess give current news of social or political events. Notwithstanding her staunch loyalty she seems to have sympathised with Wilkes in his struggle with the Crown. In a letter written in 1763 during the political crisis provoked by George Grenville's arrogant lectures to George III., we have a striking picture of the Great Commoner passing in his "gouty chair" through the crowded park from Buckingham House, after a prolonged interview with the King, during which the Prime Minister, calling to administer his daily admonition, found the Royal closet closed against him. In the interval of peace between the Seven Years' war and the war of American Independence the correspondence is broken by long and frequent blanks. Captain Cornwallis seems to have been for the greater part of this time absent from England on foreign service. During the year 1770, his sister Mary, who had married Mr. Whitbread, sent him news of the day, and contributed to his comfort at sea by liberal supplies of porter from her husband's brewery. The evidence afforded by her letters of a most amiable and generous nature leaves a feeling of regret for her prema-

ture, death. In 1771 Captain Blankett, having "come to peep in London," sent Cornwallis a report of what he heard of the particular fortunes of their naval friends, and saw of the general society of the capital. Their friend Stott had taken possession of Falkland Island, and returned safe to Plymouth." Mr. Banks "was going on another expedition to the South Sea, taking Cook as one of his captains." "Cotton still continues idle in regard to our service, and is entered into that of a wife (though he denies it), which probably may be attended with as many storms, hurricanes, and tempests as any frigate in the West Indies." His picture of the general aspect of social life in London at this time is not edifying. "Extravagance," he wrote, "luxury, and gaming are the fashionable vices of the town, and it will astonish you on your return to see the vast improvements of the age. The Lotorie, Macaroni, White's, Almac's, &c., are in the most flourishing state, and cards in all companies are the only things worth living for. A man of taste must play all the morning, or at least four or five games before dinner, which is shortened to give time for the exquisite pleasures of *Quinze* and *Vingt-Un*. In fact, idleness and debauchery are so far taken possession of all ranks in society that opposition to the King's measures is a piece of barbarity inconsistent with the manners of the present age. All wit is at Court, all knowledge at the gaming table."

During the war with the American States and their European allies, Captain Cornwallis was constantly on active service, every year adding to his reputation as a brave and skilful officer. In November, 1777, when in command of the *Isis* frigate on the American station under Lord Howe, he took a prominent part in the attack on Fort Island. In reference to this action his eldest brother, then at Philadelphia, wrote to their mother—"I have the satisfaction of assuring you that William has gained the greatest credit in the face of the whole army and fleet. Lord Howe extols him to the skies." His ship being much damaged, Captain Cornwallis returned in her to England early in 1778. In September of that year we have two short but remarkable letters written to him by his sister-in-law, Jemima Lady Cornwallis. They paint in the gloomiest colours the state of parties in England; an administration, obstinate and incapable, rushing blindly on national disaster; an opposition, in which the spirit of faction has killed every patriotic feeling, rejoicing in public reverses which must soon overwhelm all in common ruin. This picture in some measure reflected the morbid melancholy to which the writer had fallen a victim. She was dying of a broken heart. In 1776 George III. had appointed Lord Cornwallis to a prominent post in the army assembled under Sir William Howe to repress the American revolt. Lady Cornwallis, unable to endure the prospect of separation for an indefinite time from a husband to whom she was tenderly attached, privately contrived, through the influence of their uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the King, to have the appointment cancelled. But Cornwallis, though devoted to his wife and strongly opposed to the colonial policy of the Government, insisted on joining Howe. He considered military service in time of war as a call of duty which

he could not evade without dishonour. At the end of the campaign of 1777 he came home for a few months, returning to New York in April, 1778. His wife, with their children, accompanied him to Portsmouth, where he embarked, and sorrow for this second parting brought on her an illness which proved fatal. When her husband heard of her danger, he threw up his command and hurried back, only to see her die. By her express request no stone was inscribed to her memory, but a thorn was planted on her grave, as nearly as possible over her heart. The bereaved husband in a letter dated May 5, 1779, announced to William, now commanding the *Lion* man-of-war on the West Indies, that he returned to America not with views of ambition, but because England had become insupportable to him. All the joy had gone out of his life.

In the disorderly battle off Grenada, in July, 1779, between the English and French fleets, commanded by Admirals Byron and D'Estaing, the *Lion*, being exposed without support to the whole fire of the enemy, was shattered and dismasted. Escaping capture by good fortune, the disabled ship drifted on the current to Jamaica. However inglorious for the British arms, this fight reflected lustre on Captain Cornwallis. Admiral Barrington, second in command to Byron, on returning to England in very bad humour with the general conduct and condition of the fleet, spread his praises everywhere. His brother James, already Dean of Canterbury, his uncle the Archbishop, and Captain Leveson Gower wrote to assure him that his valour and seamanship were the theme of every tongue. Lord Cornwallis, still plunged in grief for his irreparable loss, sent him cordial congratulations from New York. "God bless you" the letter ends, "May success, honour and riches attend you. Mind I put honour first, which you will approve of." Later in the same year Lord Cornwallis wrote to his mother: "For myself I have in this world neither hopes nor fears. I will endeavour to do my duty to my country and be honest; and then, with perfect resignation to His will, I will put my trust in God's mercy."

Early in 1780, Captain Cornwallis, being in command of a small squadron in the West Indies, encountered a stronger French force under Admiral La Mothe Piquet, and bore off the honour of the day. At a time when the public mind in England was depressed by repeated defeat, and hostile fleets rode triumphant in the Channel, this partial success, to which the official report of Admiral Sir Peter Parker did full justice, seems to have caused a considerable sensation. Sir George Rodney, much dissatisfied with the conduct of some of his own captains, wrote to Captain Cornwallis from Sandwich in July: "To have you with me will make me very happy, as I should then be certain of being well supported. . . . Once more I can only say, to have you with me will be the greatest favour the Admiralty can show me." At the end of the year Admiral Parker despatched Cornwallis to England in charge of a large convoy.

During these events in the West Indies the mind of the old Dowager Countess, as exhibited in her letters, was a constant tumult of excitement. Her joy and pride in the rising fame of her favourite

son, and the compliments showered on him from all quarters, which she fondly treasured up in her diary, were mingled with anxiety for his safety, and a passionate longing to see him again. When his approaching return was announced her impatience knew no bounds. "The wind is consulted every hour of the day," she wrote on November 11, "and my good or ill-humour depends entirely on the going of the smoke." She reproached him with concealing from her exploits which she had learned from friendly congratulations, or found published in the gazette. "Why did you not mention this event in your letter to me," she wrote on one occasion; "I believe you feared I should grow too vain." Discovering that he had been allowed only three ships-of-war to escort two hundred homeward bound merchantmen, she was oppressed with dread that the enemy would intercept and overpower him, and began filling another letter with bitter reproaches against the Admiralty. While thus engaged Archbishop Cornwallis, calling to see her, combated her fears, and told her how Lord Sandwich, when speaking of this convoy at dinner in the presence of Lord North, declared that Captain Cornwallis was the most promising young man in the service. "Upon hearing this," she wrote, on returning to the interrupted scroll, "I have scratched out all my uncharitableness. I am quite reconciled to him. He has chosen you for this material convoy for the good opinion he has of you." An erasure in the body of the letter bears witness to her repentance.

In 1781, after resting a short time in England, Captain Cornwallis applied to the Admiralty for active employment. A vacancy having just occurred in the command of the *Canada*, Lord Sandwich wrote:—"As I understand that she is the best ship in the navy, of her rate, I cannot do my duty better than by offering her to one of the most distinguished officers in the King's service." Sailing again to the West Indies, Cornwallis won additional renown early in 1782 by a gallant attempt to save St. Kitts from the more powerful French armament of Count D'Estaing. A little later he took a leading part in Rodney's brilliant victory over Count de Grasse, the closing, and for England the most glorious, event of the war. It would appear, however, from some very indifferent verses he thought worth preserving, that he shared the opinion held by many of Rodney's officers, that more energy in improving the victory might have made it much more decisive. His fame was now high, and firmly established. Letters from his mother and brothers in England, informing him of a change of Ministry and other matters of public or personal interest, contained many particulars flattering to himself. James Cornwallis, now bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, wrote in reference to the naval action at St. Kitts, "the King spoke very handsomely of you the other day to Tommy Townshend, the present Secretary of War." And again, after news had arrived of Rodney's victory, he wrote, "the King made your praise the subject of his conversation at the *levée*. Lord Rockingham was as strong in his commendation of you to me." Lord Rodney, too, lauded him to the skies. Lord Cornwallis, now back in England as a prisoner of war on *parole*, sent equally favourable reports. "Lord Keppel (the

new First Lord of the Admiralty) speaks of you," he wrote, "in the handsomest manner. Jervis spoke of you in the highest terms to Lord Shelburne, and said it would be a disgrace to the Administration if you did not receive some distinguished mark of honour." The Dowager Countess, grown feeble, and satisfied with the renown William had acquired, now sighed for peace, and lived only in the hope of having him with her again. Hearing that Rodney had offered him De Grasse's captured flagship, the *Ville de Paris*, to take to England, she wrote on May 27 :—" Why did you not accept the Admiral's offer ? By all the accounts, you had a very considerable share in the taking her. The coming home in her would have been an *éclat*, and what is material, I should have the comfort of seeing you soon. Perhaps that would have been an objection to you. If so I withdraw my wishes, for they are always governed by what you like. Myself is always out of the question where you are concerned, and I should be more happy with your being in the West Indies than nearer to me did I know that it was your choice." This is her last letter. It gives the finishing touch to a beautiful picture of maternal devotion.

Captain Cornwallis having returned to England with a convoy, and the war being now virtually over, his brothers were anxious to obtain for him a staff appointment in recognition of his services. In order to promote his interests the Earl brought him into Parliament as one of the members for the family borough of Eye, leaving him full liberty to choose his own political line. Shortly afterwards Lord Cornwallis, being offered the appointment of Governor-General of India, tried to obtain the command of the naval squadron in the Indian seas for William. But Lord Keppel, now at the head of the Admiralty, thought Admiral Parker had superior claims. And in fact, notwithstanding the old relations of the Cornwallis family with the Whig party, and particularly with Charles Fox, and ties of friendship with Lords Shelburne and Keppel, it was only after some delay and angry complaints of being overlooked from William, that Keppel gave him command of the *Foudroyant*. After the fall of the Coalition Ministry Lord Howe, on becoming First Lord of the Admiralty under Pitt, seems to have conferred on Captain Cornwallis the post of Colonel of marines ; and in 1788 Lord Chatham, Howe's successor, made him naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, with the rank of Commodore. During the war of American Independence Cornwallis had formed intimate friendships not only with Lord Howe and the Hoods, under whom he served, but also with Captains Jervis, Nelson, Collingwood, and other famous seamen of his own rank, whose letters diversify and sometimes enliven the correspondence. With Nelson his relations were particularly affectionate, and continued so to the end. Writing to him in October, 1784, from Antigna, Nelson, then commanding the *Boreas*, expresses with amusing candour his aversion or contempt for the station, the admiral, the captains associated with him in the absence of Collingwood ; in fact for everybody and everything except the officers of his own ship, and "his only female friend in these islands," Mrs. Moutray.

In October, 1788, hearing in his retirement at Burnham of Corn

wallis's approaching departure for India, Nelson wrote again expressing an ardent desire, "though happily married," to "step forth" for service under his friend. After his arrival in India two objects, suggested by the Governor-General's advice or example, appear to have specially occupied the Commodore's attention. One was to create a convenient and secure station for the British fleet, adequate facilities for which seemed to be afforded by the Andaman islands. The second was a reform of naval administration, the whole public service of the East India Company being at this time gangrened by fraud and peculation. Lord Howe, whom he appears to have consulted in regard to both objects, while highly commending his motives, gave him but cold encouragement; inclining to the opinion that naval stations were worse than useless unless guarded by a large military force, and deprecating the destruction of a bad system until proper instruments were available for the introduction of a better. The Governor-General also, to whom the dishonesty of subordinate Indian officials was only too familiar, had convinced himself that the miserable pay which the Company then doled out to its servants lay at the root of prevalent abuses. Attempts at reform, he thought, must prove ineffectual unless accompanied by a higher scale of remuneration. Lord Hood, however, now first sea-lord of the Admiralty, wrote to assure the Commodore of the full approbation and support of the Board. And letters from Lord Chatham expressed in very flattering terms the confidence of Government in his advice, and its appreciation of his exertions. Schemes of improvement were interrupted in 1790 by the breaking out of war between the East India Company and the Sultan of Mysore. During this conflict the Commodore co-operated with his brother by keeping vigilant guard over the ports through which the enemy might obtain foreign supplies. Several letters from the Governor-General, and from the Rev. Christopher Wells, give interesting accounts of the difficulties the former had to overcome in the tedious campaigns of 1791 and 1792. On February 10, 1792, Lord Cornwallis announced to his brother the storming of Tippoo's camp near Seringapatam. A fortnight later he sent him a copy of articles of peace just signed, "which I flatter myself," he wrote, "you will think advantageous for us." The success had been so decisive that the conditions of the treaty, though sufficiently onerous for the vanquished, bore testimony to the moderation of the victor. Hardly had the new territorial arrangements arising out of this conflict been settled when news reached the Governor-General, now Marquis Cornwallis, of the renewal of war between France and England. With the help of his brother, now Rear-Admiral, he took possession of the French settlements of Pondicherry and Chandernagore. Having thus restored internal tranquillity in India, and provided against external attack, he returned home towards the end of 1793, and was followed by the admiral a few months later.

The Dowager Countess being dead, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry had taken charge of the affairs of his brothers during their absence on foreign service, and kept them informed of current events in England. He appears to have been an indefatigable man of business. In addition to the cares of a large diocese, of the Deanery of

Durham, and of his own personal and domestic interests, he acted as guardian for the Marquis's children, invested large savings of the Governor-General in advantageous purchases of land in Suffolk, rebuilt the family seat at Culford, watched over the borough of Eye, selected the members, and was a regular attendant at Court and in the House of Lords. His letters depict for us a life of many interests and constant work.

When Admiral Cornwallis arrived in England in 1794, the war of the first coalition against the French Revolution was in full operation. And already it afforded an example of the striking contrast between the extreme caution of British generals and the heroic audacity of British admirals which marked it throughout. A letter, dated May 23, from Nelson, then serving under Lord Hood in the Mediterranean, alludes with veiled sarcasm to General Dundas, commanding five British regiments in Corsica, who pronounced the seige of Bastia utterly impracticable, and held his force aloof, while Hood and Nelson, at the head of 1,000 men from the fleet, carried the town by storm with little loss. Cornwallis, now promoted to be Vice-Admiral, seems to have obtained immediate employment; and hoisting his flag on board the *Royal Sovereign* of 100 guns, soon raised his professional reputation to a very high point. When cruising off Brest in June, 1795, with a squadron of five men-of-war and two frigates, he fell in with a French fleet of twelve men-of-war and twelve frigates, under Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse. The English squadron, being over-matched in sailing power as well as in force, was in imminent danger of being taken or destroyed, when Cornwallis by a bold and skilful manœuvre which completely deceived his antagonist, checked the enemy's onset, and secured for the English vessels an unmolested retreat to Plymouth. It would appear from a letter of congratulation from Lord Howe, dated June 30, that Admiral Cornwallis, with the modest reticence habitual to him when his own credit was concerned, did less than justice in his official report to his personal share in this action. But when the full particulars became known, public approval of his conduct was loud and universal. Congratulations poured in on him from all quarters. Lord Cornwallis wrote from Warley camp that his conduct in this *rencontre* would do him more honour "than ten ordinary victories with equal or superior force." The Bishop of Lichfield informed him that, "at the birth-day the Queen enquired much after you, and was very civil about you." Sir Charles Middleton wrote that the Admiralty proposed to "bind up his journal separate, to be kept as a model of professional conduct." Wesley Pole, second of the five distinguished sons of the first Earl of Mornington, and who as a naval officer held fame so cheap as to quit Cornwallis's ship in 1780, at the very crisis of the war with France, on succeeding to an Irish estate, not only wrote a most affectionate letter full of gratitude for past kindness, but wept for joy when hearing and repeating everywhere the praises of his old commander. And when Parliament met in November, the speaker, Mr. Addington, conveyed to him "the high and unanimous sense entertained by the House of Commons" of his "judicious and gallant conduct."

Admiral Cornwallis had now proved his capacity for high com-

mand. The greatest employments, the most splendid achievements, seemed to be fairly within his grasp. But during the five years that elapsed between the beginning of 1796 and the beginning of 1801, a most eventful period of that war, and, as regards British exploits, one of the most brilliant in naval annals, he disappears altogether from the scene. Nor does this collection of letters give us the slightest hint as to the cause of his professional eclipse. On turning, however, to James's "*Naval History*," we learn that Admiral Cornwallis was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies in February, 1796. Going out in charge of a convoy, his flag-ship, the *Royal Sovereign*, suffered damage by colliding with another vessel; and he returned to England in her for repairs, leaving the convoy to pursue its course. The Admiralty sent him orders to embark at once in the *Astræa* frigate, and rejoin the convoy; but he excused himself from obeying by pleading that the state of his health could not endure the discomfort of a frigate. He was thereupon tried by court martial for disobedience of orders, and, although acquitted on this charge, was censured by the Court for leaving his convoy. Under a sense of harsh treatment by the Admiralty he tendered his resignation, which was immediately accepted; and during the remaining years of Mr. Pitt's first administration he obtained no further employment. This authentic account of an unfortunate conflict with authority leaves much room for conjecture. It was only natural that Admiral Cornwallis should dislike being despatched for the third or fourth time to the West Indies, particularly as service on that station no longer afforded much prospect of additional laurels to compensate for an unhealthy climate and other depressing conditions. There are indications in letters addressed to him of his being of a gouty habit, of somewhat irritable temper, with a disposition to feel aggrieved by even legitimate control which crossed his own plans. And the British navy at that time contained so many famous captains, eagerly competing for employment, that the Admiralty could afford to shelve a contumacious officer, however distinguished, as a lesson of discipline to others. These various circumstances might be suggested in explanation of an offence which was visited by such severe punishment. On the other hand, we find Lord Cornwallis deploring to Colonel Ross, in a letter dated March 18, 1796,* the conduct on this occasion of his brother William, who showed himself so wrong-headed, so warped by absurd suspicions of the Admiralty, as to have become incapable of listening to rational argument. It appears also from another letter written four days later that the Marquis, although a most important member of the Cabinet as the highest authority among the British generals of the time on military operations, had interposed in vain with his colleague Lord Spencer to prevent a court martial, from which he feared the worst consequences for his brother. We learn from the same source that the real cause of Admiral Cornwallis's refusal to sail in the *Astræa* frigate was a disinclination to be separated from Captain Whitby, his flag-Captain, whom he afterwards made his heir.

Of this long period of forced inaction the collection tells us little.

* *Cornwallis Correspondence.*

There are a few letters from the Bishop's daughter, Elizabeth Cornwallis, to her uncle, generally bright and cheerful, though clouded by a serious disappointment of her own. A gloomy letter from Lord Nelson at Palermo, dated January 31, 1799, reveals a mind sunk in deep despondency. Fame, rank, and wealth have failed to bring him happiness. A letter of Lord Cornwallis written from Dublin in June, 1800, expressing sanguine hopes as to the effect of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, affords another illustration of the vanity of human wishes. When the Addington administration was formed in February, 1801, Lord St. Vincent became First Lord of the Admiralty, and recalled William Cornwallis, now full admiral, to active service as Commander-in-Chief of the Channel fleet. The First Consul's project of an invasion of England, and his efforts to infuse spirit into French admirals, now demoralised by constant defeat, seemed likely to afford Cornwallis an opportunity of winning a great battle. Lord St. Vincent wrote to him at the end of March, 1801 :—"On combining the intelligence from every quarter, I do in my conscience believe you will have the honour and happiness of finishing the war by a glorious achievement." This expectation was not fulfilled.

The service of the Channel fleet during the spring and summer of 1801 was confined to the hard and tedious task of blockading the combined naval squadrons of France and Spain in Brest harbour. Lord Hood, now enjoying well-earned repose as Governor of Greenwich Hospital, wrote towards the end of August severely criticising Lord Nelson's abortive attack on the Boulogne flotilla, and urging Cornwallis to draw off from the French coast in order to lure the enemy out, and thus gain for himself the opportunity of winning a decisive battle. This was the stratagem afterwards practised by Nelson in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, and which resulted in the victory of Trafalgar.

But the French fleet at Brest was neither in a condition nor in a disposition to fight. It lay in inglorious security within the defences of the port until preliminaries of peace, signed in London on October 1, put an end to hostilities with France, Spain and Holland. Lord Cornwallis, having been appointed to represent England in the final negotiations at Amiens, wrote to the admiral from Paris on November 10 that, being convinced of the necessity of making peace, "he did not feel himself at liberty to refuse the mission when it was pressed upon him, although nothing could be more disagreeable to him."

During his short term of service in 1801 Admiral Cornwallis's relations with the Admiralty had been of the most cordial character. Lord St. Vincent's letters to him evince unbounded confidence ; and when the peace of Amiens came to an end in 1803, he was called on to resume his command, now become the most important, perhaps, under the British Crown. For no sooner had Mr. Addington's administration rejected Bonaparte's proposal to refer the ultimatum presented by Lord Whitworth at Paris to the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia, than the First Consul set to work with all the powers of his mind and all the resources at his command to bring his conflict with England to a decisive issue by transporting 150,000

French troops across the British channel to the coast of Kent. The astonishing energy he threw into this project, the magnitude of his preparations, the various experiments by which they were tested, the minute care bestowed on every essential detail, appear to have been little known to English ministers of that time. They have indeed only come to light by the publication of his confidential notes to the French Minister of Marine.* A vast flotilla of gun-boats, gun-brigs, and sloops were built, armed, and equipped under his supervision at convenient points along the whole coastline from the mouth of the Loire to that of the Scheldt. Favoured by night, by fogs, by stormy weather, and low tides, detachment after detachment of these vessels crept along the shore, and rounded headlands until, in spite of the efforts of British cruisers, more than 2,000 of them, carrying upwards of 3,000 pieces of artillery, were assembled in four ports—at Ambleteuse, Vimereux, Boulogne, and Etaples, scooped out with immense labour to receive them, and defended by forts and powerful batteries of cannon. At the same time, in order to reduce the risks of the passage to the lowest possible point, he planned various combin tions which, by surprise and a superiority of force, might give a French fleet command of the Channel for thirty-six hours. These plans were deferred or modified repeatedly in the course of the years 1803 and 1804, in consequence of a deficiency in the means of equipping, and more particularly of manning, naval squadrons blockaded in the French ports; and of the prudence or timidity of French admirals, in nearly all of whom long ill-success or inexperience had quenched every spark of enterprise.

During this time Admiral Cornwallis, in command of an inferior force, kept watch over the principal naval division of the enemy at Brest with an unwearied vigilance which seems to have raised him high in public favour. His brother the Marquis wrote on January 9, 1804: "You are the most popular man in England. It is no very unpleasing sensation for a man to know that his conduct is universally approved and admired." Other letters from Nelson and Collingwood testify warmly to the good will and generosity which marked Cornwallis's relations with those famous seamen.

When Mr. Pitt returned to office in 1804, Lord Melville succeeded Lord St. Vincent as First Lord of the Admiralty. This change did not affect Cornwallis's position, or his cordial and confidential relations with his official chief. But no exciting incident occurred during all that year to relieve the monotony of his harrassing employment. On January 3, 1805, his eldest brother wrote that, yielding to appeals from the Ministry and the Court of Directors, and to a desire to benefit his family, he had consented to return to India as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. In the same year came the crisis of the maritime war. Bonaparte, now Emperor of the French, saw another European coalition against France looming on the political horizon, and determined to finish his conflict with England before this new war-cloud had time to gather and burst. In 1804 Spain had joined France, and placed the wrecks of her navy at his disposal. In the principal ports, French and Spanish,

* "Consulate and Empire," by M. Thiers.

from Toulon to Brest, more than sixty ships of the line and a large number of frigates lay inactive in various stages of equipment. Of these armaments the most numerous and efficient were assembled at Brest and Toulon. All were closely beleaguered by the English; but in spring equinoctial gales frequently dispersed blockading fleets, and dense fogs sometimes baffled the closest scrutiny. It was in accordance with these various circumstances that Napoleon shaped his final plan for capturing the Channel. Early in the year secret orders were sent from Paris to the naval commanders at the various French and Spanish ports to leave them as opportunity offered, and sail for Martinique in the West Indies, as a common *rendezvous*. It was expected that these expeditions would not only train and season the raw French and Spanish crews, but draw English fleets away from Europe, for the defence of trade and territories scattered over the world, and left almost without protection. When those various naval detachments, united at Martinique under one command, had cruised for forty days in American waters in order to effect these purposes, then by Napoleon's orders they were to return with all speed to sweep the English channel clear for the passage of the "army of England" encamped on the heights of Boulogne. It was the same army that a little later made Bonaparte master of continental Europe, at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland. Early in March Admiral Missiessy led the way from Rochefort with a few ships of war, made prizes of British merchantmen, and partly conquered Dominica. At the end of the same month, the *mistral* having blown Nelson from Toulon, Admiral Villeneuve escaped from that port, formed a junction with a Spanish fleet commanded by Admiral Gravina at Cadiz, and, capturing a British convoy on his way, reached Martinique with twenty ships of the line and seven frigates. But neither Ganteaume commanding at Brest nor the Admiral in charge at Ferrol found an opportunity during the spring of evading the observation of his English opponent. Early in May Napoleon sent fresh orders to Villeneuve to return with all the force he could muster, liberate, at all costs, the fleets shut up in Ferrol and Brest, and having overwhelmed Cornwallis, take possession of the Channel. In the meantime Nelson had pursued the Toulon squadron with only nine ships of the line. When Villeneuve heard of the arrival at Barbadoes of the great antagonist, of whom he lived in perpetual terror, he set sail for Europe with a precipitation which flung away every advantage moral or material his fleet had gained by its voyage. Arriving before Ferrol on July 22, he encountered the blockading squadron of Sir Robert Calder, much inferior to his own in strength, and after a confused battle in a fog, he succeeded in entering the port with a loss of two Spanish vessels, which Calder carried off in his retreat. He found at Ferrol a reinforcement of eleven French and Spanish ships of the line, well manned and equipped. But the late action so discouraged him that many days passed before he plucked up resolution to proceed further, under the spur of vigorous remonstrances from Count Lauriston, an Imperial aide-de-camp. On the sea all his misgivings returned; and being overcome by an apprehension that Nelson, as well as Calder, might have joined

Cornwallis, he turned his back to the foe and steered south for Cadiz. As a matter of fact, Nelson, worn out by fatigue, had returned to England for a short rest. Cornwallis, after waiting some time for the approach of his enemy, had sent back Calder, with half the ships at his disposal, to resume the blockade of Ferrol. And if Villeneuve had carried out Napoleon's orders he might, according to French official reports, have brought thirty-five ships of the line to encounter eighteen retained by Cornwallis, and been joined by twenty-one other ships of the line, which Admiral Ganteaume, forewarned from Paris, ranged for battle in Brest roads. On the other hand, it appears from a letter dated August 8, from Lord Barham, now at the head of the Admiralty, that the British government had become fully aware of Napoleon's design, and made every effort to increase its naval force in the Channel. From which it may be inferred that however much Cornwallis might have been out-numbered in a first attack before Brest, he had powerful reserves to fall back upon. Had the French navy still possessed an Admiral of the type of Duquesne or Tourville, which seemed to have perished with the old monarchy, the Channel, in August, 1805, would probably have been the scene of a conflict in comparison with which the great fight against the Spanish Armada, was mere child's play. When Napoleon at Boulogne became assured towards the end of August of Villeneuve's retreat, he moved off his army to the Rhine with a secrecy and celerity which took the coalition completely by surprise, and gave him a decisive advantage at the very opening of the Continental campaign. But with the march of the "army of England" to Ulm and Austerlitz, the danger of a French invasion of England passed away.

According to all antecedent probability, and so far as the intentions of both belligerents could determine events, the glorious task of bringing the maritime war to an end should have fallen to Admiral Cornwallis. Circumstances, in great measure fortuitous, transferred it to Lord Nelson. Napoleon, in his first bursts of anger at the failure of a project so long announced and so ardently pursued, called Villeneuve coward and traitor. Before departing for Germany in September, he gave orders for superseding the ill-fated Admiral in the command of the Mediterranean fleet. In September Lord Nelson returned to the Straits with the most formidable armament he ever commanded. But Villeneuve, stung to desperation by his impending disgrace, now sought a battle in vindication of his personal courage, as eagerly as he had avoided one when the possibility of a great national enterprise depended on his obeying explicit and repeated orders. He went forth in search of his dreaded enemy, to find his worst presentiments of defeat amply verified at Trafalgar. Of this great victory, of Nelson's death, and of the storm that scattered the victorious fleet, Admiral Collingwood sent an account to Cornwallis, dated October 26. The naval war on any large scale was now over. Napoleon had already ordered his Brest fleet to be broken up into small sections, and used in separate expeditions for the destruction of English trade.

Early in the year 1806 particulars of the last illness and death of his brother, the Governor-General of India, were communicated

to Admiral Cornwallis by Captain John Gore, writing from the *Medusa* at sea, on January 23. "Great Britain," the letter concludes, "will long mourn the loss of her most brilliant ornament, and the world at large one of its best men." This sentence probably embodies the national sentiment of the time. The news of Lord Cornwallis's sudden death carried with it throughout England a sense of public calamity. In a later letter of condolence, dated February 10, Lord Hood calls him "the greatest statesman and the greatest general any country could ever boast." Here we have the exaggeration of personal regard. Lord Cornwallis possessed, in rare combination, qualities and talents which generally command success both in government and in war. When we consider the length, variety, and uniform merit of his services, in positions, civil and military, of the highest responsibility, we must regard him as one of the most distinguished figures of what is, perhaps, the most eventful period of English history. No one, however, would now call him the first, or even second, of English generals, still less of English statesmen. Political measures for which he was more or less responsible, and which in his own day were held to be clear titles to enduring fame, such as the land settlement of Bengal, have since been condemned as enormous blunders. But even the few letters of his which have been preserved in this collection suffice to show that, in addition to mental powers of a high order, he possessed moral attributes, a noble, humane, and generous spirit, unselfish devotion to duty, modesty and fortitude in good and evil fortune, which more than mere intellectual superiority make a man great, an honour to his country and an ornament of its public life. In his virtues and in the range of his abilities he bore no small resemblance to his more famous antagonist, George Washington.

Two very interesting letters from Charlotte Nugent, wife of Admiral Nugent, dated respectively January 23 and May 4, 1806, give details of the last illness and death of Mr. Pitt and of Lord Melville's trial before the House of Lords.

The accession to office of the Coalition Ministry of Fox and Grenville had a decidedly adverse influence on Admiral Cornwallis's fortunes. The first intimation of his supersession in the command of the Channel fleet came to him from his successor, Lord St. Vincent. On February 8, the Earl wrote that, under a sense of ill usage from Mr. Pitt, he had spurned an offer of this command from the late Ministry; but that he felt it an imperious duty to obey a similar call now made on him, "with only one repugnance, which arises out of the high respect I have for you . . . for no one regards you more sincerely than I." In a second letter, dated February 10, St. Vincent assured his friend that "a most favourable and honourable statement of your meritorious service will be made to his Majesty." This statement, if made, proved to be only a barren compliment. No mark of royal favour appears to have graced the Admiral's enforced and final retirement from active service. Charles Grey, now First Lord of the Admiralty, informed him in civil terms of Lord St. Vincent's appointment, and afterwards made a few naval promotions on his recommendation. This was all; and surely but shabby treatment at the close of a long and distinguished

career. Ten years later, on the conclusion of a general peace, Lord Liverpool's ministry, as we learn, did something to repair the neglect of the Whigs by obtaining for Cornwallis the decoration of G.C.B. On the last years of the admiral's life this collection of letters throws little light. There is a complete blank from February, 1807, to June, 1811. Nearly all subsequent letters are from the Bishop of Lichfield. They give us interesting sketches and reminiscences of well-known persons and places, but tell us nothing of the admiral himself, not even of his death in 1819.

The Bishop survived till 1824, having succeeded his nephew as fourth Earl Cornwallis in the preceding year.

As may have been gathered from foregoing remarks, readers expecting to find in this collection of letters anything even approaching to a biographical sketch of Admiral Cornwallis will be disappointed. It does not contain a line written by himself. He is indeed little more than a shadow for us. That he was a man whose qualities won for him the love of kinsfolk and friends, the admiration and respect of many of the ablest naval commanders and most heroic spirits of the age, the confidence of successive naval ministers, is abundantly evident. But we miss altogether the revelations of mind and character, of motives which shape conduct, of personal habits, opinions, and pursuits; we miss the vivid descriptions and frank judgments of contemporary persons and events only to be found in a man's familiar letters, and which make him live for us again in his proper atmosphere and surroundings. Nearly all his life, apart from periods passed on active service, is left in complete obscurity. The professional record itself is broken by long, sometimes perplexing, gaps; and it leaves on the mind of the reader a sense of incompleteness, and even of failure, inasmuch as it necessarily omits those crowning achievements and honours of which early exploits and rapid advancement gave promise, and which fell to competitors more fortunate, but not of higher desert.

Admiral Cornwallis appears to have been a favourite with British sailors. We are told that they called him among themselves "Blue Billy" and "Billy-go-Tight." Naval biographers ascribe those *soubriquets* to the false suggestions of a jovial presence, a complexion inclining to purple. They insist on the Admiral's exemplary sobriety. We find Lord Howe, also, in a letter dated November 17, 1785, complimenting him on being "a pattern of self-denial." But sobriety and self-denial are terms which vary in signification as manners change. That was a time when many worthy people who would regard the name of drunkard as opprobious seem to have thought intoxication a social duty on festive occasions. It is said to be on record that Pitt and Dundas, halting for dinner at an inn on their way to Walmer, consumed five bottles of port at the sitting. A drinking bout of this kind, however much it might discredit a prime minister of our own time, cast no slur then, violated no social canon. And there is a passage in the *Cornwallis Correspondence* which leads one to suspect that the playful satire of the sea-dogs may not have been altogether unwarranted. It occurs in a letter from Lord Cornwallis to Colonel Ross, dated July 12, 1802, on the

subject of a contest for the borough of Eye, and runs as follows:—
"The Admiral got very drunk at the election, and the next day insisted on my steward taking £500 towards defraying the election. Without having given a vote in the House of Commons for many years past, and, perhaps, never intending to give one again, no youth of one and twenty was ever more pleased at coming into Parliament. What unaccountable creatures we are."

This anecdote, somehow, does not diminish one's regret that this collection contains no letter written by "Blue Billy" himself.

WALTER FITZPATRICK.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF

MISS M. EYRE MATCHAM,

OF

NEWHOUSE, SALISBURY.

I.—GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE.

LORD STANHOPE to GEORGE BUBB, at Madrid.

[1717 ?], July 25. London.—"We have both had the luck we could have wish'd for, I have had the happyness to receive your letters, and find by them that you have escap'd the trouble of mine. Your last gave me some hopes of seeing you here this winter, but I am since inform'd that I must be some time longer without that satisfaction. How far your publick spirit may prevail I can't tell, and make you prefer your country's service to any other consideration, but setting that motive aside, I believe you would not be unwilling to see London again, nor like it the worse for coming from Madrid; the gravity and reservedness of the one may be very good preparatives towards tasting the other.

"If you have a great turn to politicks, you would find here ample matter for the exercise of that talent. Never were more speculations, and to less purpose than now, for the mistery of State is become like that of godlyness, ineffable and incomprehensible, and has likewise the same good luck of being thought the finer for not being understood.

"As for the gay part of the town, you would find it much more flourishing than you left it. Balls, assemblys, and masquerades have taken place of dull formall visiting days, and the women are become much more the agreeable trifles they were design'd.

"I can't ommitt telling you that punns are extreamly in vogue, and the licence very great. The variation of three or four letters in a word of six breaks no squares, insomuch that an indifferent punster may make a very good figure in the best companys.

"I know I should not have ended this letter without making you some speeches, but Mr. Methuen has promis'd to do that for me, and I willingly accepted of his offer. 'Tis always a difficult task, but to me it would be perticularly so, to express with how much respect and sincerity, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, Stanhope." *Holograph.*

Endorsed :—"Lord Stanhope to Mr. Bubb, [rec.] the 21st n.s. August, 1716"; *but in* 1716 *Stanhope was not a peer, and had left London on July* 9 *for Hanover.*

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE BYNG to GEORGE DODINGTON [senior.]

1720, March 12. N.S. Naples.—"The packets from London of the first of February brought me three sheats more of your kind remembrance of me. I am much obliged by your great goodness and frindship for me, which now I may hope soon in person to acknowledg, for I think wee now seem to be allmost at the end of the war, this way at least.

"The very bad weather wee have at present keeps me from getting off from this place, but the very first slatch carries me over to Sicily, where on my arivall wee shall, I think, come to a cesation of armes. All that relates to Italie and Mediteranean I think is left to me to settle with the powers concern'd this way, and if I have the good chance to do what shall be thought reasonable and right, I shall think myself happielie got out of an affair that has given me some care. To this day I am so fortunate to have his Majesty's aprovall of all I have don, and hope I shall not fall under sensure, even of my enimies. But let that be as it will, I can at present aquaint you with nothing new from this place; you will know sooner then I what is transacted at Pariss, &c. I wish you gentlemen of the House of Commons had come to some resolution what shoud have been don with Gibraltar before the Quadruple Alliance was signed. I fear that place will beget uneassieness and cost more then it is worth. I mean in another way, too, by bringing us under difficulties that may embroyl —, for my own part am resolved (as it is not mentioned in the Quadruple Alliance) not to entangle myself with it in any way, more then what relates to a forbareance from hostillities, untill I shall have his Majesty's express command. But I wont trouble you with more on that subject at this time, beeing wholie intent on what I have allredie in command. Preserve me, my dear Mr. Doddington, in your esteem as a man that has all the value and respect for you that a gratefull heart can pay for the thousand frindships bestow'd."

Postscript.—"It rejoyces my heart to hear my good Lord Orford is like to do well againe, and that I may hope to pay my dutty and service to him still." *Holograph.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1720, April 12. N.S. *Barfleur*, at Traponia.—"I have but just time to tell you that I have received your letter of the latter end of Feabruary, and I belive every packet you have sent to me, which will make a book that I shall leave my son, wherin he will see the greatest marks of frindship and affection that can be found in a man, but hardly to be creditted of the vile age wee live in. I must own though your letters ever give me great pleasure, yet thay bring pain to me too, when you tell me of the attacks made by Nature on my worthie Lord Orford and yourself, and when you wrote the last storie of our old frind Cornwall, and the malancholly seane between my Lord Orford and you on that occation, it even meted (*sic*) me into womanish tears, but on recovering myself unto man againe I reflet on the Bedfords motto,* and must prepair to submit, and

* "Che sara, sara."

tho of all things your letters are pleasing to me on every other subject, yet woud not purchace that happyness at the expence of giveing you disorder, which I fear so much writeing occations, therfore let me conjure you not to hazzard the least uneassieness through your goodness to me, and yet I woud gladly hear from you too, therfore order Corbet to come to you now and then and make him write what you intend to favour me with. I think him very honest, and very secret and true, though after a storie you told me by your letter I received this day of our aquaintance of Sumerse House one dos not know who to repose trust in.

"I am wonderfully obliged for your advice about the affair of the hospital, which Corbet gave me notice off, and I did resolve, as I do still, not to take any notice of it untill I come home, and then shall not give myself trouble about it more then to let some men know what may be reasonable on that occation, and if I shall think it proper even the King himself what was promiss'd me in his name, and though I dont speak anything but English, yet shall find a way to do that plainly if I am obliged to it. God send me well through the difficult task I have at present on my hands (hetherto all I have transacted has met with his Majesty's approbation), and as I have only his service at heart at present so wont dout of his goodness in accepting my endeavours. If I end well what I have in charge, which I think must soon be, I shall have hope to have leave to go home, where I will be made eassie one way or other, and let the more able persons serve their prince or contrie better and more faithfully then I have don, and with lesser self-interest if thay please.

"I find the little fateage and sleep I meet with wares me apace. If I am to see any quiet days thay must be soon; this maner of liveing cannot hold much longer with the man that vows he has all the gratefull sence (that he is capable of beeing master of) of the many affectionate frindships and goodness you have ever had for me, which revets me eternaly to you, and I hope will keep to the last houer of my life."

Postscript.—"Pray make my service acceptable to Mr. Doddington the younger." *Holograph.*

[Edward Russell] Lord Orford to George [Bubb] Dodington.

1721, June 27. Hill.—"Itt is with the utmost truble, deare Mr. Dodington, that I am forced to send you word, the goute has attacked me in the other foot allsow; on one I can hardly put on a cut shoe, the other I am forced to putt on a great shoe, soe that I am unable to obaye your commands in going to the Prince; very possible I shoud not had an answer to my mind, but it woud a giving me the pleasure of leting you see how reddy I am and allwes will bee to obeye your commands."

Postscript.—"I returne you abundance of thanks for the favor of your leter last night." *Holograph.**

* In the above four letters the original spelling is retained.

ROBERT WALPOLE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1723, October 10. Whitehall.—"You do me but justice in beleiving I did not want to be reminded of my engagements to you, for altho' the new vacancy that has happened may contribute to make us easy with regard to other people, what concerns you was before as much determined as 'tis in my power to determine it, and I question not but upon the King's return you will immediately find the good effects of it.

"I suppose Paul [Methuen ?] is with you, and as he is stout, I beg he will be merciful, and whatever havock he makes with the game abroad, I hope he will not be unconscionable in his recreations within doors." *Signed.*

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL AND GREENWICH to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1726, July 27. Inverary.—"I have received the favour of your letter, and am most thankful for the friendly part you have been pleased to take in what so nearly concerns me, and shall ever acknowledge the obligation as an honest man ought to do.

"I find by a letter an express brought me from Will Stuart, that Sir Robert has assisted me with great honour upon this occasion, and that the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Townsend have sincerely contributed their share of interest to support me. If all this should fail I am a little unfortunate, but the pleasure I enjoy in the friendship of those I esteem, with the consciousness of having deserved success, will more than balance the disappointment." *Signed.*

JOHN SCROPE [SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY] to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1726, September 15 ? *].—"No business hath been done at the Treasury since you was there till yesterday, when most of the papers you had signed were dispatched, with these I have the honour to transmit to you.

"The governor [Walpole] is extremely pleased with his success at New Park. The King dined Monday at the little house at Richmond, ten persons were at the table—viz., the Lords Hartford, Walgrave, Duke of Newcastle, Sir R. Walpole, Colonel Negus, Deimar, and some other foreigners, and another English lord who's names I have forgot. His Majesty was in very good humour, and drank the healths of the company in a large glass of his landlord's ale.

"William Steuart expects to succeed the Duke of Portland, tho he says the office is not honestly worth above 12,000*l.* per annum. Spotswood pretends the government hath been offered to him, but he chooses rather to return to Virginia.

"Your servant Fane is under some perplexity, the governant having put him out of conceit with matrimony, and Mr. Pitt having varied his first proposal very much. This makes him desire to get out of the scrape as soon as he can with honour.

"Sir Ch. Turner is in good health, full of projects, in which he

* Date of receipt.

meets with some rubs, which is all the contention we are at present apprehensive of . . . ."

Postscript.—"By what I now hear, I guess Mr. Stuart will be disappointed of his government."

JOHN SCROPE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1726, September 20.—" . . . Both Mr. Fane and I are extremely obliged to you for the regard you have for him, and for the trouble you have given yourself in enquiring about Mr. Pitt. What you have heard of Sam. Pitt is certainly true; Fane was concerned in the Court of Chancery in the dispute about old Pitt, where Sam. Pitt owned that he had forty thousand pounds stock of his uncle's in his name; but the father of the young lady is William Pitt, the son of a brother that was older then Sam. Pitt's father, and who might probably get the custody of his uncle if he desired it.

"I believe I mistoke in the account I gave you of the government of Jamaica; Steuart told me it was but 12,000*l.* per annum, not 1,200*l.* How it is to be disposed of I dont know.

"Poyntz hath carried the speaker in the Assembly to the great satisfaction of his masters. I wish we dont, like Waller, spend more money to get one borough thann would buy half a score.

"Though I have dined at Chelsea, and been there several times, I have not had the governor alone since you went hence. I am to be with him to-morrow, when I will try what he will do about the Irish affair."

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, October 4.—" . . . You will find by the prints that the King was yesterday at New Park; he afterwards dined at the Governor's at Richmond without invitation, and was in very good humour.

"I hear Lord Chesterfield is brought into good humour, and if your learned friend the serjeant continues in the temper I left him last week, our Master and he will soon meet. I am extremely sorry to find by the letter which I had the honour to receive from you by Richards that you are so much tired and ill.

"A county election is a frightful thing. The Chancellor [of Exchequer, *i.e.*, Walpole] seemed to be pleased at your having declared, but he was in so much haste that he said nothing more of your letter."

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

[1726].—"An epistle to Sir Robert W——le, on behalf of the author of a preceeding one."

Begins :—

"Rare gifted W——le, didst thou condescend
To read th' Epistle of thy scribling friend."

Ends :—

"But since no art can make a counter pass,
Or add the weight of gold to mimick brass.
Let him no more debase a name like thine

Nor stamp thy image on his worthless coin.
Just praise to thee if e'er the Muses give,
If e'er in equal verse thy actions live,
Pope must improve or Addison revive."

Endorsed :—"To Sir Robert Walpole, ridiculing Mr. Dodington's epistle to him." 80 *lines. A parody on the Original.*

The Earl of Strafford to George Dodington.

[1728–9, February 20]. Thursday.—"I did myself the honour to wait on you yesterday, but was not so happy to find you at home, therefore take the liberty to trouble you with this to beg the favour of you to call upon the proper officers of the Treasury to lay before you the warrants of about a thousand pounds due to me for surplusage, having received little or nothing of my post-fines for these two years last past, but what I received last year (after a long solicitation) out of the Treasury, though there are two Acts of Parliament in my favour directing prompt payment. I have spoke to Sir Robert Walpole, who has promised me twice that as my pretensions is a matter of right, as soon as the warrants are laid before him he will be sure to dispatch them, but the difficulty is, it seems, to get those warrants lain before you, and unless (as I am informed) some of you lords will call for those warrants they will be delayed, though my deputy is every day soliciting at the Treasury to get them done. . . . It is a great imposition on me, and contrary to the express words of my grant from King William, that I am obliged to come to the Treasury for my money, which should be paid me by the sheriffs, and the Treasury ought to have a call on me for 2,270*l.*, the reserved rent of the crown; but they over-rule my legal right in the Exchequer by that tyrant custom, which has only proceeded from the negligence of my deputy whilst I was abroad, and the troubles I have met with since at home. Few in England have a better right to their estates then I have to this, most having come from grants from the crown one time or other.

"I have not that acquaintance with Sir Robert Walpole as I have with you, to explain the difficulties I lie under, for what by double and extravagant fees this grant, which was meant, and was at first a benefit to me, now brings me in but very little, and may be a prejudice instead of an advantage to my family, being, whether I receive anything or no, I am obliged to pay the reserved rent to the crown of 2,270*l.* a year during the continuation of my lease, which is for about thirty years to come.

"You encouraged me last year to give you this trouble annually whilst you are in the Treasury, which must plead my excuse for so long a scrawl." *Holograph.*

Endorsed with date.

The Earl of Tankerville to George Dodington.

1729[-30], January 1. Up Park.—Requesting his interest on behalf of one Mr. Williams, who desires a place in the Customs. *Signed.*

The Earl of Strafford to George Dodington.

1729[–30], January 24.—To save you the trouble of a soliciting visit, give me leave to desire by this the favour of you to call for the warrants for the surplusage of my post-fines, which will be ready to be laid before you Tuesday, which I think is the day of your meeting. You are sensible, sir, that the matter is to travel down to the Exchequer, and to take a great and expensive round before it comes back for your ordering the money.

"After I had got the Attorney-General's opinion, and that of several other counsel, that the disbursements of the sheriffs ought not to be thrown on the post-fines, as they are, and had been with Mr. Fortescue to represent that to Sir Robert Walpole, I was in hopes I should have received the money myself from the sheriffs, as I have right to do, both by my patent and several Acts of Parliament subsequent to my grant, but I find I am still obliged to continue a solicitor to get my own legal money back again, and to beg I may not be delayed and injured in my property, for now there is 908*l.* odd money due to me for almost all the product of the post-fines for last year, after my rent deducted to the crown, so that at present I am, by reason of fees, &c., a good deal of money out of pocket, and must be much more before I get my own, for if I had received it as I have right to do from the sheriffs, all the fees and expenses of the Treasury had been saved, besides the vexation of being obliged to be so often troublesome to you, which you have hitherto received in so obliging a manner, as has made it much easier to me." *Holograph.*

The Same to the Same.

1729[–30], February 20.—"Having done what I desired of you, you might naturally think you were free from further trouble, but you must bear this one more, which is the sincere acknowledgment of my obligation to you, for though it is a matter of right which cant be denied me, yet till this year that I wholly left it to you, I met with so many delays and puts off that it made it disagreeable to me; but your handsome way of doing it, with such dispatch, doubles the obligation. I really, for your sake, wish you may never have occasion for my service, but if ever you have, pray be assured, as I shall never forget the obligation so you shall always find me ready and pleased to serve and show you," &c. *Holograph. Seal of arms in Garter.*

James Thomson to George Dodington.

1730, October 24. Saturday.—"I ought, ere now, to have acknowledged the honour of yours, but must own myself at a loss how to make a suitable return to the fine spirit and humanity of such an agreeable letter. The kind advice and encouragement it gives me, together with the many frank and unsolicited obligations I lie under to your goodness, have made an impression on my heart which I shall always feel with a particular delight, in whatever part of the world and circumstance of life I am.

"What you observe concerning the pursuit of poetry, when one is so far engaged in it as I am, is certainly just. Besides, let him quit it who can, *et erit mihi*—I cannot say *magnus Apollo*, but something as great. A true genius, like light, must be beaming forth, and a false one is an incurable disease. One would not, however, climb Parnassus, any more than your mortal hills, to fix for ever on the barren top. No, it is some little, dear retirement in the plain below that gives the right relish to the prospect, which, without that, is nothing but enchantment, and, though pleasing for some time, yet, at last, leaves us in a desert. The great fat doctor at Bath told me that poets should be kept poor, the more to actuate their genius. This is like the cruel custom of putting a bird's eyes out that it may sing the sweeter; but surely they sing sweetest amidst the luxuriant woods while the full spring blows around them.

"Travelling has been long my fondest wish, for the very purpose you recommend—the storing one's imagination with ideas of all-beautiful, all-great, and all-perfect Nature. These are the true *materia poetica*, the light and colours with which Fancy kindles up her whole creation, paints a sentiment, and even embodies an abstracted thought. I long to see the fields whence Virgil gathered his immortal honey, and to tread the same ground where men have thought and acted so greatly! If it does not give, it must at least awaken, somewhat of the same spirit But not to travel entirely like a poet, I resolve not to neglect the more prosaic advantages of it; for it is no less my ambition to be capable of serving my country in an active, than in a contemplative, way.

"At my times of leisure abroad I think of attempting another tragedy, and on a story more addressed to common passions than that of Sophonisba. People nowadays must have something like themselves, and a public-spirited monster can never concern them.

"If anything could make me capable of an epic performance it would be your favourable opinion in thinking me so. But, as you justly observe, that must be the work of years, and one in an epic situation to execute it. My heart both trembles with diffidence and burns with ardour at the thought. The story of Timoleon, as to the subject matter of it, is certainly a fine one; but an author (I think) owes the scene of an epic action to his own country; and besides, Timoleon admits of no machinery, except it be that of the heathen gods, which will not do at this time of day. I hope hereafter to have the direction of your taste in these affairs, and in the meantime will endeavour to cultivate those ideas and sentiments, and in some degree to gather that knowledge which are necessary to such an undertaking.

"Should the scenes and climates through which I pass inspire me with any poetry, it will naturally have recourse to you. But to hire a return from Young or Stubbs were a kind of poetical simony, especially when you yourself possess such a large portion of the spirit.

"I shall be very proud of being mentioned by you to any you may think it proper to mention me to at Paris, whither we go first, and in about two weeks hence. Perhaps I may have an opportunity of paying my respects to you at London before then." *Holograph.*

Leonard Welsted to George Dodington.

1730, November 14. The Tower.—I cannot but be in fear that I do not stand in that degree of favour with you which I had reason to hope I did, and some suspicions have occurred to me on this occasion which give me inexpressible uneasiness, not to say torment.

I must, therefore, beg leave to assure you, sir, conclude what you please from it, to assure you, on my honour as a gentleman, and by everything sacred, that as I have never mentioned you in conversation but with the highest respect and gratitude, so I have never writ anything that had a view to you but was perfectly honourable and well intended. There is a line in a late poem—viz., the *One Epistle*, which I presume you may have seen, that carries in it a slight raillery upon Dr. Young;* but this was sincerely without my approbation, and I was overborne in it, as a thing of that nature, that could not well give offence to him or any one else; and as for the first *Ode of Horace*, which I had the honour to address to you, I hope it is not in the heart of man to conceive that I foresaw and wilfully designed the ridicule, which I found, with grief, followed upon it, or that I could be guilty of such low and wretched disingenuity and impertinence. I am indeed utterly incapable of every thing of this sort, and I wish you, sir, nothing worse than that the whole world may always have the same sentiments of esteem towards you that I have, and speak of you at all times as I do, and when they write in your praise, be more happy in the way of doing it than I was.

"It concerns me not at all how much lower I may be in your estimation as a writer than Mr. Thomson, or any other person, further than seriously to reflect if I do not deserve to be so, and if you do not judge truer than other men in that regard; but, whether I may ever be so happy as to receive any mark of your patronage hereafter or not, nothing has, nothing ever will tempt me to treat ill, or lightly, or with any paltry slyness whatever, a gentleman of your character and quality, and that has laid great obligations upon me. . . .

"It would be an uncommon satisfaction to me to know if I were really acquitted in your thoughts, and this, sir, if you will please to exact so severe a thing from me, shall be the last favour I will ever request of you."

Odes to Mr. Dodington.

[1730 ?]—"An imitation of Horace, to Mr. Dodington, in acknowledgment of some favours received (*Ad Martium Censorinum*, Ode 8, liber IV.)."

Begins:—

> "Whene'er my stars shall prove so kind
> To suit my fortune to my mind,
> By presents which I'll soon bestow
> The world each friend of mine shall know."

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* *One Epistle to Mr. Pope*, written by Welsted and Moore-Smithe. The allusion to Young is as follows:—

> ——"that name which through both worlds is gone,
> "Which Dr. Young applauds and Prester John."

Ends :—

" Verses you love, those I can give,
And verses which, perhaps, may live,
T'embalm your name to future times,
At least outlast a tombstone's rhimes.
* * * *
The Pyle where Marbro' lyes inshrined,
By *Risbrack* wrought, by *Kent* designed,
But some few ages may survive
To keep his memory alive.
In Addison's immortal lines
The wondrous man for ever shines
There (when the Foe's last doom is passed),
' Calm and serene he drives the blast,
' And pleased th'Almighty's orders to perform,
' Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.' "

42 *lines. With quotations from Horace's Ode in the margin.*

1730.—" The Praises of a country life. An imitation of Horace, to the same (*Vilse rusticæ laudes Epod. II.*)."

Begins :—

" Happy the man who void of care
(As good old Lords of mannours were)
From all the plagues of money freed,
Which prodigals and misers breed,
Grows fat upon his own estate,
And never dreams of being great."

Ends :—

" When Dodington had thus expressed
How rural calm retreats are blessed,
(That Dodington whose judgement none
Disputes, who has not lost his own)
Resolved to lead a country life,
Renounce the Court—and take a wife,
This week six horses whirl him down ;
The next—he hurrys back to town ! "

119 *lines, with quotations from Horace in the margin.*

James Thomson to George Dodington.

1731, November 28. Rome.—" I will not make any apology for neglecting to do myself the honour of writing to you since we left Paris, when I may rather plead a merit in not troubling you with long scrolls of that travelling stuff of which the world is full even to loathing. We have been over the most part of France and Italy. What is remarkable and curious in that tour, you know much better than I do, though actually here on the field of staring.

" That enthusiasm I had upon me with regard to travelling goes off, I find, very fast. One may imagine fine things in reading of ancient authors, but to travel is to dissipate that vision. A great many beautiful, antique statues, where several of the fair ideas of Greece are fixed for ever in marble, and the paintings of the first masters are indeed most enchanting objects. How little however of these suffices ? How unessential are they to life ? And surely

not of that importance as to set the whole world, man, woman, and child a-gadding. I should be sorry to be Goth enough not to think them highly ornamental in life, when one can have them at home without paying for them an extravagant price; but for every one who can support it to make a trade of running abroad only to stare at them, I cannot help thinking something worse than a public folly. Instead of travelling so furiously, it were a wiser and more public-spirited thing, with part of those vast sums of money spent that way, to send people of genius for architecture, painting and sculpture, to study these arts here and to import them into England. Did they but once take root there, how they might flourish, in such a generous and wealthy country! The great architect, painter and statuary, Nature, is the same she ever was, and no doubt as profuse of beauty, proportion, lovely forms and real genius as formerly to the sunny realms of Greece, did we but study the one and exert the other. In England though, if we cannot reach the gracefully superfluous, yet I hope we will never lose the substantial, necessary and vital arts of life, such as depend on liberty, labour and all-commanding trade. For my part I, who have no taste in the least for smelling to an old musty stone, look upon these other curiosities with an eye to poetry, in regard that the sister arts reflect lights and images on one another. Now that I mention poetry, should you enquire after my muse, all that I can answer is that I believe she did not cross the Channel with me. I know not whether your gardener at Eastbury has heard anything of her among the woods there. She has not thought fit to visit me while in this once poetic land, nor do I feel the least presages that she will. But not to lengthen out a letter that has no pretence to entertain you, give me leave only to add that I can never lose the pleasing sense I have of your goodness to me, and it is a hope I must flatter myself with, your continuance of it on my return to England; to England, for whom my veneration and love, I will be vain enough to say, increase every day, even to devotion and fondness. It will not be disagreeable to you to hear that Mr. Baily and his family arrived safely here two [or] three days ago. They go this week for Naples, where I hope that from the pure air there they will reap those advantages for which they have undertaken such a fatiguing journey.

"Lord Binney [? Binning] says that you are building a house in a very fine taste at London. Then I am persuaded we shall see, not an uninhabitable whim of architecture, but a habitable house for the climate of England, where usefulness and convenience support beauty, and beauty dignifies usefulness and convenience. If there is anything in which I can serve you here, or whereever I am, you will do me the greatest pleasure in the world by laying your commands on him who is, &c." *Holograph.*

My address is *Chez Messieurs Rizzi et Joseph Macirone, à Rome.*

George Dodington to Frederick, Prince of Wales.

1732, July 2. N. S. Paris.—" . . . I own your Royal Highness's favour is the pride and pleasure of my life, but it is because I did not owe its rise, nor will owe its continuance, to flattery. Nor

ought you to think it common to your high rank to find a man who prefers your interest to your pleasure, and dares take part with your glory even against your inclinations, should you ever be so unhappy as to set them at variance. . . . I have set my whole heart upon your happiness, but I place it in your glory, and this last in the welfare of our country. To see that life and gaiety which makes you the delight of all that are near you corrected by a severe probity and rigid honour, makes me every day bless my own good fortune and your partiality to me; but when I consider the happiness of millions one day flowing from you, as the effect of that probity and honour, I am thoroughly charmed with the prospect, and am proud to own that your good opinion does give me a pleasure that the friendship of a private man could not give. . . ." *Copy.*

SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1732, July 5. London.—"I have received the favour of my dear Mr. Dodington's of the 2nd of July from Paris, and have delivered the enclosed to the Prince. . . . I dont like your joke of my buying a cart, I wish you would think of that sort of vehicle for some other of your friends.

"We begin to have a very thin town, and ever since you went, we sea men* have been the conversation of it; but as our great men believe the Spanish fleet to be before Oran, hope all our sailing is over."

FREDERICK, PRINCE OF WALES, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1732, November 16].—"My good Dorrington, this is only for telling you that I and most part of the friends are well; that I had your letter; wish you allways well, and hope to see you soon again. I forgot to tell you that I wont have you conclude that bargain in Ireland; the reason you'll know when you come here. I have found a better thing for 'em. Good bye; you wont be forgot by Frederick P." *Holograph. Endorsed with date.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[No date].—"My good Dorrington, I plead excuse for not coming at our meeting by Vane's, but a croud of family which expect the King hinders me of it. You know the vieillerie of the Wendsdays comming there, a good courtier must not be out of the way, the more now. I ordered Wrede to look out for you everywhere. I'll tell you the success of . . . to-night if you can, after their supper, come to me at 12. Adieu, mon bon ami."—F. P. *Holograph. Seal, a cupid drawing his bow.*

The SAME to the SAME.

[1733, September 8]. Saturday, at 7 o'clock.—"My good Dodington, according to my promise I write to you, but 'tis on my sorrow, for I have weighed with myself enough about it. What an ungrateful

* Sir Thomas was one of the Lords of the Admiralty at this date.

part am I to play. I wish a man well, I think him an honest man, and I must tell him the stories that publickly are told here of him. Take me right, I mean publickly are whispered about him. *You are accused to have told some of the superiors that Merry was the only cause of quarrel, and that he could never be left there if servilitude should be transplanted.* I hope you comprehend all this, for I can't make it plainer. This story goes so well about, that several people have acquainted me with it, as well by words of mouth as unsigned letters have been sent me; the belief I give to it you see. Your friends and honest men have advised me to send you word of it, and told me, that if such a thing should get ground, your character would suffer by it, but as one can't in this wicked age be sure of anything, or anybody, I have told [them] I should acquaint you with it, at your return from Ireland, for I should always tell a man what is told to me behind his back; but for sending you word of it now was no need, for I and my friends knew lies enough to laugh and despise them. They report confidently about town that everything is easy since you are gone, and therefore you, as the disturber, are to be out. This is the common talk as I am told; if it will happen I doubt, for it is giving themselves the lie, to my opinion. If you was wicked enough to intend to hurt anybody you are too wise to do it so grossly; therefore, if I do not see it writ by your own hand I'll never believe it. This was an attempt to make me disgrace you, which I take to be my own disgracing, if upon a tittle tattle of some few people a prince will give up a friend, or servant. Any prince may be cheated by people they have a confidence in, and then they are to give them up as a justification and a satisfaction to mankind; but weak is the prince, and can never be well served, if he believes too quick. Thus things stand now; what further will happen time will learn. You must reckon what a combat I have had with myself; at one side I should acquaint a man I live well with of what is told of him. How can a man justify himself if he does not know it? At the other side what a terrible part do I play, I do worse than to cut a man's throat, when I tell him what trials are made to make him pass for the dishonestest man in the world, for tis true you would be that, if you had done it. I have chose to take the first part, for I think always in everything the fairest way is the best. Now I must desire you to answer me instantly by this man, for, except Barnard, who has pitched upon him, no soul knows it, and he thinks it is something relating to Barnard's affairs; then to continue quietly your journey to Ireland, for if you returned upon this, and begun a bluster about it, you would undo the whole machine; therefore, go on to Ireland, end your affairs, and then come quietly after the birthday over again. Your coming to London would do no good, not hinder the noise—rather augment it, and give a handle to your enemies to say the dog came frightened home, for he had else lost that low insignificant creature. If I was like you I would show nothing of this in Ireland, but look as gay as ever, and when you return we'll see if this storm will augment or diminish, and I, as a famous pilot, will bring my carriage and vessel happily in the port. Pray be directed by me in this, for I think few people would have acted as I have done. I hope you can read

and comprehend all this stuff, for I am in haste, and have had not a hour to end my epistle. Good bye; pray in your letter return me mine, and think that I must be better than the rest of the prince's pack, to behave so fairly to people."

Endorsed :—"Copy of the Prince's letter, received at Eastbury the 9th of Sept., being Sunday, 1733. Original returned."

GEORGE DODINGTON to the PRINCE OF WALES.

1733, September 9. Sunday. Eastbury.—A long letter defending the writer's conduct, especially in relation to Mr. Merry, against whom he has never, directly or indirectly, said a word, but whom, on the contrary, "when particular facts have been charged against him," he has defended and justified as one whom the Prince loves, and who he himself sincerely esteems, and believes to be an amiable and honourable man. Protests his love and devotion to the Prince, and urges his Highness to be prudent in his conduct, and not to let his passions carry him away, as his enemies will improve every incident that may rise to his disadvantage. The part he has to play is only "duty, respect, affection and gratitude where alone it can be due, and to all the rest of mankind, affability in conversation, but entire reserve as to opinions." *Copy. Seven folio pages.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1733, September 19. Eastbury.—"This letter will be delivered to your R. Highness by Sir Thos. Frankland, and I presume I shall be in Ireland before you receive it. . . . I have again carefully considered this wise accusation about Merry, and it amounts to no more than laying a very foolish action to my charge, in doing an ill-office to a deserving man, without a possibility of any gain or advantage to myself by it. But you well know that it has always been my lot to be represented as an arrogant, self-sufficient, empty coxcomb, and in the same quarter of an hour, nay in the same breath, a deep, designing, dangerous spirit. . . . If this fiction were true, I should have done a very foolish action, indeed; but how does it relate to you or your service, unless it was done in order to deliver you up implicitly to the Minister? If so, I am indeed infamous to you; but then how do I become a disturber, and how comes that to be the cause, the sole and only cause, of my disgrace? . . . I beg leave to assure your R. Highness that I have much too great an opinion of the goodness of your head and your heart to believe that such stories, or indeed any stories, will make you think ill of a man who has ever loved you, and sacrificed all other prospect of advantage to that of serving you most faithfully without any.

"I must, then, take leave humbly to represent to your R. Highness that the question is not what is to become of me, but how you are to behave, in case I go out as a disturber, or in other words, for the share imputed to me of your late conduct. As to myself, I am a private man whom your R. Highness was pleased to call to your acquaintance. Your partiality for me grew very fast, till at last, without any merit even in my own vain opinion, you were pleased

to honour me with so unreserved a confidence that I believe there was nothing that was most near and dear to us that we could not, nay that we did not, communicate to each other. In the beginning of this I found you in no favourable disposition towards the Minister; I used all my endeavours at that time, nay always have endeavoured, more or less, to soften it." By my attachment to you I have drawn on myself the hatred and indignation of those who have the most power to hurt me, and have done this "with my eyes open and from 'an affectionate duty to you, in which I call the great God to witness that my principal view was to cultivate in you those maxims which would make you a great and glorious prince, and by strengthening and establishing on immoveable foundations your happy disposition towards great and virtuous actions and sentiments, to leave in you an inestimable legacy to my country, when I shall be beyond the reach of favour or disgrace. . . . I most humbly entreat your R. Highness that your goodness and partiality for me may, by no means, carry you to do anything in my favour that any way derogates from the grandeur of your illustrious rank, or from (what I think more respectable) the true and innate grandeur of your mind. . . . "
Draft. Five folio pages, closely written.

Sir Thomas Frankland to George Dodington.

1733, October 4.—"Our elections in Yorkshire will be the same as last, except Bradshaw in the room of Hotham, but fear it will not be so quiet in other counties, as the barbers and parsons informed me on the roads. I have been at Court, where I met with greater marks of civilities from all the Royal family than I deserve.

"The King of Sardinia has made a treaty, offensive and defensive, with France and Spain. The election of Poland looks like a double return.

"As I am the son of a former post-master, I have desired my friend Mr. Manley to deliver you this."

Earl of Hadinton to George Dodington.

1733, December 1. Tynninghame.—" . . . About a year ago, James Hamilton, uncle to the present Lord Bellhaven, died; he had a small post. Upon his death, I sent a flying packet, with one letter to you, one to my Lord Ilay, and one to Sir Robert Walpole, desiring their favour in getting my second son, John Hamilton, to succeed him. You was so kind not only to answer my letter but to let me know what my Lord Ilay said upon that head. Mr. St. Clair, who my Lord said was to have that post, is now one of our judges; . . . but yesterday I was told that a brother of this Lord Bellhaven's has got his uncle's post. I thought myself bound to acquaint you with this; I am sure I have given very little trouble to any ministry by my demands; what I made were but trifles, and it seems they have thought so; at least that I was of little use, by their not thinking it worth their while to return an answer to any letter I have writ to any of them; though, if I inclined to boast, I could tell that I very early showed my entire attachment to the family now on the

throne, when my zeal was not well taken, and I defy the world to accuse me of doing anything since that could be interpreted as if I had in the least altered my principles. . . ."

To George Denoyer, Dancing Master.

[1739–40, February 19].—The humble petition of Itta Hamilton, spinster. "Is a daughter of James Hamilton, who married Laur (?) Erskine, niece to the Earl of Mar, and a descendant of Sir William de Hambledon, so called from the manor of de Hambledon, co. Bucks." Petitioner's father was killed in the rebellion in King George I.'s reign. Hearing that his honour, Lady Archibald [Hamilton] (her cousin), Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Pitt, Carey the surgeon, Reynolds, Lord Albemarle's footman, influence the Prince of Wales; that his Royal Highness has a great regard for the ancient family of the de Hambledon's; that the petitioner is informed no person can be admitted into that part of Norfolk House called the nursery but what is a de Hambledon; petitioner prays for the place of a rocker, void by the death of Lady Charlotte Edwin's maid. "Her Father's being a Jacobite and in the Rebellion will be no objection to her coming into play, since his Royal Highness has laid aside all those distinctions by employing her uncle Erskine." *

Addressed to George Doddington, Esq., and endorsed with above date.

William Murray to George Dodington.

1740, October 7. London.—"The moment I got loose I went abroad to make a little tour by way of amusement. . . . I wish our M[inisters ?] were as vigilant in some of the places I have seen as they are at home. They are making new voters at Dunquerque without molestation, and there are ten thousand returning officers in Berg and Juliers which we dont trouble our heads about. I had a letter to-night brought me by a private hand which informs me of the astonishing and incredible success your friend the Mareschal has had this campaign. The enemy is seized with a panic, and fly before him. I hope your success is as great, but I fancy you are forced to fight much harder for it."

Thomas Prowse † to George Dodington.

1742, July 26. Berkley.—"I think the measure you have proposed of returning thanks to the members in so public a manner must be attended with the best consequences, as it will be a means of setting matters in a right light to our friends here, who from the present odd jumble of placemen, and the many other strange events of the late session, are at a loss to guess upon what ground they stand, and are doubtful (perhaps with reason too) whether they have been gainers by the change hitherto effected.

"As the country in general is not apprized that the materials which have been laid before the House this session may serve for the foundation of a parliamentary prosecution in the next, the

* A skit. *Cf. Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Toynbee, i., 161.
† M.P. for Somersetshire.

intimation you have given of it in the draft you favoured me with will be exceeding proper, and ought to be followed strictly in that particular by others: for the world having seen such a scene of iniquity incontestably proved, and the author of it [Walpole] still unpunished, may imagine that those places which have been bestowed upon some in the committee* could be given with no other reason or design but to frustrate the effects of this and all future inquiries; and as so many have already deserted us, in whom the people have been long used to place a trust and confidence, it is no wonder if they are a little inclined to distrust those who have given them no reason.

"How we shall be able to put this scheme in execution here I am not at present able to judge, being so lately come into the country, and but just upon the edge of it. . . I own I have great doubts whether Sir William Pynsent's treatment of some of our friends the last assizes, and some little family quarrels amongst our gentlemen in the West, may not be the occasion of a very poor meeting at Bridgwater; but should this be our case, I own I think it pity so proper a measure should be dropped in Dorsetshire, where it is in your power, even though you were single in it, which I daresay will not happen.

"Sir William Carew and Mr. Codrington are expected in the country this week, and as soon as he comes, I will wait upon him, if it be in my power, or at least write to him; but I fear the ill health of poor Sir J. St. Aubyn's family will not permit him to leave London for some time. I have no particular acquaintance in Devonshire, but will try to manage that matter by Mr. Bampfylde."

Thomas Prowse to George Dodington.

1742, August 5. Berkely.—"Some time before I received the honour of your last I had communicated by letter your scheme to Mr. Carew and Mr. Bampfylde, the first of which gentlemen going in person to Exeter will be able to put it in practice there. . . I dont know whether there may be time enough for sending a letter across the Severn to Sir Watkin, but I should think if you were to give him a hint of what you propose, by the post, if it come too late for the assizes, that measure may be put in practice by him at some other opportunity. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1742, August 30. Axbridge.—"Upon my return to Berkely . . . I received a letter from Mr. Carew telling me that Sir J. Trevylian, Mr. Palmer, and several gentlemen, upon the intimation he had given them, were resolved to attend. Upon this assurance I set out the next day to the assizes, and was surprised to find there none of the gentlemen he had mentioned, but in their stead Mr. P. (*sic*) Poulett your brother member, Mr. Baker, and some others of that sort, who, with the assistance of two or three of our friends, rose to

* The Secret Committee, appointed March, 1742, of which Prowse was a member.

no greater number than ten, so that if Mr. Carew and I had not served, the judge would have had but little trouble. I own I always suspected this would be our case with such a sheriff, and was told Lord Poulett had the nomination of the grand jury, and that the under sheriff had waited upon him with a list for the purpose.

"I cannot conceive how the measure you had so happily begun came not to be followed at Exeter, since there was so great an appearance there, and all friends. I could not learn from Mr. Carew the occasion of it, or whether, indeed, he had even proposed it."

THE EARL OF WILMINGTON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1742, September 30. St. James' Square.—" . . . The Duke of Argyll has been in town some time, but so low in spirits that it has delayed the match for his daughter. He would take no advice till Dr. Burton came to town, but now, on taking proper remedies, he is so far recovered that I hear the marriage will be on Saturday." [*There are three other letters from the Earl, quite unimportant.*]

SIR WATKYN WILLIAMS WYNN to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1743, Sept. 25. Wynnstay.—" . . . I trust our friends will not be so captivated with appearances as to 'conster' escape into victory, or consider our profusion abroad in any other light than as it affects this kingdom solely. What is laid out for this sole end, every Englishman will join in; in what relates to foreign concerns I trust we shall be as unanimous. . . . In this remote part of the earth we cannot account for the alliance with Denmark in opposition to Russia and Sweden, seemingly the eve of an additional war."

GEORGE DODINGTON to SIR WATKYN WILLIAMS WYNN.

1744, September 1.—For the Ministry to plume themselves on the late victory and assume the credit of it is almost ridiculous, for it proves the truth of our advice, to push the war by sea, which they rejected. What we have taken, chiefly by privateers and merchantmen, shows what we might have done if they had applied the strength of the government that way.

I pray you to advise with your friends what is to be done, and, if nothing, "let us at least agree in that nothing, and show that it does not proceed from meaness, but from a noble despair, which, by a firm union in improving events, may possibly save or contribute towards saving our country." *Copy, endorsed with above date.*

GEORGE DODINGTON to VISCOUNT HILLSBOROUGH.

1744, September 29.—"If I foresaw any moral possibility of repelling the broad ruin that now stares us in the face, I should call upon your Lordship with confidence, as an efficient part of our preservation. . . . However, though I see no salvation for the public, yet still I call upon you. Come to your friends, and help to soften the misfortunes you cannot prevent and disdain to contribute to.

. . . Come away then. Whether, like another Amphion, you teach the attracted rocks and forests to build your rising town, or you are separating the two legged from the four legged savages that inhabit them, in order to people it; whether you are instilling the more refined passions into the already civilized part of your infant colony by assuming the gentle lover's form . . . or whether you are reforming their morals in the sterner shape of magistracy, . . . in short, however, this letter finds you employed, whether in laying the foundations of the town or of its inhabitants—doing or deserving justice, committing the crime or the criminal . . . come away, and remember you are the child of this country, though were you to stay much longer I presume you would be the father of that where you now reside. . . . ."

E[DMUND] WALLER to ——.

1744, October 7.—"I still keep the Beaconsfield stage once a week, for which I am but little the better. . . . My eyes are bad, too, from the medicines I use, and I have not writ a line since I wrote to you last.

"You may easily guess that in conversation, the subject of our going as an opposition has been talked of. It has been taken first for granted that in our present situation everybody designed going; but I have taken it for granted too, for that very reason they designed to keep the resolution they left the last session with, that if ever any good effect was or could be expected from that measure, it must arise from the distress of the public affairs, which might create a virtue out of necessity. . . . The last time I heard from Cobham he was clear for not going. . . .

"As to our foreign affairs, you see what they are reduced to; as you have heard much of this treaty of Hanau which our Regents refused, you may be glad to know something more particular about it. As I am informed, by that treaty, upon our paying the sum of 300,000 crowns only, the Emperor was to renounce all claims on the Austrian dominions; that he was to be restored to his dominions, and it was understood, though not specified, that he was to have a couple of secularisations. This treaty, good as it is, was refused by our Regents, who say that the treaty sent over to them was, the Emperor should be put in possession of Flanders till some other dominions were given to the value of 6,000,000 of florins, and if Flanders did not produce that sum England was to make it good. . . ."

LORD HILLSBOROUGH to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1745, July 26. Hillsborough.—"When I returned from introducing Lord Barrington to Mrs. Grouse and her family, who live in the mountains of Morne, I received the favour of your letter, for which, and your goodness to me about the house, I will only beg leave to say, thanks, and in obedience to your orders have done with apologies. . . . One line will convey my mind; I want to eat and sleep in that house, and to have it answer those ends in as

cheap a manner as possible. If you will take the trouble of giving the necessary orders, your good nature carries you to do what I am not any way entitled to ask. . . .

"Barrington and I are very sorry for the unhappy situation of our affairs, both at home and abroad. I am ready, and I believe he is, to join my mite to the common stock, and wait only for your summons to do my little endeavours towards making things better. In the meantime, be so kind as to send us a little news; let us know if anything can be expected abroad, and what is likely to become of us at home; whether our friends gain or lose ground, and whether they are more united in court than in opposition."

The Prince of Wales and George Dodington.

1748–9, March 11.—"Copy of Mr. Dodington's answer to the Prince, delivered by Mr. Ralph to the Earl of Middlesex, to be presented to his Royal Highness." *Printed in the Appendix to Dodington's Diary, ed.* 1784, *p.* 325.

George Dodington to Mr. Gardiner.

1748[–9], March 15. Pall Mall.—"I was just sitting down to write to you when I received the honour of yours of the 7th inst., to acquaint you that I have resigned into his Majesty's hands my office of Treasurer of the Navy, and am retired from public business. . . .

"I have long thought this country in a most dangerous and irretrievable state of decline. The want of measures to conciliate and ease the people, hard-held and heavily loaded, I flattered myself was occasioned by, and would end with the confusion and pressure of the war. But our beginnings, after the peace, seem to me so inauspicious, my own inabilities, in every sense, so unequal to remedy the misfortunes I foresee, and if I were able, myself so little agreeable to those who have the principal direction, that I thought it became me to retire, and not stand loaded with emoluments without the power of doing any real service, either to my country or my friends."

Frederick, Prince of Wales, to Thomas, Earl of Scarborough, his Treasurer.

1749, September 2. Leicester House.—Warrant to pay George Doddington (whom he has appointed Treasurer of his Chambers) the yearly sum of 1,200*l*. *Signed.*

F. B[owyer] to the Prince of Wales.

[1750, or earlier], April 12.—"I certainly go out of town next Tuesday, and for the last time I earnestly entreat your Royal Highness to let me know what does occasion so great a change in your behaviour. I think, Sir, you have too much good nature to behave in such a manner to her that you know loved you above all

things without some particular reason, and if any impertinent people has tittled-tattled to my disadvantage I beg to know, that I may prove my innocence; if 'tis inconstancy, and that your Royal Highness has any dislike to my person, pray, Sir, own it, for you will not be the first man that has been fickle, nor I the first woman that has been mistaken. I promised in a letter which I sent your Royal Highness about a month ago to trouble you no more, but my uneasiness will get the better of my resolution, and I shall go out of town the most unhappy creature upon earth if I dont know the cause of so extraordinary a change; so I beseech your Royal Highness, if ever you had the smallest regard for me, that you will gratify me this once, and send a letter enclosed for me to Mrs. Wattson, next to the *Golden Fan* in Mary Bone Street. I ask ten thousand pardons for begging so great a favour, but as I have been honoured before, I hope now I petition for it I shall not be denied; and then, Sir, we will bid adieu for ever."

Endorsed :—"Miss Fanny Bowyer," *over* "Lady L. Blanckly" *erased.*

J. Ralph to George Dodington.

1750, August 23. Turnham Green.—Long letter, endorsed :—"Respecting the letter of July 26, 1750, to the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Talbot, Sir F. Dashwood, &c." * States that he has communicated the paper to Mr. Waller, who objects that it seems to be the measure of only part of his Royal Highness's court, in concert with two or three neutrals; that, consequently, the other parts of the court would not be over-forward to embrace it, and that, in this inter-medley, the common enemy would have a tempting opportunity to defame and misrepresent, and to make their court by all manner of means. That if the proposers were defeated, the eclat of what they had done, though it might furnish new matter against the Prince and his family, would scarce excite the attention of the people, so that both men and measure would be lost together. That an union amongst the Prince's friends and servants was the first thing to be established, and "that the principle of union ought to be a sensible opposition, grounded on such facts as might serve to expose the administration to the bottom . . . and that the embarking his Royal Highness in such an opposition is the strongest security for his future conduct." Has also shown the paper to Dashwood, who did not think it particular enough, but does not consider himself qualified to supply what is wanting.

—— to the Right Hon. George Dodington, Pell-Mell.

[1750], August 29. Tuesday.—"I beg you will deliver the enclosed to the Prince as soon as you can; his being ill is the cause of my writing it; 'tis to beg no favour, nor does no harm to anybody, and will give his Highness no trouble but to hear it read, which I beg may be by you; pray dont neglect giving it, for should he die and not have had it—that is if ever I come to know it—my misery will

* *Diary*, August 1.—"I sent to Mr. Ralph a scheme of opposition, to be shown to Lords Middlesex and Talbot, &c., &c. (ed. 1784, p. 53).

be insupportable. Believe me there is no harm in it, 'tis only to ease the mind of a poor unhappy maid who implores your faithfulness." *Unsigned.*

Frederick, Prince of Wales, to George Dodington.

[1750, December 6].—"I am very much pleas'd with the letter, if you'ld be so good not to expose your own judgement by praising so much a half witty'd, or to say truth, a no witty'd connoisseur. Be so good not to undo Mrs. Dodington by these excesses, or else new Rome will laugh at your old Rome's Restorer. I sha'nt want the Guercino, nor the 13th Statue. I hope to see you to-night after the Play." F. P. *Holograph. Endorsed with date.*

Memorial concerning the Prince of Wales.

[1752, December].—"A memorial of several noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and fortune."

The paper begins :—"That the education of a Prince of Wales is an object of the utmost importance to the whole nation ; that it ought always to be intrusted to Noblemen of the most unblemished honour and to Prelates of the most distinguished virtue." That the misfortunes of the nation under Charles I. and his sons were owing to the bad education of those princes, who were early initiated in maxims of arbitrary power ; that for a faction to engross the Prince's education is unwarrantable, dangerous and illegal ; that to place about him men whose principles or belief are doubtful is most mischievous, and for ministers to countenance improper men is a ground for suspecting the worst designs on such ministers' parts. It is notorious that books "inculcating the worst maxims of government and defending the most avowed tyrannies" have been put into the hands of the Prince of Wales, and the men who were honest enough to protest are driven away from court. The security of this Government being built on Whig principles, it cannot but alarm all true Whigs "to see none but the friends and pupils of the late Lord Bolingbroke entrusted with the education of a prince, whose family his lordship endeavoured by his measures to exclude, and by his writings to expel, from the throne of these Kingdoms. One of the precepto rshas been accused by a noble lord of Jacobitism, yet continues in his place of trust ; that the governor and preceptor (a nobleman of unblemished honour and a Prelate of most unbiassed virtue*) have been treated in the grossest terms of abuse by a menial servant of the family, and no satisfaction given ; that a Scotsman of a most disaffected family, and nearly allied to the Pretender's first minister, is consulted in the Prince's education, and trusted with all the most important government secrets ; and lastly, that "the three or four low, dark, suspected persons" are

* Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich. The sub-governor and preceptor, accused of Jacobitism, were Stone and Scott ; the Scotsman, the Earl of Bute.

the only men whose station is permanent, while all the great offices and officers are constantly varied and shuffled about; whereby it is feared there is a design to render the Government ridiculous, and facilitate a revolution which is believed to be meditating.

Numbered "9," *and endorsed* :—"This remarkable paper was sent by the penny post inclosed in a cover to General Hawley, about the 18th December, 1752, with an intent ('tis supposed) that he should carry it direct to the Duke [of Cumberland]. But he carried it to the Duke of Newcastle, who laid it before the King." [Lord Harcourt resigned on Dec. 5, and the Bishop immediately after. Lord Waldegrave was declared Governor on Dec. 18. *See Dodington's Diary, pp.* 122, 123 *; also p.* 132, *for notice of this paper.*]

Dr. Sharpe to [George Dodington ?].

1752, July 3.—We left Paris with as little regret as we should any other place, but there is a certain vis-inertiæ in some men, as in all matter, which resists motion, and I was afraid this sluggishness would have kept us at Lyons till we returned to England. Our guardians, it is true, pelted us out of Paris . . . but being cured of our rage for pictures, and living now at a moderate expence, they will hardly think it worth while to write us out of Lyons. We go not further south, not into Italy, it is too hot, nor into Germany, it will be too cold. [The next part of the letter is an answer to the attacks of "a noble Lord" [Bolingbroke] upon the Bible, and a pressing invitation to his correspondent to publish some observations upon Ancient History.]

"I love Dr. Thompson and shall be very glad to see him. . . . I could wish, instead of mingling with Politicians and Poets, he would court the acquaintance of young men of his own profession, and for the good of mankind teach them his art. . . . I think it becomes both him and me rather to mend old books than old governments. Let him take care of the constitutions of his friends, and leave the constitution of the State to those who love Fees and attendance better than himself."

J. Ralph to George Dodington.

1753, February 1. Turnham Green.—"I am far from presuming to think that I am the proper person to sum up the merits of the affair which has been so long in suspense before the two brothers [Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle], but surely the time is come when somebody ought to do it. . . . It is not their interest to make the experiment if they are not morally certain of its success, and this certainty must arise from their known superiority, or the closet opinion of their superiority (which would operate in the same manner). Now the Court (to take in a larger field than the Cabinet) may be divided, as I humbly conceive, thus. The Princess of Wales, the Lord Chancellor, the Secretary Duke (his colleague need not be named), Mr. Pelham, Lord Anson, and Lord Hartington, on one side; the Duke, the Princess Amelia, the Lord President, the Lord Steward,

the groom of the Stole (though abroad), and Mr. Fox (with his great auxiliary, the Duke of Bedford) on the other. The Dukes of Grafton and Dorset I reckon as trimmers that will certainly lean to the strongest; and if Lord Gower is, at present, too much a cypher to be reckoned at all, Lord Winchelsea may, perhaps, in due time be his successor. Thus the two parties, as they stand at court, stand nearly on equal ground, and from that equality the King may probably find himself in a condition to prefer which he pleases, and, consequently, give the law to both; which was nearly the case of King William in the last year of his life. . . . For a King, so circumstanced, need not yield to either side unless they can talk to him in the name of a majority in Parliament, which also, at present, seems to depend more on himself than anybody else, whether it is understood or acknowledged so to be or not.

"Upon the wisdom of the brothers, therefore, in taking their measures to form a majority of their own, and their resolution to push every measure that may help to constitute such a majority, depends their own real significancy, and with it the fate of this measure.

"But resolution does not seem to be the characteristic of their administration. Have they not suffered Lord Harrington, the first resigner, to be disgraced? Have they not suffered Lord Granville, their old driver, to be taken in? Is not that Lord at open variance with the Lord Chancellor? Are not promotions made every day without their advice, if not against it? And dare they assert their own importance by making an example of any one man, how branded soever for his perfidy and ingratitude to them in particular?" *End of the letter missing.*

EARL OF SHAFTESBURY to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1753, April 13.—Regretting that he cannot give the living of St. Giles to the person recommended (and who on many grounds would have been greatly acceptable to himself), as, when Mr. Dodington's letter came, he had already promised it to a friend of his own.

HORACE MANN [Ambassador to Tuscany] to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1754, March 15. Florence.—"I had the honour to acquaint you, by my last letter, that Colonel Mill was on the point of returning to England, and that I was not quite persuaded that his total disappointment in his India scheme was the motive of these frequent journeys, as he has declared that he will be back again here by the end of next May. I have since discovered that he has obtained a patent from the Emperor to work some mines, both of copper and quicksilver, in this state, that are supposed to be very rich. The conditions of his patent are that he is to begin to work within the space of eighteen months, that for the first five years the whole profit is to be his, after which the Emperor is to have ten per cent. of the net produce. These are very advantageous conditions, as he is not obliged to go on if he should find that they do not answer, nor is he under any forfeiture if he desists ever so soon. He proposes

to set out for England in a few days, in order, I suppose, to get associates in this undertaking, who must, I believe, advance the money that will be required. He intends, likewise, to bring out with him two Cornish miners, who, he thinks, will be very useful in directing the work. . . . It is a pity he should not be rich, for nobody can rack his brain more than he does to invent the means to be so. . . .

"Miss [Elizabeth] Pitt, whom we have had here about two months, last Friday made a public abjuration of the Protestant religion, and became a Roman Catholic. Such a conversion would have been more taken notice of at Rome than it has been here."

Horace Mann to George Dodington.

1754, June 7. Florence.—" . . . Lady Rochford is extremely kind; and . . . at the same time that my Lord and she showed me so great an instance of it, by condescending to dwell under my roof, from a peculiar good and obliging disposition of mind expresses herself as if they had received and not conferred the favour. Did but the greatest part of our countrymen in some degree only resemble them, one should have the greatest satisfaction in employing one's whole time, nay, one's fortune, in showing attentions to them; but, alas, how few one meets with like her! . . . One sees by daily experience how useless it is, and that very few remember any civilities after they have passed the first mountain, though the least omission, on the other hand, w uld make so deep an impression as never to be forgiven.

"The fair lady whose name is mentioned in the next paragraph of your letter [Miss Eliz. Pitt] is a strong instance of such a character as I have hinted at, and who, though she came into this country with so many and such disadvantages as would have excluded a person in any country from the least society, was, by the pains I took, better and more generally well received than I could have expected; but I have, unfortunately, lost all the merit of my first two months' attentions by not espousing her extravagancies, a recital of which would tire you, as really her behaviour has been of such a nature as forms the most dangerous character imaginable, and so much the more as she is still handsome, has wit and great art. Nobody could ever guess the motive of her quarrel with Mr. Montgomery, who was not conscious of having offended her, but still offered to make whatever submissions she might dictate for his supposed offence. Instead of accepting of this she, by degrees, worked herself up to such a pitch of extravagance as made all reconciliation impracticable, though even then she never particularised any motive, nor was it till long after his departure that she invented that of his having told her she was handsome. Nobody pretends to guess either at the motive of her second abjuration, for she performed the same in France, and says that they forgot there to relieve her from the original excommunication. We once thought that she had a view of marriage with a young gentleman of this country, who might be her son. His family has been much alarmed, though he has assured them, without reason;—that he knows her character too

well by having avoided the danger she would have exposed him to, by fighting on her account. For my part I am inclined to believe that she had no other motive but that of conformity to the religion of the country where she seems determined, and perhaps is obliged to live, thinking to recommend herself by that means; for the day after she had acted that farce she asked an audience of Count Richecourt by a note (though she had never been at his house before) on purpose to acquaint him with it, and to demand the Emperor's protection, telling his minister that she foresaw that it was a step that would be disapproved of by her *nation*, and that *it* would become her enemy. I interrupted the Count by saying that I was very sure her nation would be as indifferent about the religion she professed as she was herself. In short, supposing even that this step would have done her any good with the inhabitants, the extravagance of her behaviour has been such that it excludes even with them the opinion that she could have any good motive for taking it. I should not have dwelt so long upon this subject had not you ordered me to acquaint you with some particulars relating to this lady in a full confidence that it will remain entirely with you.

"Sir William Stanhope passed by here last autumn; during his stay here he permitted me to enjoy much of his company, having passed most of his time at my house; he is now at Naples, from whence in the Holy Week he made an excursion to Rome, and instead of going to Venice for the Ascension, as he had promised his nephew, he returned to Naples, where I hear he has taken a house for a year, still detained by the same motive that engaged him to return. He has quite recovered his hearing, and is vastly happy."

George Dodington to Mrs. East.

1754, December 14.—"The government of a gentleman of eighteen, master of a large fortune, is not a province of the most profound tranquillity for a lady." Induced by a long friendship with your families, being the only old man he is acquainted with, I will willingly, if it please you, try to convey the thoughts of a father to him, though I believe my rules and maxims are grown as old and unfashionable as myself.

"I am not alarmed at his love of expense; his allowance from Chancery is too small, and provided it does not arise from the pernicious passion for play, I think his finding 1,000*l*. more or 1,000*l*. less when he comes of age is of very little importance. His love of horsemanship also I am not apprehensive of. That sort he there practices, which is called the 'great Saddle,' will not lead him to a passion for fox-hunting, and the noble ambition of being the most formidable beast in the field, and spending the rest of his time with a set of animals, at home, who are employed and maintained to destroy those that remain without doors.

"I am chiefly afraid of his too hasty desire of going to Paris, where he will see and hear things, at an improper time of life, which he might make a very good use of at a proper one. I should wish, therefore, he should first stay some time in Italy . . . and from

Italy return for a year to you (I shall have taken a journey that I hope he will defer many, many happy years), and then pass a winter at Paris. Lord Huntingdon did so." *Copy.*

GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. EAST.

1755, March 2. Pall Mall.—"You are now, dear Sir, of an age that permits me to tell you that I love you and to offer you my sincere wishes. You are born in a rank that gives the public a claim to you and expectations from you; of a mother who was always reckoned one of the most amiable women of her time. Her tenderness for you I am sure you have felt and I have seen. . . . You cannot receive the same marks of affection from your father, so I say no more of him. . . .

"You are now in a situation of fitting yourself for either or both of these characters [a man devoted to public life, or a private gentleman]. As to the dead languages, they embellish and amuse the mind, and I wish you may think so; but I lay no greater stress upon them to a man of your rank than as they relate to orthography and writing like a gentleman in your own. As to the living ones, permit me to insist that they are full as necessary to, and more the mark of a gentleman than a laced coat or a fine equipage. The same, give me leave to say, of a competent knowledge in the exercises of riding, dancing and fencing, which you are now entering upon; for though I should be sorry to see you at the head of a society of grooms, or a Mr. Fribble at every ball, and much more, a bully in midnight brawls, yet still I could wish, when properly called upon to any of these exercises, you should have it in your power to acquit yourself like a gentleman.

"And give me leave to tell you that, in my sense, the character of an English gentleman is a serious character. It is not a family, an estate, or an employment that gives it; 'tis not the Patent of the King; it is the Patent of the People only that bestows it. A gentleman must love his country, and look a little into its constitution, to know why he loves it; and if called to mount on horseback in defence of it, or his friend or mistress, he must know how to do it, in a manner that may neither disgrace himself or disgust either of them. He must know how to defend himself, and must only *not know* how to offend. He must wear his sword, like his wit, only pointed against those who, by undeserved provocation, run wilfully upon it. . . .

"Next, let me recommend to you very frequent conversation with women of fashion; I know nothing so proper to polish a firm and noble mind, and that so naturally will add grace to dignity. Let your first applications to intimacy be, if you please, with ladies much older than yourself; there is youth enough on your side. You will find those, believe me, very charitably inclined to put a young traveller in the right road. . . .

"And now, dear Sir, to finish the character of a pedagogue, which I have very impertinently assumed, it may be expected that I should tell you what I wish you should avoid; and these are only two things, gaming and marriage, and I trust you are too fond of your estate and your liberty to engage in either.

"As to gaming, the first propensity [to] it must be curbed, for I do assure you that amongst all the men of distinction that I ever was acquainted with, I never knew but one who had that passion, that ever left it off entirely; and I do also beg leave to assure you that I never knew one whom it did not make uneasy, even in the greatest fortunes. . . . As to marriage, my humble request is only temporary. The day will come (though I shall not live to see it) when I should as much wish to see you enter into that situation as I now do that you would defer it for some years. . . . Believe me, it is the step in life of all others that requires the most engaged and most mature consideration; for as a man that has a fortune to make is never absolutely undone, so a man whose fortune is made is never absolutely uneasy till he is married.

"I hope, dear Sir, you are pleased where you are, and with what you are doing. . . . I am the more partial to this way of education which you have happily entered upon because it was my own. I have lived some years abroad, and part of them in a public character, which led me to contract friendships with people of the first quality in most countries. These friendships I have kept up; and if this plan be at all agreeable to you, I will take care to recommend you, in all the great courts, to people of the highest distinction, who, I am sure, will receive you with as much affection as if you were my own son."

With postscript, dated as above, stating that the letter had been written the previous autumn, but it was thought better not to send it then. Copy.

George Dodington to Mr. East.

1755, May 11. Pall Mall.—Stating that he has forfeited Mrs. East's favour and confidence, he knows not why, and urging Mr. East on no account to enter into any engagement, promise or obligation to be made good when he comes of age, either as to himself or his fortune, by marriage or otherwise. *Copy.*

The Same to the Same.

1755, July 17. Hammersmith.—Praying him, if the danger of war with France should drive him from Caen, not to be persuaded to join his mother and her friend, seeing that for a lady to travel tête-à-tête with a gentleman she has not the least relation to is not enough authorized by custom to escape either the observation of foreigners or the remarks of their own countrymen; also desiring him to show this letter to nobody.

"I like your aversion to cards. 'Tis natural to be pleased that those we love should like and dislike as we do. I believe I have not played at cards ten hours these ten years, but it must sometimes be submitted to, by way of introduction and for small sums. . . . I think your allowance ought not to be less than 600*l.* per annum, nor can *that* by any means do if you must have a governor. I am very positive upon that head; I have no notion of your travelling with a governor; 'tis a great expense (not less than 300*l.* per annum in salary, maintenance, &c.) quite thrown

away, nay worse, for, as you rightly observe, one is never so well received with one as without one. However, if you are forced to Geneva so much sooner than we wished, you may take yours, who is a very good man, with you thither. They are more used to them there than in greater states; but you must, by all means, take leave of him when you go to Italy, and take only a couple of servants with you—one that is used to be about you, and another that you may get, well recommended to you, that is used to travelling and knows the languages.

"I say I think your allowance should not be less than 600*l.* per annum, without a governor. You do not tell me if you think that is enough. Pray let me hear your thoughts of it, and if you think your guardians have settled it too narrow, say nothing to them, but draw upon me to make it up. Your bills shall be punctually paid, and you may repay me when you are of age or never, just as you please, for of you I accept neither security nor interest. In short, my meaning is this: I should be much happier to produce you to the world, a credit to your country and the pride of your friends, than to find that you, or I, were a thousand pounds richer when you come of age.

"A word about guardians. They are now, or ought to be nothing but names, to carry your intentions into execution. You must know what is proper for you to do much better than anybody; maybe not how to conduct it. Now to facilitate the execution of your plan is all they have to do, or will attempt, with a young man of your capacity, if they are in their senses. . . . I shall assist you in carrying your choice into execution with decency, honour and advantage, by all the means that my experience shall suggest; for in experience only I pretend to be your superior." *Copy.*

George Dodington to the Earl of Halifax.

1755, August 23. La Trappe.—"The King will be here between the 10th and 15th. Hawke's orders that your Lordship understood to be very indecisive, when we parted, were so, to a ridiculous degree; but have been altered into very decisive ones lately, of which we may expect the effects every hour. In the meantime, they forget to give the same orders to any other Admiral or single commander. Now for the natural consequences of so much wisdom.

"The 16th inst., the *Greyhound*, one of Smith's squadron in the Downs, takes a French ship of 400 ton, 20 guns, and 60 men, bound, I think, for America; brings her to Smyth, who dismisses her; she continues her voyage, persuaded all is well. . . . Now I am pleasing myself with the thought, when this very ship is taken and made prize by Hawke's people, as in all human probability she must be where she is going, how Capt. Aget will stare, and how much our incomprehensible neighbours (who are full of a peace, at Paris) must honour our superior incomprehensibility. . . .

"I have good reason to believe that Spain has declared to our ministers that she will observe an exact neutrality in this war; let it be carried on how or where it will, which I am very glad of.

"Lord Holderness went to Woolfenbuttle the 9th, and returned

the 12th or 13th. My correspondent that went with him thinks it certain that they completed one match at least, most probably two ; says that the transaction itself was carried on with much secrecy, but that the appearances were so strong that all those of the party and of the place whom they conversed with thought alike ; and somebody put it into their heads that it was to be a double match,* and no money on either side. The extraordinary reception was one reason, for he says the servants were treated like gentlemen and Lord Holderness like a prince. I can hardly think that his Lordship would have left the King for three or four days at this critical conjuncture, to go to a fair ! God send it may be happy. For the contingent that we are to furnish, I have known them ever since they were born, and better goods for domestic, as well as public happiness, never were put out of hand. *Copy.*

MRS. ANNE EAST to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1755, September 5. Paris.—" The obliging letters you write to my son does him great honour, and I am much obliged to you for the kind notice you take of him, and, indeed, the offers you make him of supplying his want of money where the Chancery falls short is such an obligation as is never to be forgot ; but, Sir, I must beg you to consider he is very young, certainly not capable of judging for himself yet ; too much encouraged may perhaps be too presumptious—for what is so much so as ignorance—and he may take liberties from your indulgence that may be improper. . . . He is a very honest, good-hearted boy, but too young of his age, inattentive to business, apt to trifle away his time, knows but little of books. Let me intreat you, when you honour him with your letters, to recommend such books as may inform his mind. You have but to name 'em ; I'll answer for his readiness to observe, for he has set you up as his law-giver, and I believe the world could not persuade him to go contrary to your advice." Prays Dodington not to oppose her son coming to her in Paris for a day or two.

P.S.—" Sir John Bland took his leave of this world by the help of a sword last Wednesday morning."

GEORGE DODINGTON to the EARL OF HALIFAX.

1755, September 6.—" . . . Either this country or the whole system of continent subsidies must be put an end to. I defy the art of man to support the naval war in Europe and the mixed war in America vigorously, as the true interest of Britain requires, with a subsidiary war at the same time, upon the continent, fruitless and increasing. I say I defy the art of man to do these two things for three years together without a general bankruptcy.

" These subsidies will be strongly opposed ; possibly in your House by court lords of the first consideration. . . . I write only to entreat you to take no positive engagements when you come to town, nor to drop any expressions, even to the King, much less to the minister [Newcastle], that may in the least influence you when the time of action comes nearer."

* Prince of Wales to Princess ; Princess Augusta to Hereditary Prince.

George Dodington to Henry Fox.

1755, September 27. Eastbury.—"That of all those who are in the King's service or likely to be so, you are one whom I most cordially wish to see in the first rank, is a truth that I hoped to convince you of by contributing both to the placing and supporting you in it, and not by words, and therefore I have been very sparing of them. . . . My opinions in many things must naturally be known to most of those I converse with, for as it is below the Administration to take notice of them, I have thought it below me to conceal them; but as to the particular manner of acting in pursuit and consequence of those opinions, I have taken no positive engagement, because I have not positively determined it in my own thoughts, nor will I take any till I have the honour of seeing you, since you are pleased to make me some part of your care in so noble and friendly a manner. . . . I never thought you could be a looker on; I never wished it. I always wished you should be an actor—a principal actor, but where honour and reputation, as well as power and profit, distinguish the part you appear in; for, dear Mr. Fox, believe an old man that loves and esteems you, there is nothing else worthy of an honest, noble, well-regulated ambition." *Copy.*

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Halifax.

1755, October 4. Claremont.—"I am sorry that your Lordship's absence has deprived me of an opportunity, which I should otherwise have taken, of acquainting you with the rise, progress, and cause of Mr. Fox's promotion, which was not so much as in negotiation till very lately. Everything has been done by my Lord Chancellor and myself, and I cannot too much commend the King's grace and goodness to *us*, upon this occasion, and at this conjuncture. I can send nō particulars by letter, but when I have the honour of seeing you, which, I hope, will be soon, I shall explain the whole to you.

"As I have had no view since last session of Parliament, but to bring all men of weight and abilities into the King's service, who would support the King's measures, and act in concert with his servants, I have been very desirous that the King should have the assistance of Mr. Dodington; and have not only spoke to the King for that purpose, but have his Majesty's leave to offer him a very considerable employment, which I hope will be entirely to his satisfaction. I found Mr. Fox equally desirous with myself to bring this about; and that Mr. Fox was at this time in great favour with Mr. Dodington. Mr. Fox readily undertook to talk to him, and intended to have gone to Dorsetshire on purpose; but Mr. Dodington coming to Hammersmith, they have since had a meeting, which has ended well, though Mr. Dodington has given no positive answer, or Fox made any particular offer. Mr. Fox found Mr. Dodington had the greatest regard for your lordship and desire to act with you, and is of opinion that you may be of great service to fix this matter to our satisfaction. I know your goodness to me, and your readiness to do anything that may be of real service, and particularly with Mr. Dodington. I therefore would be obliged to you if you would see him as soon as you can, acquaint him with the inclination of

us all to have him one of us, and that for that purpose I had his Majesty's leave that Mr. Fox should talk to him, and you will say everything from yourself to induce him to come in. Mr. Fox has not thought proper to name the particular employment to him, and therefore you should not; but to show your lordship that I am in earnest, I have procured the King's leave to offer him the Comptroller's staff, but I beg you would not mention it to him. Your friend Hillsborough will then be pleased with the other staff, as Fox was, to be Secretary of State. I was glad of this opportunity of making our friend Barrington Secretary at War, which pleased the King as well as it did me." *Copy, on the same sheet as the following letter.*

Henry Fox to Lord Halifax.

1755, October 4. Holland House.—" . . . I am coming into a situation that will, I hope, give me opportunities of cultivating what I have long aspired to, your Lordship's friendship. . . . Mr. Dodington, who has known you longer, honours you above all mankind, and I believe is as much inclined as man can be to make one in a political system with your Lordship, Lord Hillsborough and your humble servant; but how far his opinion will permit him to follow his inclination, I do not know. I think him of great importance, and I believe, to the forming or changing that opinion, your Lordship will go a great way. If your Lordship thinks the measure which will be the question in debate (I mean the defence of Hanover by these two subsidiary treaties) just and necessary, and to be given in to, upon a knowledge that it is to extend no further, and would endeavour to engage Mr. Dodington, your Lordship would do the greatest service to your friends. The King has given his word that he will no longer put his negative on Mr. Dodington. . . .

"I am sensible that I have ventured too far with your Lordship in a first letter, but I hope and believe your Lordship will not only excuse this, but let me go a great deal further in the progress of that friendship which is among the sincerest and most ambitious wishes of, &c." *Copy.*

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Halifax.

[1755, October 8]. Wednesday. Claremont.—Appointing a meeting with Mr. Dodington. *Copy, on the same sheet.*

The Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Dodington.

1755, October 10.—" An account of a conference between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Dodington." *Printed in the Appendix to Dodington's Diary (ed. 1784, p. 337).*

Memorandum by the Earl of Halifax.

1755, December 27. Horton.—On his claims to receive the Garter.

GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. EAST.

1756, January 19.—Urging him to remain in Geneva until the next year and to apply himself to acquiring thoroughly the French and Italian languages, and to the study of history—the history of his own country above all others. He can no doubt obtain Rapin Thoyras' *Histoire de l'Angleterre*, and there are many select pieces, on interesting periods and by men of great genius, such as are to be found in the works of the Abbés de Vertôt and St. Real in French, Guicciardini and Davila in Italian, and "a more comprehensive work, though not a very good one, but yet necessary to be read, *L'Histoire ancienne par Rollin;* the little period of his own time, wrote by the Cardinal de Retz, with inimitable beauty," and many others which no doubt Mr. Fraigneau will have the goodness to point out.

In *belles lettres* there are Boileau's *Satires* and *Epistles*, and M. de Voltaire's works, with many lesser compositions of wit and humour, and to these must be added the French critics and their translations of the Greek and Latin authors. *Copy.*

HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1756, April 7].—"His Majesty has consented to our staying till a properer time, so I advise you *not* to be at his levée to-day. I shall see you at the House." *Endorsed with date.*

GEORGE DODINGTON to MR. EAST.

1756, June 4. Pall Mall.—Expressing his astonishment that Mr. East has seen nothing remarkable in his mother's behaviour, giving him advice about money matters, and stating that he has left a sealed packet with a friend, Mr. Breton, to be delivered to East in case he (Dodington) dies before they can meet.

"I cannot conclude without declaring myself obliged to you for taking my plain friendly treating you, upon these tender but necessary points, in so kind, so generous a manner. I am charmed with it, as it proves both an excellent head and a good heart. . . . I recommend you, my dear child, most fervently to God's goodness and protection."

HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, June 23. H[olland] House.—" . . . You will observe how like Galissoniere's [the French Admiral's] account was to this of Bing's, *mutato nomine*. I own I cannot but suppose this, as far as it goes, authentic, and as all the accounts from France agree that the siege of fort St. Phillips is not at all advanced, what if we should at last save it? This is the first time I have indulged myself in such a supposition.

"Bing's despatches, sent from Barcelona cross Spain to the Corunna, are not arrived."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1756, June 23.—"The despatches mentioned in Miller's letter are already come this moment, not all deciphered, but enough so to

blast most of the hopes you and I conceived. He [Byng] says he beat the French fleet, or rather that it was a drawn battle. But he says they are too strong for us, that the fort is invested with 17,000 men (in buckram I suppose), so that a letter cannot be conveyed into the place ; and that by the advice of a council of war he is going back to Gibraltar to refit, wait for reinforcements, and return. He hopes to make a more complete victory. Helas ! adieu."

P.S.—Capt. Andrews of the *Defiance* is killed.

Sir Horace Mann to George Dodington.

1756, July 23. Florence.—" . . . Long before this can reach you the fatal news of the loss of Minorca will be known in England. The stroke is so great, and attended by so many disagreeable circumstances, that the shock, I fear, will not have been diminished by being foreseen ; the consequences, too, must be very great, and not hidden to your penetration. It has already emboldened the perfidious republic of Genoa to avow what they have long been secretly treating about, a convention with the French, by which they yield up all their ports in Corsica, that are immediately to be garrisoned by French troops, in consideration of an annual subsidy of one million two hundred thousand livres. It is said that some steps of the same kind will be taken to exclude our ships from Villa Franca, and that the Duke de Richelieu is to go to Turin for that purpose ; and yet it is necessary that we should have a large fleet in the Mediterranean to retrieve the honour of the nation as well as to protect our trade. What an opportunity has been lost to strike a blow that France would not have recovered in twenty years. . ."

George Dodington to Henry Fox.

1756, August 30. Eastbury.—" I know nothing of public affairs but from the public papers, which represent them in a state of perplexity which I do not see sufficient grounds for ; but if those gentlemen are at all well-informed, and they should, in any the least degree, be in such a state as to make people think that their friends can be of any use to them, you will please to remember that if you send your commands to La Trappe you will find one who is much more ready to do than to say.

" But in truth, the state of my poor dear country is not the cause of my writing, tho' so pathetically set forth by those gentlemen, but their report of your ill-health, which a little alarms me, is the real motive of this letter ; and if you can order Mr. Tucker to send me word that you are well, it will be a more agreeable piece of news to me than all the ministerial intelligence you will ever be able to send me as long as you live."

Postscript.—" My duty to Lady Caroline and any young widow you may find in the neighbourhood." *Copy, on the same sheet as the preceding.*

George Dodington to Lord Dupplin.

1756, August 30. Eastbury.—Although public affairs afford no very promising prospect, he sees no ground for despair, or even

great uneasiness. His own part is easy, as it is both his inclination and duty to serve the public by co-operating with his friends, amongst whom he hopes his lordship may be reckoned. *Copy, on the same sheet as the preceding.*

R. Glover to George Dodington.

1756, August 30. London.—" . . . The public are sufficiently prepared for some expedient of a militia, probably from the quarter you refer to; from that quarter they expect nothing but a snake in the grass, and will receive it with the indignation it deserves. . . . There are three clouds over our heads, and must burst before the end of two months. The Brest squadron has been stronger than Boscawen for some time. It will not lie always in port. Sir Edward Hawke, all circumstances considered, is inferior to the Toulon squadron, which, we have reason to expect, will soon put to sea. General Winslow marched with nine thousand New England troops from Albany on the 12th of July to attack Crown Point, where the works are vastly enlarged, and defended by at least five thousand men. For my own part, I wait with the utmost uneasiness for these three events, which all promise nothing but new disgrace and calamity."

Sam Masham to George Dodington.

1756, September 5. Oates, near Harlow, Essex.—" Give me leave, dear Sir, to return you a thousand thanks for the best venison I ever tasted. . . . I invited two fat parsons to partake of it. They ate as if it did their hearts good, though it made mine ache. It put me in mind of Joh. Miller (by the by no bad author), who invited a friend (a devilish eater) to dine with him on a shoulder of veal. Good Master Miller, says he, this is something like living, here's cut and come again. Aye, says poor Joh., you may cut but by —— you shall never come again."

George Dodington to Henry Fox.

1756, [September 6]. Eastbury.—" I thank you for your kind letter. Your recovery gives me real joy; take care not to dash it by a relapse, but obey the Countess and I am contented . . .

" You say nothing of Brest. Are you sure that they are not stronger there than Boscawen for periods long enough to come out and attack him?

" I hope the best from the Mediterranean, but am not quite so sure as you seem to be of our superiority there at this hour. Remember how you were misled into a belief that Byng's squadron was too strong for all that they could put out, which it certainly was not; for those who affirmed that to you could have no certainty of his being joined by Edgecumbe—but this is between ourselves.

" I entirely agree there is no great reason to apprehend any active mischief from America this year, but reflect a little, if inaction be not defeat, in an undertaking where, without victory, the expense is ruin . . ." *Copy. Dated August* 6, *but endorsed* :—" To Mr. Fox of the 6th of September."

SAM MASHAM to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, October 13.—I have been this morning with the Duke of Newcastle. He acknowledged the promise he had made me, and (without making any sort of excuse) told me it was fixed for som body else. This is truth, upon my honour."

THE EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, October 18. Horton.—I am much obliged to you for the notice you give me of things being in a state of fermentation, and heartily wish it may soon subside. I dare say you think my presence in town necessary, but really, "considering the inferior rank of office I hold, the little right I have to be consulted on such an occasion, and the little weight my opinion, if given, would probably have, I am not aware my journey to town could be of any utility to the King's government or the public service; and as it may be attended with unpleasant circumstances to myself, who am naturally an enemy to quarrel, and dont like being a spectator of distress, I purpose enjoying my retirement here till I see reason to think my presence in town will be of use."

HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1756, Oct. 19. H[olland] House.—"I had a good deal of serious discourse with his Majesty yesterday. The Chancellor did not come to town till last night. The D[uke] of N[ewcastle] did not know his own mind till then, if he does now. His Majesty kept his temper therefore, and is open to any future behaviour he shall think proper. Pitt came to town this morning. I know nothing more, and therefore had nothing to trouble you with. I believe, without knowledge, reflection will have brought you from what seemed to be your opinion on Saturday, that things will be accommodated. But [what] will be the event I know not, nor am in any degree master of it; it is in other hands, and I am *not* sorry for it."

GEORGE DODINGTON to the EARL OF HALIFAX.

1756, October 27. La Trappe.—Congratulating him upon his "new station," and calling upon him not only to defend his country, but to assist her in her collective capacity; to "procure her justice from her neighbours, retrieve her honour, recover her possessions, and fix her independency once more among the nations, without which her independency at home will be very precarious." *Copy.*

THE EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, February 26]. Saturday Evening. Bushey Park.—"I take for granted that the House of Commons will unanimously agree to the Bill,* and everything relative to that and the suspension of the execution, I dare say you have taken proper care of. I never

* For absolving the members of the Court Martial on Admiral Byng from their oath of secrecy.

saw such times as these, and therefore I hinted to you this morning that nothing was to be trusted to. Though I have not too partial a regard to the body of which I am one, yet my astonishment and indignation were raised as high as one of my phlegm and resignation can be supposed to indulge either, when I received the news you sent me of the Bill being to be opposed in the House of Lords. In matters of death, you will allow that Patience may come as properly from the monument as on any other occasion; and though I pretend not to move hearts of stone, I am resolved to do what I can towards it.

"Do our Bishops, who are so careful of their Sunday, wish that blood, probably innocent, should be spilt on Monday? Will former ministers wish that blood should be spilt on a supposed crime of negligence? Will lords of the law oppose the explanation of a sentence that nobody can understand, and they less than any others? And will common sense and humanity quit the breasts of every other Lord who has not been tied to law or church? Fye, fye! I can't suppose it; but if it be so, as I love you, let me recommend to you never to think of us; we are not fit company for you."

I beg you to tell my servant what has passed in your house, and is likely to pass in ours. I took my children to La Trappe this morning. They had never seen anything so elegant before, and were the better pleased with all they saw, because it belonged to one who has been so good to them, and who they know is so dear to their father.

Henry Fox to George Dodington.

[1757, March 12]. Saturday Morning.—"What can I do? Can I speak to Lord Halifax without such authority as may justify me at all events in what I say to him. I not only authorise but desire you to converse with him on the subject, and if you please, to say that it is by my desire and on this foot:—That I wish the King would dismiss Pitt, Lord Temple, &c.; that I think no one of the late Ministers can now succeed them, but that such a ministry should be formed as the late Ministers may support, and as the people cannot complain of; that the Secretary of State must be in the House of Commons; that if the Duke of Devon will stay there is no place but First Lord of the Admiralty for his lordship, nor anybody that I know of but his lordship who could fill that place; that I should advise you to succeed him, and that Oswald should be Secretary of the Admiralty; that the *conciliabulum* should consist of the Dukes of Devon and Bedford, the Earl of Halifax, Lord Mansfield, and the two Secretaries. This is my notion, and if everybody will act the part assigned them, I can answer for the success. If because they will not, or for any other reason, his Majesty is forced to keep these gentlemen two months longer, I shall look upon them as complete conquerors, and Leicester House the Court. I shall not go to it, but I shall struggle no longer against it. Adieu, my dear Sir. As soon as I know his Majesty's determination you shall know more, or that there is nothing more to be known."

Endorsed with date.

THE EARL OF HALIFAX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

[1757, March 12.] Saturday night. Bushey Park.—I received yours, enclosing that from Mr. Fox to you, at dinner time. "As Mr. Fox has no positive and precise proposition to make, I can have none such answer to give. You have done your part in laying before me what he desired might be submitted to my consideration, and I will talk with him on the subject whenever he likes I should; by his own account of things I think he is not quite ripe for it yet. I continue with respect to the Admiralty in the same opinion I was last night, . . . and am convinced of the necessity of its being further explained, and the concurrence of all the principal parties being proved, before a man of common sense and prudence would be inclined to pledge himself. You know how delicate I am in engagements of a political sort, because I am desirous of a strict adherence to them." I will come up to-morrow evening if necessary.

Endorsed with date.

HENRY FOX to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1757, March 15.—"I understand Lord T[emple] had an unkindly audience, in which his Majesty did by no means yield; but I understand they do not intend to resign upon it. So now things tend to delay again; and you and I think alike of the consequence of that. I am the less anxious, because, though you may not see Lord H[alifax']s refusal in so strong a light as I do, yet, my dear Sir, if we cannot change his mind, it is much the same thing; and I will not, upon consideration, give myself leave to imagine that what you cannot do with him, the Duke of Bedford can. Pitt, &c., have, by their faults and want of judgment, put themselves into our power; it is now our turn by the same means to make them again masters. It is, however, neither your fault nor that of yours ever."

The SAME to the SAME.

1757, March 16.—"Capacity is so little necessary for most employments that you seem to forget that there is one where it is absolutely so—viz., the Admiralty. It is there we want Lord Halifax' active ability, and if he will not accept it, Lord Winchelsea must be the man. Now, my dear Sir, when the King with difficulty can be brought to open his closet door to Lord Halifax, as head of the Admiralty, do you believe his declining that office will leave a possibility of his being Secretary of State? Neither do I (however I may wish it him for his own sake) think there is any immediate want of him in that office. His objection can't be Lord Anson, for I told him whenever the King and the times were ripe for that, he could not go out of the Admiralty, but to something he would like infinitely better. And if that should happen, he might be courted to take those seals, which nobody can force for him now. The plan I projected was not to please particular people, but to extricate the King and the country from the difficulties, both domestic and foreign, they are involved in. This cannot be done but by finding such men as are least obnoxious and most able; and placing them, not where

they may choose, but where they may best answer the great purposes they are called upon for.

"Upon the whole you are troubled with this to desire you to turn your thoughts to this measure, remembering these two things which I lay down as certainties—first, that the First Lord of the Admiralty must be a man of real ability and great application; secondly, that if Lord Halifax refuses it, though the Secretaries should both be taken out of the House of Lords, he will not be one of them, unless great chance, for which in planning you can take no credit, should so order it.

"I shall talk this over with the Duke of Bedford, but if his Grace should have more weight than you with Lord Halifax, I shall be struck with wonder not favourable to his lordship."

George Dodington to Henry Fox.

1757, March 18.—Thinks it absurd to exact a promise "to concur" from a man who never in his life kept one if it interfered with his interest and safety. If that is all the assurance their friend [Halifax] has, believes he himself will not think it worth sixpence. Lord Mansfield is said not to approve as warmly as could be wished.

La Cerda, the Portuguese Minister to France, is in London. "Would catch like a drowning man at the smallest twig that could possibly shoot out into a peace," but wishes his friends to have the making of it. *Copy.*

Henry Fox to George Dodington.

[1757, March 20.] Sunday night.—"I wish I could agree with you that Lord H[alifax] mentioned the idle promise of another, *pro formâ* only. But we may probably see, for a positive declaration will be required on the D[uke] of N[ewcastle]'s part; and, perhaps, declined. Lord Mansfield, I am told, approves of no *mezzo termino*. I believe he approves of nothing that may sooner or later make his patron again a minister. Be at the House to-morrow, and I will inform you, and besides I intend there to call upon the Ministers for a contradiction of the prevailing lie that is industriously spread, of an intended message for English troops to be sent to Westphalia. They say Pitt would not carry such message, and is therefore to be turned out. Adieu. Put the inclosed in your drawer, and 100*l.* in your pocket, which give me to-morrow."

Endorsed with date.

Enclosing:—

> *Receipt for* 100*l.*, *from George Bub Dodington, for which is promised delivery of "a proper security on the Stockbridge turnpike." Signed, Harry Harmood, Treasurer to the Commissioners.*

Earl of Hillsborough to George Dodington.

[1757, April 2]. Saturday.—"I have called three times upon dear Mr. Dodington to tell him all I know and to deliver a message

to him from Mr. F[ox], who wished me to send him your answer at two o'clock. He begs of you to accept of Treasurer of the Navy without making conditions at present; and commissioned me to repeat to you his assurances of standing by you, *totis viribus*, if during his Majesty's life any attempt should be made to maltreat you; that he will not stay in a quarter of an hour if such an event was to happen; and if you will be so kind to him as to accept of this for the present, he will be ready to assist in bringing about any practicable exchange that you may wish. I beg leave to add that I hope you will comply with his request, and let me know your resolution as soon as you arrive. He desired me further to ask you whether you would choose it should be done before or after the holidays. [Winchelsea] accepts of the A[dmiralty], so things will be immediately carried into execution; but I believe as yet this is a secret."

Date given in endorsement.

George Dodington to Henry Fox.

1757, June 2. La Trappe. Thursday night.—"I hear you are come to town, but not much more informed of the settlement of the administration than the King himself. How long is this gentleman [Pitt] to trifle with his sovereign and benefactor, and to keep our destiny in suspense; you of too much consequence, I of too little, to be trusted with or admitted to the honour of supporting him? I know nobody that ought to decide for you but the King: I am sure nobody shall decide for me but you." *Copy.*

Same to the Same.

1757 June 3. La Trappe.—Expressing his conviction that the King stands equally engaged in honour, though not in interest," to both of them for the two Paymasters' offices. If it is necessary for him to be left out, he has nothing to say, except that Mr. Fox must settle about an equivalent for him, as he himself will have nothing to do with them. *Copy.*

Henry Fox to George Dodington.

[1757, June 3]. Friday night.—"It is impossible to recollect, and you, dear Sir, would be sorry to read, half the absurdities I have heard this day. The Duke of Newcastle went to the King not to accept but to desire till Tuesday to determine, because Lord Hardwicke does not come to town till Monday. If he accepts, it is against the advice of all his friends; yet he will accept, and let those friends make his situation ten times worse than it would be if they did not meddle. But he is to act against their advice, and yet they are to advise him. I, in the meantime, will not be of the system (as you will persist to call what those do who never had a system). I will take what I take from the King. He is certainly engaged in honour to you as well as to me, and therefore that settlement too must be with him. But they cannot settle it with me, nor I

with him as yet, for I am sick of what passes, and will neither see him nor them more till I kiss his hand, and that I ever shall kiss it is doubtful."

Endorsed with date of receipt, June 4.

Henry Fox to George Dodington.

1757, June 6.—"The Duke of Newcastle has been with the King to know what terms he may offer Mr. Pitt, whom, together with Lord Hardwyke and Lord Bute, he is to meet to-night. The King gave the Duke little encouragement to think he would condescend to such terms as they would accept, and the Duke gave the King as little to imagine that he would come in without them. His Grace is to be at Court to-morrow, when, *according to present appearances*, they will part for good and all, for the King complains of himself for having permitted so long delay. But the very reverse of this conjecture may prove to be the event. *Incertus, non perturbatus.* I'le go to dinner. Adieu! *Copy. With note that the original has been sent on to the Earl of Hillsborough.*

George Dodington to Henry Fox.

[1757], June 10. La Trappe.—"When we parted, I went to carry Lord Leicester to Ken-wood, who kept us drinking there till nine. Not a word said of what had passed or was passing. I met Rigby yesterday in Hyde Park, who stopped me to tell me that Lord H[oldernes]s had resigned. Am I to wish you joy, and of what? If I am, I do it cordially, and will support you in every honourable thing, *usque ad internecionem*, in whatever shape you like best, either in or out." *Copy.*

Richard Cumberland.

1757, August. Eastbury.—Verses in praise of Eastbury and Dodington. After lamenting the "gothic taste," which runs after "wayward fabrics" without "fence from winds or shelter from the sky," or "after

> "Some puppet shrine, where antick Folly dwells
> Bedawbed with dragons and behung with bells,"

he continues:—

> "Hither with joy the man of Taste resorts,
> But slowly lags through Eastbury's stately courts:
> Forward to censure, though profoundly blind,
> He spies out faults Palladio would not find;
> Sleeps o'er her splendours with an idiot gaze,
> Nor damns one elegance with awkward praise.
> . . . .
> Yet mourn not Eastbury, thy peculiar fate,
> Thy master's virtues are as much their hate;
> Know, to excell at this degenerate time,
> In him or thee is equally a crime."

The poem ends with a prophecy that a better race and a happier age will

> "Respect a genius form'd the State to guide,
> Brand the low arts that tore him from its side;
> Lay bare to shame the faction and their plan
> And pay his memory what they ow'd the man."

The Earl of Halifax to George Dodington.

1757, October 15. Bushey Park.—Has lately been so ill of a fever that it might have prevented his seeing the ruin of his country, which he now imagines he will be a miserable spectator of.

Is alone with his three dear children (who will probably see more misery than he himself will), and prays Dodington to join their family dinner at three o'clock.

Lord Talbot to George Dodington.

[1757, December 17].—" . . . Lord Bute's manner of honouring me with expressions of esteem before you is doubly flattering; he has capacity, discernment, spirit and dignity of mind that might make a person more exempt from vanity than myself highly pleased with the knowledge of such a man's good opinion, and he has such a propriety of manners and such attentive good breeding that he would not have chosen me for a theme of conversation to you unless he had believed the topic acceptable. I am to dine with him to-morrow, but I believe he has nothing of a political nature to communicate to me, for, though I am not without some degree of accidental merit to his connexion, I fancy they do not much care what my sentiments are; but whether I stand well or ill with them, if they will do their duty by the public, they shall have my cordial support." *Date given in endorsement.*

Sir Horace Mann to George Dodington.

1758, March 18. Florence.—" . . . I am much obliged to you for the instructive sketch which you have given me of our affairs at home. . . . An union of counsels of people of such abilities and experience to concert and determine all political measures, and a vigorous execution of them by others, seems the most expedient for the service of any country. Such a hero as Prussia affords both in civil and military affairs is not often to be met with, and he too has his exceptions. The prospect of success that we may expect from the efforts that will be made so early this year in America affords some satisfaction; any one considerable advantage in those parts would, in all probability, oblige the court of France to listen to equitable terms of accommodation, as there is hardly room to doubt that she is already tired of an ally who has involved that nation in such imbroils, the expence and duration of which could not be foreseen, . . . so that considering it purely in the light that you mention, of a diversion, it seems both a prudent and necessary measure to support the King of Prussia. . . . If each of the

Empress's allies should do their utmost, one might tremble for the King of Prussia ; but he alone will have 200,000 men, exclusive of the Hanoverian Army. Great feats may be done with such a force, directed by such a prince. During all these troubles, Italy enjoys a perfect tranquillity, nor, excepting the trifling number of troops that the Queen has had from hence, there is no probability that any of the princes of it will take part in them."

GEORGE DODINGTON to SIR HORACE MANN.

1758, July 11. Hammersmith.—Praying him to try to bring about a reconciliation between Lady Orford and her husband, Mr. Shirley.* *Copy.*

SIR HORACE MANN to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1758, August 12. Florence.—Giving an account of his interview with Lady Orford, and regretting that he has not been able to bring about a reconciliation.

The SAME to the SAME.

1759, March 30. Florence.—" . . . We are in daily expectation of an event that might naturally disturb the tranquillity of Italy, but we are now told, and the public dispositions seem to confirm it, that the King of Spain's death will not give occasion to any disturbances. It is difficult to see how such contending interests can be adjusted ; certain it is that the ground work of it is, however, to leave the Kingdom of Naples to a second son of the present possessor when he succeeds to the crown of Spain. What equivalent can be found for Don Philip or for those who by the treaty of Aix were to share the States which he now enjoys, is a secret I suppose known to very few ; but the Courts of Vienna and France were too much interested to prevent a storm that must have proved very prejudicial to the system they are at present engaged in, not to make some sacrifice on this occasion.

" We have the pleasure to hear that our own affairs go on very successfully, and have reason to flatter ourselves that we shall be able to baffle the resentment which the French threaten us with this summer. It is certain that they will exert their utmost efforts to recover the reputation of their arms. I will venture to congratulate you, Sir, on our success at Guadaloupe, as it is a severe blow on the enemy, though I fear that such an acquisition will not totally make amends for the disappointment we met with at Martinico. Their trade in these ports to the Levant is entirely put a stop to by the vigilance of our cruisers, though they had found out the means of carrying it on under neutral colours and in the names of neutral subjects. Those of Leghorn were deeply engaged in this deceit, but many have paid dear for it of late. This Government is angry, and cannot brook seeing their own ships brought

* There are several letters from Lady Orford to Dodington, and one from him to her, on this subject.

back as prizes into their own ports, though at the same time they are sensible that the least resentment or impediment would make the matter worse, and that our people would carry them down to Gibraltar.

"Marquis Niccolini thinks that he has had a misfortune in his family by loosing his eldest nephew, who was the head of it, and who was on the point of marrying; but he was so unhappy in his understanding, almost an idiot, that everybody else thinks it was lucky. The next brother marries the same young lady who was designed for the other."

George Dodington to Mr. Shirley.

1759, September 15. Eastbury.—"We have not only sacrificed thirty millions of moneys and thirty thousand men to preserve the interests, rights and power of the nation upon the continent of America, but we have added ten supererogatory millions upon this continent to preserve the interest and power of the ministry. We have succeeded fully in both, thank God; let us leave off while we are well, and before we are obliged to sacrifice our works of necessary duty to our acts of supererogation; let us clap up a good English peace while we may, and not be forced to cover our losses in Germany by our gains in America. . . . It is true (and I rejoice, I pride myself in it), that with the help of our money and a very gallant body of our countrymen, [Prince Ferdinand] has beat the French about the field; but let us remember he has not beat them out of the field.

"Poor Lord George! I hear he begins again. *Virum volitare per ora.* He was burnt this week at Salisbury." *Copy.*

The Earl of Halifax to George Dodington.

1759, December 10. Downing Street.—"As you gave me hopes I should have the honour and pleasure of your company at Horton this Christmas, I called on you . . . to tell you that our party moves northward on Friday sennight, and that I am far more ready to treat on terms of accommodation (for our journey) than any Plenipos you may have read or heard of lately. . . ."

When there you shall have everything as much to your wish as I and my young ones can make it, "who will sing and prattle to you better than when you saw Horton last."

George Dodington to Lord Chancellor Bowes.

1760, April 8.—A very long letter, giving a clear and unprejudiced summary of Lord George Sackville's conduct at and after the battle of Minden; of his dismissal by the King and demand for a Court Martial. Dodington believes that when Lord Holderness sent the King's permission for a Court Martial, adding that his Lordship would see *that there was no specific charge against him*, Lord George's wisest plan would have been to go no further, but to let his friends spread about "that he had been injured by private pique, that he had insisted upon a Court Martial to expose his faults to all mankind, and when he had forced them to grant it, they told him that they

had nothing to charge him with ; conscious then of his own innocence, he had nothing left but to sit down contented with being made a sacrifice to a German General, whose displeasure he had incurred for not suffering without remonstrance the British army to be squandered and the British troops to be destroyed by undue preferences in the defence of Hanover." All this, though probably not true, might have been of great avail to him by and by, when the people's hot fit was over and a cold one come on. Instead of this his Lordship has held fast to his claim for a Court Martial, though it is difficult to see what he can gain by it. It is a strange transaction, which has put under a military arrest and trial by a Court Martial a member of Parliament who has now nothing on earth to do with the army ; a point which seems to be of the highest importance, " but given up by the Parliament and the people with the utmost indifference." On the day when the King sent the message to the Commons that he had " detained " one of the members, Dodington went to the House, although he was not in the habit of attending it, and had not been there above three times this session. He found all the lawyers there " of all ages and denominations," which made him expect that they meant to give their opinions on the legality of this military detainer, which actually affected the life of a member, but to his astonishment, " the question for the address of thanks [for the King's message] was put and agreed to without one word being said."

Upon this Dodington rose and testified his surprise that in a case so grave, affecting the life of a member and the liberty of them all, the House should " tacitly approve of a doctrine certainly very new, and supported, indeed, upon very great authority, without requiring any one reason in support of that authority " ; that knowing no statute or reasons on which the legality of the military detainer was grounded, he felt it his duty to declare positively that in his opinion it was not law, and that " a point so affecting the very foundation of the constitution was not to be established by implication and arbitrary constructions of ambiguous expressions ; that such an express and dangerous abridgement of liberty must be established by an express law, framed for that sole purpose and intention, and declaring in the preamble the absolute necessity it is built upon." To this the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasurer of the Navy said something " pretty slight." Dodington answered them pretty strongly, and there the matter ended without another word.

Lord Talbot to George Dodington.

1760, August 25. Hensol.—" The comparative power of France and England is a melancholy consideration ; but their own writers, who state their revenue nearly as high as it is stated in the paper for which I am indebted to your kind attention, acknowledge that both in the collection and management of their revenue, and in numerous instances of their domestic conduct, they have interior evils that enervate and consume their strength, and it appears to me, had we guarded against the intrigues of France at the commencement of this war, and not absurdly imagined that we could enable the personal abilities of the King of Prussia to be superior to the

numerous forces and extensive territorial powers combined against him, and had not we impotently and impolitically attempted to raise him upon the ruins of a house that it has, unhappily, cost this nation so much blood and treasure to establish as a bulwark against that of Burbon, I, with diffidence, say it appears to me that this war would probably have reduced France to a lower ebb than she was reduced to by the Marlborough successes, and notwithstanding the ruin impending over us, it will require a length of time, and a very wise and steady administration of affairs, for France to recover the trade, the marine and recruits of people, of which she has been deprived by the exertion of our maritime force. You will conclude that I am an advocate for the war. I own I think it was unavoidable, not that I am deluded by the splendid events that gratify our vanity in our brilliant beggary, or insensible of the misery and devastation of mankind. The wisdom, the spirit and the integrity of those ministers who advised our piratical denunciation of our resentment for the insolence and injuries received in America never were the theme of my panegyrics, but in public, as in private life, the conduct of other people leave to the ablest of men only the option which part to take between different evils. The annals of our history prove that our wealth, our power, the employment and consequential increase of our numbers of inhabitants have been greatly advanced by our American possessions, and therefore true policy, as well as the protection due in honour and justice to those who are entitled to it by their obedience to our Government, made it impossible longer to endure the both open and insidious attacks of France upon our colonies, for Machiavel's observation is true, that an injury ought not to be connived at when you have power to revenge it. . . .

"I have always considered the Prussian victories in a different light from that with which they have dazzled much stronger and abler eyes, and I do not feel his distress with the aching heart that possibly an Englishman ought to have for the benevolent and pious defender of the German liberties and Protestant religion, and I do not see, provided we were not accessory to it, that the ungrateful Hungarian woman's being possessed of the dominions of the House of Brandenburgh would be finally advantageous to France or injurious to Britain. But I dread the arrival of every post, for though we have reason to have confidence in the valour of our troops, and much praise is bestowed on the capacities of Duke Ferdinand and the hereditary Prince, and the French seem subject to panics, our stake is a deep one, and should it be lost, besides the private friends we shall have cause to lament and the number of gallant countrymen to deplore, I fear there is something in the air of the Cabinet that would not advise such measures as might still enable us to dictate terms of peace, and to secure our future tranquillity and lasting influence."

Lord Talbot to George Dodington.

1760, September 1. Hensol.—"I am much obliged to an inaccurate account for a second favour from my very dear Mr. Dodington. . . . I thank you for your kind desire to hear that

I had got well into a post assigned me by your friend Stanley. You judge very justly that it is the only one into which, if I was fairly entered, I might effectually serve my friends and country, but it is now too late in life for me to occupy that post with ability and to discharge the duty of it with readiness and assiduity. . . .

"The Brecknockshire militia have been amused with a march of near two hundred miles. I suppose ours* will be called out before Christmas. I will endeavour to do my duty as well as the lowest private man, and as readily as the first officer honoured with a station to acquire glory; but it is impossible not to feel the insolence with which the militia is treated, or not to be provoked at the violation of the law by which this constitutional force ought to be regulated; or not to be exasperated by being made an expedient army, to facilitate German politics. Where I shall be sent I do not guess, but I shall not compliment power by an offer of my service. I accepted the command because my countrymen desired me, and I thought I could not consistently with my principles of government refuse their request. Till imminent danger of invasion, our continuance unembodied is most agreeable to my sense of the true nature of a British militia; but wherever I go you may be sure there will be found a person most sincerely attached to my dear Mr. Dodington."

George Dodington to the Earl of Bute.

1760, October 27.—Stating that he has just heard of the King's death, and praying his Lordship to obtain for him some mark of the royal favour from the young King and the Princess, who has ever been his most gracious mistress.

The Same to the Same.

1760, Dec. 15.—" . . . I am exerting all my endeavours to get as many members as I possibly can. For God's sake do not suffer all the King's interest to be employed against his power. If it be not thought proper to raise an army, let us at least secure a phalanx to oppose the malice and faction which are everywhere at work. *Copy.*"

The Same to the Same.

1760, December 22. Pall Mall.—In relation to the measures to be taken "to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy." Sends some lines, which must not be seen by anybody, unless his lordship has a mind to make the King or the Princess laugh.

Quoth Newcastle to Pitt, 'tis in vain to dispute;
If we'd quarrel in private, we must make room for Bute.
Quoth Pitt to his Grace, to bring that about,
I fear, my dear lord, you or I must turn out.
Not at all, quoth the Duke, I meant no such thing,
To make room for us all, we must turn out the King.
If that's all your scheme, quoth the Earl, by my troth,
I shall stick by my master, and turn ye out Both.

* *I.e.*, the Glamorganshire militia, of which Lord Talbot had been made Colonel.

Lord Talbot to George Dodington.

1760, December 28. Hensol.—"I have this moment received a melancholy, penitential epistle from the gloomy cell of the most mortified anchorite that ever passed his unsocial life without bestowing or receiving pleasure in the ordinary intercourse of the world. . . . You tell me you have heard nothing from me, know nothing about me, and have nothing to say to me. The first position is for your advantage, the second for mine, and the third, provided such a letter as I have this minute received can be said to contain nothing, is the sort of correspondence I would wish from you and any pen, if another can be found equal to yours. . . .

"Dashwood's reception gives me extreme felicity; his head is capable of being *turned to* everything considerable; his heart is incapable of being perverted from everything good, great and amiable. Lord Bute will find him an original equal to the picture delineated by your masterly pencil and coloured from your Rubens pallet, and he has a firmness in his nature that will make very flippant orators unwilling to take up the gauntlet when he throws it upon the arena. A King that means to found his glory and happiness upon the felicity of his people cannot place such a subject too high in office. Of the names who are to add lumber to the House of Lords, some I much approve; Lord Mansfield (*sic*) and yours are each a plus that will allow many minuses in our political algebraical calculations of ability.

"I before heard the country dance figure of crossing over and changing hands in the debate in the House of Commons; a little interest and some vanity made mutual absurdities. His Majesty's elegant and lively expression from his heart was known and felt before I left town; it was a sentiment that a Lord Strafford would have felt, and a Lord Bute I hope deserves, but it was such a one as the Lord President [Lord Ashley] thought a youthful extravagance. Indeed the united people do justice to their monarch, and if he is supported by instruments worthy the dignity and spirit of his mind, his annals will shine beyond the most illustrious of the fortunate number added to his name."

Same to the Same.

1761. Lent. Wednesday morning.—"Lent is a season of self-denial and mortification to good Christians; I shall, therefore, deny myself the pleasure I had proposed of dining with my dear Mr. Dodington, and acquaint him that resentment arising from a proud heart and suspicion entertained by too refining a head, have, though supported by as obstinate a temper as ever made man impracticable, been forced to give way to the accumulated acts of friendship and attention shown by your noble friend [Bute] to all the little circle of my most cordial attachments. Dashwood repeated to me what passed yesterday; McKye was also highly satisfied with his reception; in truth, there is a conduct of such dignity, spirit, and generosity, so characteristic of the man, that I think I should as easily determine from what source particular measures flowed, as you would judge a

cartoon to have been drawn by Raphael or a beautiful passage in the Iliads to have been wrote by Homer, though you should have found one in a country church, or read the other on a scrap of waste paper. I, therefore, have told Dashwood that I will venture to accept for Mr. Rice, as dispatch is necessary, and it must be seven or eight days at soonest before his answer can return. . . .

"I hope Mr. Rice will be in town before I set out for Wales, or that I shall meet him on the road, for it is necessary that he should know that the offer proceeds spontaneously from Lord Bute, entirely unsolicited by me or unhinted by the Duke of Newcastle, who will be much hurt that a man should be placed in office without his assistance that he has known from an infant, and for whom he has constantly professed the affection of a parent."

The Earl of Bute to Lord Melcombe.*

[1761, June 15]. Monday night.—"Late as it is, I can't go to bed without imparting to you a piece of intelligence that vexes me extremely, while I hate myself for suffering it [to] do so, as I think it highly improbable. It has been asserted to Lord Shelburn that your lordship attempted to supply his vacancy in Wycomb without his knowledge. There is not a man in the kingdom for whom I entertain a warmer friendship, and whose character, spirit, and talents I have a higher opinion of; therefore, you must not be surprised if the least surmise of this nature puts me in a flurry, as it tends to disjoint persons I wish to see cordially united. Be so good, my dear lord, as to let me know what you imagine could have given rise to this report, for if (as I incline to believe) it prove entirely groundless, it will render me extremely happy."

Endorsed (*with date of receipt*) June 16, 1761.

The Same to the Same.

1761, June 29.—Making inquiries as to his health after an accident and congratulating him on his narrow escape.

Lord Melcombe to the Earl of Bute.

1761, June 29.—Thanking his lordship for his and Lady Bute's kind enquiries, and expressing his conviction that by stopping and laying hold of him, his Lordship had saved his life.

Hans Stanley to Lord Melcombe.

1761, July 12. Paris.—"You can scarce conceive a more fatiguing employment than that which I am engaged in. This consideration, attended with that partial indulgence which your Lordship has always shown me, will, I hope, plead my excuse for not having sooner written to you. . . . My reception here has been very civil and polite; I pass my leisure hours agreeably, but not enough so to forget that my own cottage lies within the reach of a morning

* Dodington was created Baron Melcombe of Melcombe Regis in April, 1761.

from that palace of Eastbury, whose magnificence is a weak recommendation compared to the cheerfulness and sociable friendship of its Lord. Though I am nothing less than a prophet, I shall hope ever to preserve my bed and my candlestick there."

Lord Melcombe to the Earl of Bute.

1761, October 6. La Trappe.—Expressing his joy that his Lordship is delivered from a most impracticable colleague, his Majesty from a most imperious servant, and the country from a most dangerous minister.* *Copy.*

Dr. E. Young to Lord Melcombe.

1761, October 6.—"Indeed, my good and honoured Lord, I have not been in town since January last. I probably may be mistaken in my fancied amendments,† but in truth I have done my best, for I was pleased and proud of the task. There is much noble and useful sense in it, which will be more applauded than obeyed. I know but little of my Lord Bute, but admire his uncle [the 2nd Duke of Argyll] as much as you. My dear Lord, God preserve you, and prepare us both for the *urn* you mention. Pollio [Bute] will soon visit us there on an equal foot."

The Same to the Same.

1761, October 17.—"What, my good Lord, if it ran thus:—

—— —— If we can judge aright
From a fair morning, of meredian light.

There is an ease and simplicity in the above alteration (which I think right, especially in an Epistle), and almost the reverse of flattery."

With these two letters is a MS. copy of the Epistle.‡

Lord Melcombe to the Earl of Bute.

1762, February 8.—Reminding him of a previous application, on behalf of a friend of his named Jones, for a prebend or canonry of Windsor, Christ Church, Westminster, Canterbury, &c., which his Lordship encouraged him to believe should be complied with, when Dr. Blair was provided for, who is now satisfied at Westminster.

It has, of late, rained Bishoprics, Deaneries and Canonries, and he has waited, hoping that his poor friend "would have got into the tail of the shower;" but the last of them, Dr. York's canonry of Windsor, being now given to Dr. Hort, he is obliged to trouble his Lordship. *Copy.*

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* Pitt resigned on Monday, October 5.

† To Dodington's metrical *Epistle to the Earl of Bute*; published in 1776 with Dr. Young's emendations as foot-notes.

‡ In this copy the last two lines (which are absent from the printed text) run—

"And thine it is, if we can judge aright
From morning brightness, of meridian light."

THE EARL OF BUTE to LORD MELCOMBE

1762, February 10. Wednesday night.—"Your Lordship's letter, though wrote with your usual politeness, has too much the air of reproach, and conveys too sensibly the idea of a broken promise not to surprise a person of my warm temper, and of my most friendly regard to your Lordship. . . . I will not call to mind any occurrences that passed from the death of the Prince of Wales to that of the late King, for I not only buried them in oblivion myself, but endeavoured to eradicate them elsewhere. Thus much, indeed, I must affirm; all former habitudes were so broken off between your Lordship and me at the demise that you certainly could not call on me for acts of friendship, and yet my conduct ever since has been that of a sincere and steady friend. . . . Your friend, my Lord, was not forgot; Windsor and Westminster were neither of them in my power to procure him; the first vacancy in Worcester or Canterbury I ever intended to be at your Lordship's disposal. . .

"I own, and that without blushing, I have been unfortunate in the means I have for years taken of cementing friendships and procuring attachments; others, with much less trouble, perhaps without my honesty, succeed better . . . but I repine not; conscious of my own feelings, conscious of deserving better treatment, I shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my King and country in the best manner my poor talents will allow me; happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed and placed on other shoulders."

THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH to LORD MELCOMBE.

1762, February 29 (*sic*). Dublin.—"When I reflect upon the long and uninterrupted friendship and the sincere and affectionate respect I have entertained towards you, and have upon all occasions, as far as my little sphere of action would permit, endeavoured to evince, and when I recollect that for twenty years of my life, I have been countenanced and protected, and imagined myself beloved by Mr. Dodinton, I cannot but observe with the utmost mortification that my Lord Melcombe seems to have totally forgotten me. I do not complain, my dear lord, that you have not written to me. I could not expect that favour unless I had given you the trouble of a letter, which in truth I should have done with pleasure, if at the same time that I gave you trouble I could have entertained you. What gives me pain is, that knowing I am in this country, in the many letters you have written to our mutual friend you should not once have asked, is Hillsborough alive? What is he doing? How does he bear his annihilation, &c., &c. Indeed, I am heartily mortified by this, I think, undeserved neglect, and if I did not truly respect and love you, I would not let you know it. You write also to the Chancellor, but I am equally forgotten in that correspondence. In the shade of life which the happiest are sometimes in, our spirits feel the unkindness of our friends with quicker sensibility, and as the probability is that I shall always remain in it, perhaps I grow the more liable to see that unkindness in stronger lights than it deserves. The real regard your Lordship retains for Halifax and he for you

gives me true pleasure; I should be glad to partake, but I do not envy. Were I of an envious disposition, he daily furnishes food for such an appetite. His conduct in every circumstance since his arrival in his kingdom has not only been unblameable, but as highly commendable and praiseworthy as is possible. The few worthy honour and admire him, the crowd of selfish, corrupt and vicious are ashamed and afraid. Political art and cunning have assailed him by every method that metropolitical priestcraft could suggest in vain. The last great effort was made a day or two ago—a motion in the House of Commons to address for an addition to his salary, so as to make it clear 16,000*l*. They thought him catched. His circumstances, as they argued, embarrassed, this so great offer must enslave him to us; we can ruin his popularity by representing him as sordidly interested; he cannot refuse to augment our salaries in return for our having thus largely increased his; in short, he is ours; he is in our power. Your lordship would have laughed to see the long faces of astonishment and disappointment, when he had given his answer. The Primate [Stone] would not believe it, and every mean-spirited abject soul, not able to comprehend his nobleness of nature, is at this moment turning and twisting and straining his intentions, if possible, to some dirty purpose. I will not tell you his manner of refusal, I should do it injustice; I suppose Lord Bute must have it, and will show you the copy. In general, the dignity and delicacy of sentiment, as well as the elegance and propriety of expression that run through the whole, made me admire it extremely, and I assure you it lost nothing by the just and affecting manner in which he delivered it. I have thus, my dear lord, filled almost three sides of paper about one who flattered himself he had some share in your friendship, and one who deserves to be and is in the entire possession of it. I must, before I have done, add that your friend at St. James' could not possibly be better or more truly represented than he is by your friend at Dublin Castle.

"And now, my dear lord, give me leave to say that the only thing I have regretted since I have been here is the being absent from your late debate in the House of Lords. I have received such accounts of Lord B[ute]'s speech, whom I never, and of yours, whom I have often with infinite pleasure heard that I lament my loss. I should have voted with you, agreeing, nevertheless, in opinion against the German ruinous war; but how any man of common sense could think it right to end it by a Parliamentary vote is beyond my conception. I did intend to have said a word to you about our Septennial Bill, which I hope you will send back, as it is a measure which will effectually place the King's Lieutenant at the head of this government, independent of Primates and other factious leaders; but I have already taken up more of your time than a forgotten friend ought to think himself entitled to; forgotten or not I shall ever wish you all that can increase and continue happiness."

THE EARL OF BUTE to LORD MELCOMBE.

[1762, April 9.] Friday night.—Is by no means well, and begins

to think that a little more of what he has gone through will prepare him for a longer journey than he would choose at present to take. Begs Lord Melcombe to come to eat his mutton with him on the morrow.

Received on Easter Eve.

Lord Melcombe to the Earl of Bute.

1762, April 13. Pell Mell.—"I set down the overflowings of a most affectionate and grateful heart, opprest with anxiety too sharp to be supprest. . . . The people are intoxicated with conquest, his partisans take effectual care to combine the idea of Mr. Pitt with it; his party rises; they attack you publicly in all conversations, and now in writing, personally, in the strongest and most audacious manner. Does the body of office assist them in all this? No. Does it lift a finger against them? Yet less. They observe a worse than Spanish neutrality, and though 'tis probable they may at present have no compact with your enemy, yet they will not, most certainly, show you their own family compact among themselves (which I believe will be found more offensive than the Spanish one), as they find they are in no danger of your declaring war. Would they then have Mr. Pitt again? No. But they desire to have that phantom followed enough to intimidate you, if you offer to break through their measures of government or interfere with their disposition of the emoluments of it, by which alone they know they can be defended. But if you were to go too fast in the one, or meddle at all with the other, they would, in my opinion, rather have Mr. Pitt than you, because they would think, in the first place, that he might be a little humbled by adversity, and in the next, that they could better struggle with his popularity, transient and ill-founded, than on your credit with the King, built upon the solid foundation of honour as well as inclination. . . . Other reasons for abetting Pitt's party are that you will be driven either [to] meet this phantom of popularity (which has no body) yourself, with your few firm friends, which experience may make them think you will not venture upon; or else to adopt their system without your own friends (who cannot follow you), and then they will say that you are as deeply dipped as they. Mr. Pitt's party will insult you with following their example, and you must employ the whole weight of your great character, abilities and credit in the closet, to absolve them and justify yourself. . . . Thus fettered, they will not dislike to see you with the Seals, alone and unsupported, while they and their creatures divide all the rest, and are enabled, by wearying, worrying, overbearing, to force the acquiescence of the crown to their system by you, which they could not do by themselves. . . . "This picture would be unwelcome, even from a welcome hand; mine, I am sensible, is become an unwelcome one. Since the middle of the summer I found such an alteration, not in your kindness, my dear Lord, but in your confidence, as would have been very grievous if the consciousness of my pure, unswerving attachment to you had not supported me. . . . I perceive that

you impute this vehemence at bottom to a desire and an eager one, to get a place. I do not wonder you should be told this, I do, that you should believe it. . . . My fortune is just sufficient to support the rank that you, my dear Lord, have raised me to, and to leave no stain of injustice upon my memory to make you repent the friendship you honoured me with. Money has no charms for me ; I have neither passions or time to employ it, or anybody to leave it to. What then should make me solicitous about a place ; indeed, why wish it unless your service or credit calls for it. . . . I do assure you, my dear Lord, that I will never take one from any other hand or for any other reason." *Copy.*

The Earl of Bute to Lord Melcombe.

[1762, June 19.] Saturday.—" A thousand thanks for the heads you sent me ; they are admirably chosen, and will furnish matter for very serious consideration. I have invited the Chancellor to meet me at Kew to-morrow about ten. I hope you will make one, for I wish much to talk over the very important business of Monday. I am ever, with the greatest regard, my dear lord, yours most affectionately."

Endorsed with date.

The Same to the Same.

[1762, July 13.]—" I am extremely concerned to hear you are still so much out of order. . . . If you are too weak to come out, I will endeavour to call on Thursday on my way to Kew. . . . I spoke to the King about Dr. Thompson, and have orders to give him the same salary as the physicians, but to pay it myself, that he may not lose part of it by fees. . . . I long to impart most interesting news received three days ago, in which my noble friend will rejoice with me."

Endorsed with date.

A Character.

" Everybody must remember, in the latter part of the Queen's reign, a certain venerable person of a tall stature, who generally frequented the Court of St. James' Palace, and by the gravity of his deportment, as well as by his habit, was taken for a decayed gentleman of Spain. He was of an olive complexion and long-visaged, his brows black and even, his eyes hollow, yet piercing ; his nose inclined to aquiline, his beard neglected and mixed with grey." His wig was as black and smooth as the plumes of a raven, his cloak so ample as to show nothing beneath it, his sword appearing a yard behind him, and worn so stiffly that it seemed rusted to his thigh. " His whole figure was so utterly unlike anything of this world that it was not natural for any man to ask him a question without blessing himself first. . .

" But under this macerated form was concealed a mind replete with science, burning with a zeal of benefitting his fellow-creatures

. . . mixed with a scorn of doing or suffering anything below the dignity of a philosopher; and accordingly, though he lodged in a small chamber up four pairs of stairs, and had his set days for eating and drinking, yet he was known to refuse several offers of charity from the greatest hands. He was observed never to endeavour to speak to anybody but the Queen or her chief ministers, but in the midst of his application to these distinguished persons . . . he was spirited away from us." If, as I believe, he is still living, I am persuaded I shall some day hear from him.

In Dodington's handwriting.

II.—LETTERS ON IRISH AFFAIRS.

JOHN WEST, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1725, December 2. Dublin.—" Between the term, the Parliament and the Council, I have scarcely had an hour to myself. . . . You write as if you expected news from hence. Believe me, I never think of politics, but when I am obliged to it, and I assure you that excepting the idle dispute about the word *wisdom* in the House of Lords, nothing has happened worth your reading. I had forgot, indeed, that in the House of Commons, in order to settle the supply, which they here grant from two years to two years, they made an estimate of what the revenue might produce for the next two years. For this purpose they thought it necessary to take a *medium* of what it had hitherto produced, and this they gravely did from the produce of one single year, that happened to be the highest that ever was known.

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, April 9. Dublin.—Has received a letter from Mr. Love, stating, on the ground of infirmities, that he is willing to resign his post as Mr. Dodington's deputy [in the Pells Office], which will give them the opportunity of putting that office into good order without the necessity of doing anything hard to an officer of forty years' standing.

Strongly recommends one Mr. John Bayly as Mr. Love's successor.

Enclosing :—

Letter from Jos. Love, desiring to resign, and asking that Mr. John Bayly, "bred in the treasury," may be appointed in his place; the said Mr. Bayly having promised to allow him 30l. a year out of his pay, if he gets the space.

The SAME to the SAME.

1726, May 14. Dublin.—Suggesting that he should write to Love, as "something of a kind letter to the old creature, approving his behaviour and giving consent to his resignation, would certainly

be very proper," and the poor man is anxious to have it. It will be better to say nothing that might be shown about the town concerning his 30*l.* per annum.

THE DUKE OF DORSET to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1728, August 31.—Offering a small place in the Poultry office to Dodington for a friend, if he cares to take it. The salary is forty or fifty pounds a year, the perquisites considerably more. *Holograph.*

THOMAS MEDLYCOTT* to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1730, December 27. Dublin.—" . . . I have desired to attend this sessions in England to do my duty in Parliament for his Majesty's service, as I am bound, and, indeed, my own corporation take it ill that I have so long neglected them (having been absent almost three years). Besides, my own private affairs in Monmouthshire require my being there. Forgive me, Sir, therefore, if I humbly beg you to intercede with Sir Robert Walpole to procure me leave. Nobody is more dutifully his servant."

The SAME to the SAME.

1731, December 2. Dublin.—" Some few months ago I took the liberty to acquaint you of the indispensible necessity that was upon me to be in England this winter to settle my (late) brother's affairs. . . . I could not think it became me (a servant of the crown) to be absent from the Irish Parliament on the arrival of a new Lord Lieutenant, so have struggled against all the importunities of my sister and her children, till his Majesty's affairs here were pretty well over. They being now so, I hope you, Sir, will be so good as to interest yourself on my behalf, and please to be my advocate to Sir Robert Walpole for his leave that I may take the first opportunity to come over. I need not tell you, Sir, that I have been near four years without stirring from the Board, and persuade myself that that will be some excuse for an indulgence upon this pressing occasion. . . besides the ambition I have to attend his Majesty's service in your Parliament there."

JOHN WAINWRIGHT, Baron of Exchequer, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733[-4], January 2. Dublin.—The storm which is shaking our houses makes us fear that you may have been carried away to the north, but the Surveyor, old " Gresdale, whose nose is a better beacon than the Hill of Howth, assures me you lie safe under Ormshead."

" The illustrious House of Commons came to a resolution in a Committee, by a sonorous majority (which stifled the voice of every lawyer but Bettsworth and Dixon, who were with them), contrary

* A Commissioner for the Revenue in Ireland, and M.P. for Milbourne Port, co. Somerset, in the Parliament of England, and for Newtown Limavady, co. Londonderry, in that of Ireland.

to the Act by which they are privileged for certain days, that their privilege was indefinite. They were something ashamed of this afterwards, and re-committed the matter in the House. It was upon a complaint of Cæsar Cocley [Colclough] that this happened. I fear our Connaught friends are in it, who are apt enough to give judgments, but hate execution. The absurdity is this. We shall fine and commit the sheriff if he does not execute his process; if he does, according to these odd votes and complaints, he will be threatened and put to expense by every incumbranced knight, citizen and burgess, by much the strongest party in this Kingdom.

"My Lord Chancellor lays this matter much to heart, *et terque quaterque concutiens illustre caput*, says it may tend to dissolution.

"The roar that was in the House, and the confidence of strength to carry any question when Sir R. Mead moved to set a day for determining the hopes of the dissenters, made it the most desperate attempt that ever I observed in Parliament. They persevered to the last moment of the time limited, and, if I am rightly informed, were very pert with my Lord Lieutenant; but I have not this from the Castle, but Dr. Coghill, who told me too that the dark gentleman gives out that the Duke pressed him to vote for them, and he absolutely refused, and that this was told to be published. If the prudence of the Prime Serjeant had not stopped it, we should have had such a hurricane of addressing upon this subject as you had about the excise. His Corporation of Drogheda were beginning the dance, but his discretion laid the spirit. Having mentioned the dark gentleman, I must tell you a project he has been upon lately. He has long wanted to get part of our business of the Exchequer into his office in the King's Bench, and now he has got two lives in it, and 500*l.* per annum pension, he is not less desirous of increasing the profit. He was not to appear in this himself, but his cousin Maxwell, who is prothonotary of the Common Pleas, was the visible person, and R. Bettsworth was to move the clause. Those who were to be affected with the loss were David Nixon, the Chief Baron and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It comes to nothing. . . . This, and his artifices and behaviour to obviate the Bill for the relief of Burton's creditors, lest Castle Martin should be in danger, bring his credit and his bows very low. . . .

"The communication of Bills retards their proceedings in Parliament. They have sat in the Lower House all the holidays; the Lords have adjourned only for one week. I believe they are heartily sick of this new method, and ripe for a difference between the houses which will dissolve it, for they dont like the alterations the Lords make, and the freedom they take with their heads of bills, and they have had a doubt whether they would send up a tythe bill or not, and under this difficulty, if they do, the Lords will cut it all to pieces, and it is a favourite, though unjust, point with the Commons; so here is really a convenience to the Government from the communication. The Council will not have the trouble of rejecting or altering heads of an unrighteous bill in favour of the clergy against the instances of the laity. The Lords will do it, and should they go on in the way they are, more instances of this kind might happen; so that it is really worth attention whether an alteration so minute

. . . may not be attended with more advantage than hurt to the Government. As to the Parliament, it will certainly create delay and perplexity among them in all but the money bills, and the scheme will soon destroy itself. . . ."

THE DUKE OF DORSET to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733–4, January 10. Dublin Castle.—On his victory in the Irish House of Commons. [*Printed in the Hist. MSS. Report on the Stopford-Sackville Papers (octavo edition), vol. i., p.* 149.]

W. CARY to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733–4, January 10. Dublin Castle.—" I told you in my last of the 3rd instant that the communication which seemed to give so much uneasiness in England, and to be so little understood, would probably be at an end before that letter came to your hands. I have now the satisfaction to let you know that it is entirely broke off, as you will see by the enclosed resolution, which was carried by a majority of 102 against 27. His Grace exerted himself on this occasion, and the carrying this question in so effectual and explicit a manner in that House, where you know their former resolution passed almost *nem. con.*, is looked on here as a coup de maitre. Our three great men procured us one vote—viz., Mr. Philips, which was one less than they got in your affair.

" Though I write in haste, I can't help observing how little anyone here is acquainted with the usage of Parliament or the journals of either House. They have been examined on this occasion, and by them it appears that this method of communication with the Lords was the ancient usage ; it was in practice at the Restoration, and not only continued from that time till the intermission of Parliaments, but has been taken up occasionally, since the Revolution. This, I believe, was not known, even by those who contended for the question when you was here, who, as I am told, had looked back no further than the year 1716. But you who was present at the debate know best what was mentioned in it. . . .

" His Grace gives you by this mail an account of our victory, which is matter of triumph to him as general, with such damned militia, whereas your troops are such that you march into the field always sure of conquest. . . . Lord Middlesex, Lord Rothes, Sir Adolphus [Oughton ?], &c., set sail for England in two or three days ; to them I refer you for Irish news."

The SAME to the SAME.

1733–4, February 4. Dublin Castle.—" . . . We have been very much employed at the Council in settling the bills that are sent by this transmission, none of which were communicated, nor do any remain here without that circumstance, except Burton's bill, and two or three private ones, that took their rise in Council, and are not yet finished. The bill for the relief of the creditors of Burton's bank took up eighteen entire days in the House of

Commons, in hearing counsel of the several parties concerned in interest, and the debates of members that were not less so. It meets in Council with the same sort of opposition, which will probably follow it to England, when it goes from hence. This has been one occasion, and not the least, of making our recess something later than it was the last session. The passing this bill is of great importance to the credit and commerce of this kingdom, and the failure and frauds of that bank make almost as much noise here as the South Sea year did in England.

"The two Houses are now adjourned to the last of this month, and if we have a number of bills returned from England by that time, sufficient to employ us, we shall be able to leave this place about the usual time."

Baron Wainwright to George Dodington.

1733[-4], February23 . Dublin.—The struggles to defeat and the arts to embarrass Burton's bill are incredible. . . . I have kept myself from knowing even the merits of the case, lest a natural inclination to oppose Carter should misguide my opinion. The knowledge and indefatiguable skill of Roberts, our Deputy Remembrancer, has at length carried the bill. . . . You may have heard me speak my opinion of this young man. Lord Palmerston has a treasure in him; no Court of Justice ever had a better officer. But besides, I know no one that understands the constitution, the revenue, and the estates of this Kingdom half so well. I have told the Secretary that if he was in the House of Commons he would be the best man an administration could have to furnish materials either to annoy or defend. Him to furnish and state facts, and Caulfeild to speak to them, is what I wish for the public; besides, he knows accounts beyond any man in the House. The Secretary begins to think this way, and I believe the Duke too. . . .

"The place of puisne Baron is worth almost as much as the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by means of the affidavits I take in Court, &c. Sir John St. Leger enjoyed it twenty years, I about a year and a half. My Lord Chancellor, without the least intimation to me, went to the Duke to have Sir John removed into the King's Bench, upon pretence of easing him, though he knows that the Exchequer has been a sinecure to him ever since I came here. If the Duke had passed his word suddenly, I had been kicked upstairs. The plot to which I was to have been the sacrifice was to defeat Rose, to remove Sir John, and put Bowes into the Exchequer. . . . I had not the least notice till they found it could not be carried by surprise. Then Bowes proposed a division of the profits. I rejected that with scorn. Then that he would be second Baron. My answer was, I would sooner lose my profit than my rank. It ended thus, I had the satisfaction to know that if the Duke could do me no good, he would do me no harm. If my Lord Talbot had been Chancellor of Ireland, I could not have shown him greater respect and deference than I have done this man. . . . He that got into the Chancellorship by the wheel of fortune, and has had it for so many years, should not have stript me of a poor per-

quisite, which I have not enjoyed long enough to bear the expences of my settling here. . . .

"One thing I must tell you. We had a complaint against some bailiffs employed by the Sheriff of Mayo for executing our process by breaking open a house violently in the night-time; and in the affidavit of the fact, they swore that the bailiffs justified their proceedings by declaring they came to take and arrest them for high treason against Sir John Bingham."

JOSIAH [HORT], Bishop of Kilmore, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1733 [–4], March.—Asking for a subscription to a scheme very useful "to the Protestant religion and interest of Ireland. . . . People of the greatest distinction compose the body of this incorporated society, and from their great zeal and assiduity in promoting the laudable design of the charter, one many presage the happy fruits of it in time. . . .

"The Cashel election has been decided in favour of Mr. Pennyfather by a majority of twenty-four in the Committee and of thirteen in the House upon the report. The Committee sat till six in the morning, chiefly in examining witnesses. The speeching was reserved for the day of report. A certain prelate dreaded having his name brought on the tapis, but all the art of man could not stave it off, and he was treated very freely, and indeed too roughly, as all sides allow. I'll give you a fragment of the Master of the Rolls speech—If all these things should be proved, then I shall allow the Archbishop of Cashel to be a man of virtue, probity and honour, which I am far from believing at present.

"The Bishop of Raphoe acquainted the Duke of Dorset in the Great Room this morning that the Popish Bishop having removed a quiet, inoffensive priest, and put a turbulent fellow in his place, Dr. Rogers had issued his warrant for apprehending him. As they were carrying [him] to the county jail, guarded by several protestants, some of them gentlemen, a great body of papists attacked them, wounded several, and rescued the priest. Letters from my own diocese are full of apprehensions that some mischief is brewing, and that the papists have many private cabals. What particular mischief they have in their heads, God knows, but there does not seem to be a crisis in affairs at present for their purpose."

W. CARY to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, March 28. Dublin Castle.—" . . . Both Houses will this day address his Majesty, expressing their joy, &c., on account of the wedding [of the Princess Royal], though our Lords here are much displeased that their peers had no rank in that ceremonial. We shall not think of a bill of naturalization, which would be no ill compliment, if it could convey all the rights, perquisites, &c., of an Irishman.

"You may imagine how much I long to see you. We stay for nothing but Burton's Bill, which has now been before the Attorney and Solicitor in England above twenty days. The whole credit of this country depends on the success of that bill, and if it should

miscarry, there would be a run on all the banks in this Kingdom, and everything would be in confusion."

P.S.—"I am just come from the House of Commons, where I find everybody greatly alarmed at some private accounts from London, as if the passing of Burton's Bill was doubtful. . . . Pray assist, as far as properly you may, in preventing so fatal a blow to this Kingdom."

JOSIAH, Bishop of Kilmore, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, April 13. Dublin.—Asking him to use his influence to enable Major Philip Dunbar "to turn his half pay into a sum of money," in order to provide for his children. Captain Thomas Weldon, Fort Major of St. Philip's in Minorca, is soliciting to be put on the establishment of half pay in the room of Major Dunbar, and Cornet Stratford Eyre, of Hawley's Dragoons, wishes to succeed Mr. Weldon in his Fort Majorship.

Cornet Eyre has had the thanks of the House of Lords in Ireland "for his great zeal and intrepidity in rummaging the monasteries, friaries and seminaries of Galway, and transmitting to the House those original papers he found there, out of which they formed their report that was published the last session; in doing which he was so exposed that the Lords gave him the protection of a solemn vote."

BARON WAINWRIGHT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, May 10. Dublin.—"Since my Lord Duke left us, we have had a run upon the Banks. The bleeding is at present stopt, and the immediate danger over, but there are symptoms of a consumption. . . . A few years may procure an entire bankruptcy in Ireland of private credit, but the public credit here is a fair field, little of which has been broke up, and the whole is in good heart, for though England can hardly be more rich, Ireland can hardly be more poor. The whole cash of this Kingdom does not exceed 500,000*l.*; at least that sum passes out of the Kingdom annually; as much, probably, repasses, and the circulation is such as to keep up life at least, if not vigour. If we continue under the same administration, the scheme of a fund for public credit should be thought of and well-digested in time; the opposition may not be invincible now. Before these blows, all gentlemen were becoming bankers or involved with them; now they begin to draw out.

"Your services in Burton's Bill, particularly your good offices with my Lord President, overpay all you ask here. . . ."

LORD JUSTICE HENRY BOYLE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734, May 21. Dublin.—"Dickson is demolished, and we are all undone, unless timely and effectually relieved. . . . Love has brought over an order from the Lords of the Treasury for his succeeding Maynard, which by this time, to be sure, you have informed yourself of. If it is to be understood that Dickson is to be laid aside to make way for him, where's my credit, where's my

influence, or what business have I here, when I can no longer be of use or service to his Majesty's affairs. My own personal interest I shall be able to support in all events ; but you, Sir, very well know the difficulties I laboured under at my first setting out, and the pains I was frequently obliged to be at from four in the afternoon to five or six in the morning to persuade my troops to fight in a cause foreign to their own principles or natural inclinations, and now, just as they are brought into good discipline, I can expect no less than a revolt, if they find their endeavours to support me have proved altogether ineffectual. . . . If the foundation I stand on be sapped, I see no remedy for our not falling a prey into the hands of our enemy, who are vigilant enough for all opportunities to devour us."

Wm. Harrison to George Dodington.

1734, May 22. Custom House, Dublin.—" . . . We are here a little disconcerted at present about the Collection of Cork, and you know, I presume, that the Speaker recommended Mr. Dickson to the Duke of Dorset to succeed Mr. Maynard, the late Collector. His Grace pressed us to appoint Mr. Dickson, notwithstanding that we told him that Sir Robert Walpole had recommended Mr. Love, who was then a collector at Moyallow, but as his Grace undertook to settle that matter with Sir Robert, we submitted and appointed Mr. Dickson ; since which we have received a letter from the Treasury in favour of Mr. Love, which we think is our duty to obey.

" On Monday last, the Lords Justices sent for us (the Commissioners) to the Castle, to know if we would remonstrate against the Treasury order. We told them we did not think it our duty to do it, whereupon Lord Justice Boyle fell into a most violent rage, scarce to be imagined, setting forth the disquiet it would give in the country if Mr. Dickson should be superseded. We lamented our unfortunate situation to be between the two great powers, and hoped that their Lordships would not put so disagreeable a task upon us, to make remonstrance to your lordships, when they themselves might do it, if they thought fit. The Lord Primate and Chancellor would not come into that, so we left Mr. Boyle full of resentment."

Baron Wainwright to George Dodington.

1734, November 23. Dublin.—The trusts of Burton's Bank will, I foresee, " double the business of the year, in a thankless office, which they who gain by it regard only as our duty, and they who lose think our officiousness. In short, to us trustees, as Trotter says, it is all birch and no boys. . . .

" The *Grafton* being cast away, the new packet boat is called the *Windham*, and the wags here will have it that the lion at the stern is turned into a man's face, and his mane into a periwig, and that they have put a broad brim hat upon him. I remember to have heard it said that the Indians call a lion the *dashcoya*, which being

interpreted is, the beast with the great periwig. Don't tell this to the serious. The young and merry Lord Middlesex, &c., may hear it."

JOSIAH, Bishop of Kilmore, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], January 10. Dublin.—Recommending to him Lady Doneraile's case, who has an appeal before the House of Lords for alimony. Her husband "being a weak man and a sot, his relatives have him entirely in their keeping in the Isle of Man, where, for 200*l.* a year, he may have his dose of brandy and claret twice a day."

JAMES TYNTE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], March 10.—In favour of Mr. Chaigneau's request, below.

DAVID CHAIGNEAU to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], March 12. Dublin.—Is anxious to succeed the late Mr. Deering as Deputy Clerk of the Council, and begs Mr. Dodington's good offices with the Duke of Dorset and Lord George Sackville, the latter of whom "is the Patentee officer, and of consequence, is master to depute whoever he thinks proper."

BISHOP OF KILMORE TO GEORGE DODINGTON.

1734[-5], March 20, Dublin,—Thanking him for his successful efforts on behalf of Lady Doneraile.

JOHN BOWES, Solicitor-General for Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, April 21. Dublin.—"Your readiness on all occasions to serve this country induces me at this time to ask your patronage against a bill depending in the British House of Commons for securing the titles of protestants, &c., in Ireland. I need not inform you how much the protestant interest here depends upon the acts made the 2nd and 8th of the late Queen, to prevent the growth of Popery, and how jealous we are, both for the safety and property of the Kingdom, that those laws should not be defeated. But if this bill should pass into a law, those acts would be greatly weakened, if not totally repealed." I beg you to peruse a paper sent over to the Duke [of Dorset], and "I would also submit to your consideration whether a British parliament, in point of policy, should trouble themselves to make general laws to affect the property of the subjects of Ireland, in cases where neither the commerce nor interest of England can be in any shape concerned. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1735, September 25. Dublin.—Concerning the annual vote for his payment [as Clerk of the Pells].

"Your name was mentioned upon this subject some time since, at a public city dinner, by that eternal snarl, Swift. Speaking of

the good nature of his countrymen, he said, one Carey, last session, introduced a gentleman from England, dressed him in a suit of Irish manufacture, which cost thirty shillings, and then showed him for a patriot, upon which the good people of Ireland gave him seven hundred pounds per annum:—Truth, you know, is only a circumstance in stories, nor could what was spoke in this way admit of a reply."

St. George Caulfeild to George Dodington.

1735, October 11. Dublin.—Concerning Mr. Dodington's affairs. "The town is yet very thin; of those that are here, I think the greater part will be governed by the merits and against any innovation. I find the Speaker [Henry Boyle] of this mind, and believe him to be sincere. My Lord Duncannon and the Master of the Rolls say the same. . . . I have found but two who declare open war, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Malone, and its said Mr. Cowper is another.* If those were all, either in number or kind, it would be but a poor knot, but doubtless there are many who speak fairly who yet cannot be depended upon, so your friends, especially those of consequence and figure, ought to be as active as possible."

Baron Wainwright to George Dodington.

[1735, October].—Discussing who will be for and who against Dodington when the vote for his salary comes on, and advising him—if this sort of thing goes on every session, and he is expected to owe an obligation to every man who does not vote against him, if he must be every man's solicitor, work for him in Parliament and at Court, and treat him in Piccadilly—to "give up the 500*l.* a year and deprive them of the topic," arranging to take some equivalent; especially as some future governor, without the Duke of Dorset's esteem for him, may allege that the matter embarrasses his measures, and give up the cause.

Endorsed as received on Oct. 24, 1735.

Sir Arthur Acheson to George Dodington.

1735, October 23. Dublin.—"We do meet in frequent but idle senate, very little to do, no faction stirring, and our friend Mr. Carey troubled about few things. A great many of our members are not yet come to town. . . .

"I was a little surprised at that part of your letter relating to Dr. Swift. He came to see me soon after I landed, and we had a good deal of discourse of you; he spoke of the acquaintance he formerly had with you, and seemed to wonder that you never sent or took any notice of him when you were here. I told him I had heard you mention the same thing, and that he had never been to wait upon you, which, in my opinion, was wrong in him; upon the whole he said he was sorry the mistake had happened. I have

* Morgan, Marcus Anthony, M.P. for Athy; Malone, Anthony, co. Westmeath; Cooper, Joshua, co. Sligo.

enquired concerning the feast and what mention he made of you there. Doctor Cope, who was present, gave me this account of it:—Luke Gardner was there, talking like a great patriot, and said no gentleman of this country should be forgiven that wore anything but the manufactures of it. The Dean answered him thus:—I am told you have got into employments worth two thousand pounds, and possibly you lay out ten pounds a year for a suit of clothes; for this you would be esteemed a vast friend to the country, though in an affair of any importance you gave it up. I hear that Mr. Dodington, when he was here, bought an Irish stuff suit, and then everybody said, wont you vote for Mr. Dodington, who wears our manufactures; so you made him a present of seven or eight hundred pounds a year for laying out forty or fifty shillings in Irish stuff. This, Dr. Cope assures me, was all that passed, and therefore I apprehend it has been greatly magnified or misrepresented to you, as it is a way of rattling the Dean has always indulged himself in, of and towards all sorts of people, which, though I don't approve I fear he will never be broke of."

ROBERT JOCELYN, Attorney-General for Ireland, to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1735, October 27.—"My reason I did not sooner acknowledge the honour of your letter is that I was desirous to feel the pulse of some of our country members. Whether it is controverted elections or want of money, which I am most apprehensive of, I think we could not have reckoned more than seventy at any one sitting. By the inquiries I have been able to make, though I find there will be some Grumbletonians, yet I flatter myself we shall be able to do you and ourselves that justice which we did the last sessions. For my own part, I will most undoubtedly make the motion in the words of our last resolution, and put the good-natured labouring oar on those who, in my opinion, ought always to tug at it. . . . I shall look upon it as the greatest happiness if I can be of any service to you."

THE SAME to the SAME.

1735, November 11.—Stating that the Committee of Ways and Means has sat this day, when he proposed the resolution that "the sum of 6*d*. in the pound, and all other fees which shall or may be payable to the Vice-Treasurer or Vice-Treasurer's paymaster or Receiver-General, out of the aids granted this present session of parliament, be applied towards raising the supply granted to his Majesty." Mr. Malone and Mr. Morgan proposed an amendment, but Malone did not speak in his best manner, and "seemed to express himself with more uneasiness and confusion than usual." Mr. Robert Allen and Mr. Cope supported the original motion, the latter saying that he thought there was a stronger case for the Clerk of the Pells than ever, and that he would not have it imagined that the presence of any person would so influence them that they would recall in his absence what they had given when he was there. Mr.

Coote also opposed the amendment, declaring that it was their interest to oblige those English gentlemen who had it in their power and inclination to serve Ireland.

Mr. Recorder [Stannard] then began to give the state of the National debt; said that he wished they were rich enough to be liberal; but though the Chief Governor had done everything in his power to ease them, and the alterations in the army had for some time lessened their expense, yet, if the peace was concluded, their regiments would be put upon the old foot, and therefore he should be for the question. The Committee then appeared to be impatient for the question, and when it was put, there were not ten persons, in a full Committee, for the amendment. Mr. Cary has been indefatiguable on Dodington's behalf.

Sir Arthur Acheson to George Dodington.

1735, November [11]. Dublin.—Congratulating him upon the happy issue of his affair, which has this day been before the Committee of Supply. Malone and the Recorder were the only two who spoke against it. They did not think fit to divide, which was a pity, as they would not have had twenty with them. The Archbishop and Prime Serjeant were very zealous for Dodington, and so was Harry Bingham. *Dated Nov.* 10, *by mistake.*

Marmaduke Coghill to George Dodington.

1735, November 11.—To the same effect as the above, but stating that the writer, "being in the chair, had the satisfaction, upon putting the question for expunging the words proposed by Mr. Malone, not to hear one single affirmative for it, and the resolution stood as at first proposed without Mr. Malone's negative. Several of your friends were ready to speak, but . . . thought it most prudent to let the question be put without further debate. Mr. Stannard said something in answer to what had been urged by those who spoke against the amendment, but concluded in giving his opinion in your favour."

Sir Richard Mead to George Dodington.

1735, November 11. Dublin.—On the same subject. In a very full House, "the only persons who spoke against it were Mr. Stannard and Mr. Malone, who were answered by many gentlemen of our side, and after a very short debate the thing was given up without any division," the objectors seeing so great a majority against them.

Thomas, Lord Wyndham, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to George Dodington.

1735, November 15. Dublin.—Informing him that his affair has passed the House with only a few words from the objectors, which never "rose to the shadow of a debate," and that the session has proceeded hitherto with great harmony in both Houses.

BARON WAINWRIGHT to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1736, May 14. Dublin.—All things go on quietly, and respect to the Duke has kept them more so than ever I expect to see them again. "All things wear out soon or tarnish in this air and nothing more fast than friendship. When we are at peace and marching on cheerfully and quietly, a mine is sprung, and the engineer protests he had no thoughts of disturbing the General or the army, but there were two or three fellows that he had a mind to toss into the air or beat their brains out. . . . In confidence, I am heartily, confoundedly tired of this Kingdom. There is no comfort in doing all the good or using all the diligence to serve them in a man's power; reputation here is not like what it is in England; when the Duke is absent, it is rather a prejudice than an advantage, and draws invasion rather than protection. Cunning is the noble science upon which the masters that mount the stage depend, and an Englishman turning Irish is like a dog running wild and herding with wolves; he has his own domestic tricks to add to their savage dispositions."

The SAME to the SAME.

1736, October 12. Dublin.—" . . . The situation is odd enough. Munster and Connaught are united, they say, under the Speaker, but over all cups but his, swear they see he does nothing but under the direction and influence of ——, and often complain and are uneasy at it, and in this the other two provinces agree. . . . There are great intimacies between Lord Windham, his Master of the Rolls, and Register; perhaps by some means his presence in England may yield you offers of his influence, if you think that worth while; for from that quarter and the whiskey club came the alarm before last sessions."

JAMES TYNTE to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1736, October 16. Dublin.—Praying him to use his interest with the Duke of Dorset for his [the writer's] good friend and instructor, Dr. Christopher Lloyd, who desires the Treasurership of Christ Church, Dublin. The Doctor "has done more good to the King and Kingdom by the education of many gentlemen in the sound principles of government and religion than half the Bishops, with their occasional prayers and occasional politics," and has been constantly affectionate to the succession and the present government, which is more than can be said for very many other churchmen. If the King will consider that the writer "was the only gentleman from Ireland who did not beg some advantage to themselves from his succession, but engaged himself heartily, sincerely, and to the hazard of no small estate, whose title did not depend on any revolution," it will be very afflicting if, in the present King's reign, he can neither have merit or interest to obtain so small a thing.

SIR ARTHUR ACHESON to GEORGE DODINGTON.

1737, April 2. Market Hill, near Newry.—" . . . I find we are to lose his grace of Dorset, which I am sorry for. I have not the

honour of being at all known to the Duke of Devonshire, nor do I know what terms you and he are upon. I could wish to have my name mentioned to him before he comes over, that he might take some more notice of me than he would of a mere stranger; if you and he are well together, I need say no more. I should be glad to know what degree of favour he stands in with His Royal Highness. I believe I did not acquaint you that before I left London I had the honour of an audience there for half an hour, and was very graciously used. Many pertinent questions were asked about this Kingdom, and several people of it, whom I was surprised to hear him name till I afterwards recollected how it must come about. He commanded me to tell a gentleman, he thanked him for being civil to you when you were here, and spoke very kind things of this country. This I have not failed to tell, and who I supposed infused those good thoughts, so you are now esteemed our greatest friend, and indeed our sheet anchor; your health is as generally drank all over this part of the country, as in my house, where it is not one day missed.

"I have been here all the winter, Dublin not being agreeable when it wants a Lord Lieutenant and Parliament. We are in the best improved part of Ireland; not inferior to many parts of England; and the fullest of people, and yet a hundred and thirty years ago there was not one British man in all these northern counties, they being the territory of O'Neal, who was subdued and drove abroad about that time. Never surely was any country so much altered in so short a time. We have now few or none of the old Irish amongst us; we have indeed plenty of everything but money, which is very much wanted. However, we can live comfortably enough if we are satisfied with our obscurity."

Robert Jocelyn, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to George Dodington.

1739, October 27. Dublin.—Thanking him for his congratulations on his promotion to the Chancellorship, and stating that the Duke of Devonshire having assured them he has nothing new to ask, they expect a very easy session. The Lords adjourn for want of business.

Lord Chief Baron Bowes to George Dodington.

1746, May 29. Dublin.—" . . . It will be now too late to tell you of our gaiety and our sobriety whilst Lord Chesterfield was here, and unnecessary to tell you we are returning to old habits now he is gone. This I must say, his example has convinced that people may be cheerful, though sober.

"Our attention at present is on the Brest fleet. At first we feared for ourselves, but a short reflection satisfied that we were not an object worthy such an armament, and our insignificancy mus continue to be our security. However, I can't at times reflect upon the situation of affairs abroad without terror. I wish it may be in your power to quiet me on this head, which I own alarms me more than the Scotch rebellion."

The Same to the Same.

1747, November 28.—" . . . Lord Hillsborough is, I hope, safe with you in London, and if report be true, I must wish him a safe return hither. The town have settled all preliminaries for his speedy marriage with Lady Margaret FitzGerald, Lord Kildare's sister, with twenty thousand pounds certain, and a mother who may (and probably will), to so deserving a son-in-law, make her a much greater fortune. I thought this intelligence would please you, and was not certain that it would come from himself. My compliments to him, and learn from him how much I value myself on being honoured with your friendship."

The Same to the Same.

1752, May 26. Dublin.—A long letter on Irish affairs, already printed, from an unsigned copy, in the *Report on the Stopford-Sackville papers* (octavo edition, p. 182), where Archbishop Stone is suggested as the possible writer.

Dr. Lewis Bruce to George Dodington.

1756, February 3. Dublin.—" There was a scheme in the House of Lords of limiting the number of popish priests here by an Act for the register of one to each parish. The heads of a bill were printed; on January the 29th it was thrown out 18 to 16. Then it was the Bishop of Clogher acquainted the House that he thought the protestant dissenters were at least as much entitled to their attention as the papists; that with a view to them he had prepared heads of a bill which he would offer at their next meeting. He did so yesterday, and opened the subject by objecting to some passages in the Act of Uniformity that offended them. He spoke of the multiplicity of creeds, declaring his sentiments freely that the Nicene fathers had asserted what the scriptures do not reveal; that the Athanasian is subject to the same censure, is in great part a forgery, was not received in the church till two hundred years after his death—that he thought it derogated from the honour of the Almighty when any other being was confessed to be consubstantial, co-eternal, or co-equal; that the damnatory clauses were unchristian. He spoke an hour with great calmness and presence of mind and memory. The primate rose, and in the manner of uneasiness, assured the lords his ears had tingled at a proposition so imprudent, so dangerous. His Grace did not enter on the articles of faith; he said he would do every proper thing in his power that could invite the dissenters to the established church, but that matters of this essential, sacred nature should not come before the House without previous consultations and a proper authority from the King. Dr. Smith, Bishop of Down, joined himself to the Primate, and read an extract of the Coronation Oath that his Majesty would preserve the constitution of the *Church of Ireland* as *then* established.

" Lord Limerick called on the most reverend Prelate, who expressed such favour for the dissenters, to lay his hand on his heart and say whether the abolition of these two creeds would not invite many of them to the church. He observed that if reformation

was to wait for the sanction of crowned heads, Luther and his associates might not have succeeded to this day. He was cordial to the Bishop of Clogher's scheme, but much embarrassed in the substance and method of what he said.

"Doctor Synge, Bishop of Elphin, spoke an hour with temper and weight. Without entering into particulars, he allowed some things required farther reformation, but insisted that they should come recommended to that House, or a convocation from the King, as 'supreme head of the church;' that, supposing, by innovations prematurely agreed to here, all the dissenters were brought into our communion, it ought to be feared that the mother Church of England would treat the Church of Ireland as schismatics.

"Lord Carrick, of most promising genius and manners, was the only temporal peer who spoke against the heads of the bill being read. The Bishop of Clogher divided the House, and went outside of the Bar accompanied by the Lords Limerick, Tullamore, Powerscourt, and Mountgarrett. Thus the heads of the bill were not read.

"This matter will undoubtedly be much spoken of through the christian world, and I am desirous of giving you, Sir, the earliest account of what I heard in the House."

Lord Chancellor Bowes to George Dodington.

[1759, end of December*].—This letter, which I presume will be very long, was occasioned by yours to Mr. Baily desiring an account of what passed here, and will I trust be received as proof of my inclinations to comply with your commands, though, in fact, years and business render me a bad correspondent.

"We had devoted this winter to the pleasures of a court where all parties were united to support Government, which had nothing to ask, and render the session honourable to the Governor, &c., &c.

"Thus we set out till the secretary from your side gave the alarm of a French invasion, and the necessity of being prepared. The speech from the throne stood in the way of asking, and diffidence (which attends provincial government) advanced, scattering every suggestion which suspicion could devise, and talked them over as certain. However, the defenceless state of this Kingdom, the feasibleness of such an attempt, and the known truth that they had wantonly emptied the Treasury the last session, got the better of clamour; they addressed and agreed to a loan for 15,000*l.* at 4*l.* per cent.

"This was honourable. Whether the appropriating that sum (in the act for raising the duties to pay the interest), so as that 42,000*l.* only is left in the power of the Chief Governor, whilst the remainder is to be applied to answer deficiencies of the grants in the former sessions and sums now given to carry on the projects of the last for making rivers navigable, &c. has not lessened the favour, you must judge. But must remark that these projects were considered last session rather as a method to dissipate and disperse the stock in hand at the Treasury rather than matters of real use

* Endorsed as received on Jan 5, 1760. The date of the letters is usually about a week earlier than that of their receipt.

at this time, but by giving them further aid from Parliament they will be Parliamentary charge, probably for the benefit of the managers only. The loan was opened some weeks since, but is not full.

"This session has produced a young orator of quicker growth than has been known. He did not speak before he was sworn, but in few minutes after; his patriotic zeal has from the warmth of that House expanded itself since *de die in diem*. He called for an account of the 42,000*l*. not only before it was raised, but before it could be known what was necessary to be done with it. He (as said) procured the corporation of the City of Cork to resolve that the exporting live cattle from Ireland was prejudicial to the trade, manufactures and interest of Ireland, and in consequence a petition to Parliament, which he promised to introduce, and did with such success, that it was referred to a committee who came to the like resolution, and *nem. con.* agreed to by the House. Why? Because the question was too popular to admit of opposition, though unsupported with aid save from Cork, or giving time to receive the sense of other parts of the Kingdom, whose lands are only fit to rear cattle, and could rear more than they do, could they sell them when reared. You know what passed in your Parliament on this subject. Success produced a motion from Dil: the next day, for an address to his Grace to lay this resolution before his Majesty, which was rejected with deserved contempt. Not discouraged, he moves for committee to enquire what laws were necessary to secure the liberties of the subject (or of that import); this was disagreed to after debate, though the Chancellor of the Exchequer was with the minority; as also for leave to bring in heads of bill for making Judges to hold during good behaviour, removable only by address of *either* House of Parliament. Where will these labours end?

"Prior in time, our secretary had leave to bring in heads of a bill to enable the crown in case of invasion to call the Parliament during prorogation. This was opposed, and by art gave rise to fears without doors that the disuse of Parliaments was intended preparatory to an union with Britain, which produced tumults about the House and insults threatened to some of the members, when these impressions were (as supposed) removed by withdrawing of that motion. On the 3rd instant I received when in the Court of Chancery a note from the clerk, then expecting my coming to the House of Lords, to inform [me] of the unusual concourse about both Houses and the danger of coming till they were dispersed. I instantly went to the Castle, which had taken the alarm and sent the Lord Mayor to disperse them. During his absence many of the council were collected and frequent informations of the increase of the riot and the personal insults on the members, on which His Grace ordered a guard to march and receive their directions from the Lord Mayor, who soon after returned to the Castle, complained that soldiers were sent unasked, that their appearance irritated, but on the whole that every thing was in the way to be quiet.

"This was in the dark of the evening. The House of Lords was not adjourned, and on the Mayor's assurance of safety, I agreed to go under his protection, though offered a guard, and took your friend

the Chief Justice in my coach. On the way, some called to me not to proceed, others encouraged me, and thus I passed through the greatest mob I ever saw. They suffered me to go up the steps to the Lords, where I found the outer door shut. On being required to open, a man was let out and the door again closed, who, with an oath, told me I should not enter, but advised me to return, as did the Lord Mayor, who then owned he could not protect me. With difficulty we got to the coach, the mob calling out to swear that we were for the country and against the union. They gave a book to the Chief Justice, requiring him to swear, which he took to prevent mischief, and put the book to my face, on which they said that should not do, I must swear, but desisted further insult. I was thus detained half an hour threatening to take the horses from the coach; at last I returned, and on my report some horse were sent by the Duke's order (for the Lord Mayor still refused assistance), and the people after throwing stones fled. After which I went escorted by a squadron of horse and adjourned. They had broke every door belonging to the House besides other indecent indignities within.

"Thus ended this unexampled, unprovoked riot—one only has been secured, but fear they will not be able to convict him.

"I find they are strongly affected on your side, and talk of Government, &c., &c.; but when the people have lost all reverence for Government or laws, and are prepared to believe the most improbable suggestions to the prejudice of those who rule, what can be done? The state may possibly by conviction make martyrs without lessening the evil. God grant it may not end in requiring some strong effort of British authority to establish constitutional Government in Ireland.

"I can't enter into the detail of our great bank and its consequences. The distress is great, and the people dissatisfied; whether any Parliamentary aid will be applied for is uncertain, and without it I can't see how they can sell to raise the debt.

"I wish you may read what I write; bad at best, worse as wrote under pain in the gout."

George Dodington to Lord Chancellor Bowes.

1760, January 19.—"I received the honour of your Lordship's with very sensible pleasure, as a very obliging mark of your goodness and remembrance, but, at the same time, I must own that in every other light it gave me great and real uneasiness. However diverting the sight might be, or be represented, of a Chief Justice swearing a Chancellor in the hands of an enraged multitude, who have no cause of complaint against Government but that they are governed, yet I myself see it with great concern, and the more so, because though I see the tendency but too plain, I do not see the remedy.

"I really do not know what to say to you upon so striking a subject, not from any the least regard to the opinions of any man in this island, but from the love and gratitude I profess to that where you reside, to which I am under very great obligations, and where I have constantly met with much more goodness, friendship and

humanity than in this country where I have lived so long without, I hope, any dishonour to it.

"But to see a Protestant multitude attack a Protestant Government, in a country where all together do not make a sixth of the whole, without any imaginable cause of complaint, but because it is Government; detaining and affronting the chief magistrates of all civil policy; seizing and insulting the seats of delegated sovereignty and of legislation, is to me a very striking and a very shocking picture, and though I am told that all is quiet again, I must be better assured than I am of the foundations of that quiet before I can trust to the surface, calm and serene as it may appear. Methinks we are dancing upon a mine that may spring at once, in the very moment that we imagine we are most entertained and entertaining.

"Permit me, before I close this head, to congratulate your Lordship, and my very good and very much-beloved and honoured friend the Lord Chief Justice, upon your fortunate escape from the hands of Anarchy and Indistinction. At the same time, I as seriously and sincerely rejoice at the safety of that country, to which we are both so much obliged, from the most imminent danger of destruction; for had not Hawke been more and Conflans less than a man, Ireland must have been as much lost as Minorca by midsummer. How you came to be in so defenceless a condition I neither understand, nor do I enquire; if I did, I presume I should not be told, and if I was, I suppose I should not have the capacity to comprehend. Wonderfully and fearfully are we made is, for aught I know, as true of the body politic as of the natural. We seem to know as little of the acting powers of the first as we do of the last, and piously at least, if not prudently, trust the operations of the one entirely to the same hand that formed the other."

Lord Chancellor Bowes to George Dodington.

1760, January 21. Henrietta Street.—"You have probably heard that my decree in Mr. Bayly's favour has been reversed by Lord Mansfield, in the absence of Lord Hardwick. I have habituated myself to think the dernier court right in their determinations, without being dissatisfied with myself, where my errors have not proceeded from neglect, though, in the present case, for the sake of this young man's family, I wish his Lordship has concurred in the decree here, the rather as many of the profession, both here and in England, thought it was to be supported." This will probably take away all that was decreed him, but I verily believe that he will be a better officer for being a poorer man, and that "a kind expression from you will compose his mind and enable him to apply his very useful abilities to his own and your service.

"The Parliament here, though not very willingly, yet with a great majority, will give his Grace a vote of credit for what is desired, which, including the former 150,000*l*., will amount to 450,000*l*., with interest at 5 per cent. You are too well acquainted with Ireland not to consider this as bearing some proportion to the millions on your side the water."

Lord Chancellor Bowes to George Dodington.

1760, March 21. Dublin.—"You have treated Mr. Bayly with your usual humanity. . . . Your office will support him with decency, and we all here think you may with safety depend on his punctuality. . . .

"I am much concerned for the Dorset family. The military trial of one not under that command was new to me. They say the Judges have concurred with the King's servants that such trial may be had. The opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor I have seen, but without information, as they have not assigned the reasons on which their opinions were founded. If any have been given by them or the Judges, you may possibly procure them for me. Our accounts of the unhappy man are unfavourable, and yesterday the Primate [Dr. Stone] retired from town, unable to stand the shock expected by the next post. My inclinations are ever in favour of innocence, nor could I account for his pressing on the trial on any principle but that of conscious innocence on his part."

I have purchased Belvidere, the Lodge of the late Master of the Rolls, near this town, and hope the air and the garden will amuse me and fill up the time which the custom of this place devotes to the table and cards.

The Same to the Same.

1760, April 17. Dublin.—"Lord G. [Sackville]'s conduct would be unaccountable did not experience prove that men may deceive themselves in their own affairs, and that those of the greatest abilities are most apt to do so, by trusting more to their own powers than the merits of their particular cases. Be his fate deserved or not, I feel for him and the family, but presume his dismission may be forgot, and he again become considerable in another walk. It also seems strange to me that the judges saw no ground to doubt of the legality of the jurisdiction of a court martial in the case before them. They must allow it was an implied jurisdiction that might be extended beyond the necessity of the service, and exerted at a time when terror (which is the end of punishment) could not have its effect, and seems the rather unnecessary as a soldier cannot discharge himself. . . .

"Dawson's bank has stopped payment, by which 192,000*l.* is shut up till they can call in debts, or raise money by sale of part of their estates to pay their creditors. There is no doubt of the sufficiency of the fund, but in the meantime the creditors are distressed, and the public must suffer, as duties arise from trade, which can't be carried on without paper credit. It has been most injuriously attempted to impute the late failures to the loan voted for the support of the additional regiments on our military establishment.

"The merchants have petitioned Parliament for relief in a way open to objections; but those have been prudently overlooked, and the subject matter will be considered in a committee of the whole House on Monday next. Probably nothing can be done, unless by resolution that the notes of the subsisting banks should be received in payments at the public offices till next session; this may give

them credit, and if privilege were suspended as to those who are debtors to the banks, as it has been from the bankers, some debts might be got in towards the discharge of the large demands against the banks who have stopped payment.

"Our Governor has little reason to be pleased with his situation; trifles no way connected with his public character are heightened, and the casualties of the times are placed to his account. They say this is all personal; I rather fear it is the Governor, and will be the same who ever succeeds.

"This Kingdom is an object that requires more attention than it has yet received. Time has almost destroyed the old machine by which this country was governed as a province, and till either that be restored or another framed, like uneasinesses will happen, and if war continues and France carry into execution any attempt to make this country the seat of it, the Lord have mercy upon us."

The Same to the Same.

1760, December 25.—"Your attention to the interests of this country may raise your curiosity to know what is our present situation, especially as you subscribed the letter of the 3rd instant, the event of which may be very serious. Nor am I averse to taking every opportunity of evincing my personal regard to Mr. Dodington.

"The orders to dissolve the late Parliament and to send over bills as usual to certify to his Majesty the considerations for calling a new one, were in consequence of application from the Lords Justices here, that the affair might be speedily over, and that within the year of the present sheriffs. The reasons were just and prudent. Had the difficulties relating to the sending over the bill for a supply (pursuant to precedents) then occurred, it ought to have been disclosed; charity bids us hope it did not; in fact the subject was not mentioned to my knowledge till on the meeting of a Council called, as then informed, to consider what bills should be sent. It was mentioned to me the instant before we took our seats, requesting me to name such as might be proper. My answer was that the notice was short and unexpected, that I presumed we should see what had been done, and follow precedents. On my memory, I thought a money bill was always one.

"The Primate, who spoke to me, and the Attorney-General, who was present, seemed to acquiesce. On mentioning of it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he objected against sending a bill for a supply, as there would be time after the meeting of Parliament to prepare one in form, and that it was not necessary before, as the duties would not expire till 25th of December, 1761; adding that such bill would be rejected and produce warmth, which was to be avoided in a new Parliament, and possibly end in a dissolution, the rather as they resolved in the year 1727, the day they passed a like bill on the meeting of that Parliament, that no money bill should be read before the report from the proper committees of accounts, &c., and that this should be the standing order.

"These reasons, to which I have given their full strength, were repeated instantly at the Board, urged pathetically (in my judgment) improperly, at that time and place. Departing from settled

usage in affairs of government, required temper to judge of the necessity, and previous private deliberation with those in the King's service to settle the manner in which such necessary change can be effected.

"This was not done, and the effects to be expected happened; hasty resolutions and declarations of what they would or would not do, and that equally at the upper and lower end of the table. My intimations of what has since been the case were to little purpose, and spoke strongly, to my understanding, that each man saw this would be a popular point, and strove which should appear strongest in support of it. The next step was to guard against resentment on your side the water. They were warned, and therefore the Justices wrote the next day to the Lieutenant apprizing him of the then sentiments, the improbability of changing them, the consequences of attempting the sending such bill, and I think sufficiently to be understood that they could not do it, proposing the expedient of other bills which, if received, the affair would end; at least it gave time to deliberate; to which I (an eye witness to the ferment) concurred, expressing my sense to comply if the expedient should not be accepted.

"You know the event on your side. On ours, no answer to the sent letter; increased heats; more determined declarations; debate blowed the coals, they were told without effect: that the sending bills to his Majesty, to be by him returned to his Parliament to notify from him the causes of their meeting and the business they were to proceed upon was peculiar to Ireland, depended on positive laws, enacted by Parliament, Henry VII., under which they could not enter upon other acts than those transmitted by the King: that subsisting that law, supplies must be sent to them as other acts: that the 1st of Philip and Mary confirms the former at the time when it enlarges the power of the Government here to transmit to his Majesty other causes which might arise during the session of Parliament, but the former remained in full force as to such causes or considerations as were known before the meeting of Parliament: that in fact a supply was understood to be the primary cause of calling Parliaments: that the establishment in Ireland made it necessary to ask a supply from the next Parliament as it would certainly be wanted; the time of asking the quantum and the continuance were in the discretion of the crown: that this notification equally left to the House of Commons their affirmative or negative: that ancient laws were to be expounded by usage: that this appears to have been ever the usage from the journals of Parliament and the records of the Council, especially since the contest, 1692, without a single exception to the contrary: that contests with the crown were to be avoided: that the nature of the subject made it less justifiable in point of prudence, as no one attempted to urge any real prejudice that might attend the following precedents, whilst on the other it obstructed the calling a Parliament. How long that might subsist could not be known: that at that Board they were to consider what was their duty and to represent and advise it; inconveniences were expected from doing what had been done and seemed required by law. Prudential reasons were also urged without

gaining ground; time has been taken for consideration, I wish it will not rather inflame.

"Possibly the event may be that no such cause will be transmitted as yet; that if required towards the necessary meeting of Parliament it may be complied with; but what will be the fate of such bill sent back, or the consequences of an unanimous rejection, is out of my ken. Turn your eye on your friend's situation. Acting with his judgment, possibly, a thankless office, recollecting 1753, considering it as productive of what has now happened, and foreseeing the many objections that arise to the present legal constitution of Ireland, the danger of changing them, the difficulties, &c., &c., &c., and I am assured you will wish for your friend a quieter situation, more suited to his principles and years.

"This country is numerous and wealthy; they have been taught to think themselves injured by their present constitution, forgetting Poynings' law was their own request, and that their form of government whilst in their present relation to England be different from that of England, and the worst which can befall them is to force England to determine what power the Parliament of England have over Ireland. As to others who want not this information, their business is, and will be, to secure such Parliamentary interest as may render them necessary to every chief governor; he may parade, but must submit. This is the present state of things, which occasions questions to be taken up here for the sake of popularity that as governors they should discountenance. This will account for the great precaution that one should not get the start of the other, and keeping together empowers them to say, change hands as oft as you please, you can only be furnished from this shop. Something of this you have seen in England, and now accept this as intended. The date will account for its length, and your honour will keep the contents to yourself. The hand requires no name or assurances of regard, &c."

Lord Chancellor Bowes to George Dodington.

1761, February 2.—As to present disturbances, "to view them in the true light we must look back on Ireland as it was after the Revolution, or rather as at the accession of the present family, since which time it has been the most flourishing state in Europe, as is evident from the rise of lands and the great increase of personal property; and probably their representatives in this Parliament have been possessed of more real property than yours in Great Britain in proportion to numbers, without taking in the disproportion of wealth in the two kingdoms; whence you will conclude that power, or attempts to acquire it, have accompanied opulence.

"They have not had any real grievance from Government, and have, therefore, quarrelled with its present legal constitution. They have considered your House as the model, and in general think themselves injured, in the instances wherein theirs upon the legal constitution must differ. In fact, they are become the terror of governors sent from England, who for present quiet, and under uncertainty of support from your ministry, have rather chose to gratify by compliance than contest points, which when acquiesced

in become a foundation for future superstructures. This gave rise to undertakers who insured quiet to the Governor, in exchange for power, and are now in that state of strength to be able to tell the —— he must come into their measures or be rendered too uneasy for men of rank to remain under. You need not be told by me where that power now resides, nor how necessary popularity is to the keeping of it, especially on the election of a new Parliament; but must observe that formerly protestant or papist were the key words; they are now court or country, referring still to constitutional grievances, for of others they dont pretend to complain.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer (when in opposition) was the popular man, and (with his abilities) of great consequence. His acceptance of this employment, with an added salary, together with his conduct in the late bank, had totally deprived him of popularity; nor could it be retrieved by his being of no use on the other side.

"The Parliament here being dissolved, the law required the Council here to certify (in form of bills) the consideration for calling a new Parliament. Usage had always sent a bill for a supply, commonly called a money bill, as one. The Commons had received these bills with reluctance. The application to Council to send over bills as usual gave the Chancellor of Exchequer opportunity to object against sending any money bill, which he enforced by such reasons as were the popular arguments against it. Prevailing in this point at that Board must have merit, as the Commons had not been able to succeed, and their attempt in 1692 ended in their dissolution. The intent was evident, as also that what one gained thereby must be loss to others, which probably occasioned that unprecedented warmth which followed. Neither could hurt the other with this advantage, and therefore joined instantly, and in such manner as to become principals; at once resolving and declaring they were ready to suffer political martyrdom in support of it, and this, before the Council had given, or been asked their opinions on the subject, though in fact the majority soon espoused the same sentiments.

"To this united strength may be ascribed the letters to the Lieutenant, in terms unusual, to say no more, and hence the difficulties arise as to the prudential part on your side the water; and are in truth of great moment with respect to the future government of this kingdom.

"There is a bill sent from hence in seeming compliance with the resolutions on your side, to which some names are wanting, because they did not consider the bill sent agreeable to former usage, or the intent of it, not being a bill for a supply to his Majesty; that it was open to every objection made against sending the usual bill, with many others, arising from the nature of the bill sent, as it related to a vote of credit for which the honour of the Commons was engaged; not desired by those who had lent their money, and could be only necessary on the supposed defective security of that vote; that it appropriated duties in the first instance, and deprived the Commons of considering the amount of the debt to be provided for, or the duties for repayment, &c.; that these added objections would probably create contests in another place, and was therefore unsafe,

as well as unusual, and seemed calculated only to ascertain in the event that which they had said would happen on sending a money bill. We now wait the result from the determinations on your side.

"It is observable, and I believe true, that the opposition here is universally disapproved of, and the actors see their error, though not the way to get rid of the affair. If this last attempt succeeds, they will rejoice as on victory; if not, their having departed from their first declarations, the doing what they ought to have done, seems to be a necessary consequence, if those on your side insist upon it. Firmness (when in the right) supports Government, this much wants it."

Lord Chancellor Bowes to Lord Melcombe.

1761, March 26. Henrietta Street.—"My dear Lord, pleased I am to salute you by that title, most valuable, as it is an early mark of his Majesty's favour, and will, I hope, be followed by those of confidence. . . .

"Lord Halifax comes hither at a critical time, and his conduct will probably fix the future government of Ireland. . . . Mr. Malone, it seems, will return to the Bar—not from want of fortune—probably to be in view, and in that situation wait the changes to which public affairs are liable."

The Same to the Same.

1761, May 7. Dublin.—"Your not expecting can't prevent my most grateful thanks for your friendly representation of me to the Earl of Halifax. He, I presume, knows your warmth on such occasions, or you and I may suffer when the original shall be exhibited. However, it has already procured me a most respectful, interesting letter from that nobleman, such as, from every consideration, will bind me to his service, and happy shall I be if my experience here may assist him in that arduous affair he is entering upon. I shall with caution avoid obtrusion, but be always ready when required to submit what occurs to me to his consideration, trusting that, on his return, he will acknowledge you made him acquainted with an honest man. . . ."

The Same to the Same.

1761, October 16. Dublin.—"Lord H[alifax] had a short but rough passage, and found this coast, like the sea, disposed to calm after the tempest. The ruffles under the former administration produced a visible, and I hope sincere, disposition in those of consequence here, to show the present governor that they were not from general dissatisfaction, but particular offence. Be that as it may, the Lieutenant's reception was as he could wish. His unaffected natural civility was observed by all, and had its effect not the less from the comparison, &c.

"Your Lordship knows that Chief Governors here are ushered in with addresses from the city, the merchants, &c.; they are always

soothing, and answered by general thanks. The present Lieutenant returned their compliments at large. You know his manner, which would lose by my description; in short, he spoke to each properly, politely, and sent them away dignified by this unusual treatment, and assured of his sincerity. The effects were strong, especially amongst the merchants. To me he seems to have got the start of Opposition, and they will have no easy task to persuade these people that this Lieutenant is not their friend. The scene of public business is not yet drawn. The disposing of the money bill returned as the cause for convening this Parliament may occasion difficulties, but the train in which the leading people agree to conduct it, will, if approved on your side, prevent disagreeable consequences. In truth, that bill was sent hence in wrath, knowing it would and must be rejected on its return. Your Lordship well knows what uphill work it must be to carry such a question against the inclinations, and in fact against utility or convenience. What is, therefore, wished is that it may be received, and read, and then postponed till a new bill may be framed, which will take in the substance of that act and what else may be necessary to answer the end proposed by way of supply and duration, and then drop the first upon the reason of the thing without entering on any further question.

"Questions may, and probably will, be proposed, but I think rejected by a respectable majority. The bill for septennial Parliaments will be introduced and, like your place bill, carried in, though strongly against the inclinations of many who will be silent; in what light that may be considered elsewhere you may know before I can. The question is, or rather may be, of importance to the crown, but infinitely more so to the quiet, &c., of this kingdom.

"I am sensible of and very grateful to your Lordship for the personal civilities with which I have been honoured by his Excellency, and in return have assured him that I shall be always open to his commands and serve him with the assiduity, explicitness and fidelity that I would Lord Melcombe in his station. Thus we stand at present."

The Earl of Halifax to Lord Melcombe.

1762, April 28. Dublin Castle.—"My last bills are come, I am preparing for my departure, and shall be with you within a few days as soon as my letter; but still, great as my hurry is, I cannot keep my pen from paper to tell you I have been attentive to your commands, and if I had not been so, I should have been a brute. To make your friend a captain at once was impracticable, but I transgressed rule as much as I could venture to do by making him at once a lieutenant, and Mr. Beaghar's commission as such is dated the 13th of February last in Col. Bagshaw's regiment. . . .

"What with claret and business I am almost dead, and yet I have been as sober and busy a Lieutenant as my predecessors have of late been."

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
CAPTAIN H. V. KNOX.

I.—CORRESPONDENCE OF WILLIAM KNOX, CHIEFLY IN RELATION TO AMERICAN AFFAIRS, 1757–1808.

William Henry Lyttelton, Governor of South Carolina, to William Knox.

1757, Dec. 17. Charlestown.—"I have received your most obliging letter, and the very ingenuous tract that accompanied it, with the greatest pleasure. . . . I should be bold in endeavouring to do justice to the treatise by the freest commendations of it, if a consciousness of my own ignorance of the subject-matter did not restrain me, but I must not, in the person of a little governor, assume the self-sufficiency of some great men, and proudly give the praises of a master where I am myself but in the class of a learner. . . ." 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1759, Aug. 30. Charles Town.—"Your letter, which I received yesterday, gave me much pleasure, and I am not sorry I have lived to receive it instead of having an elegy made upon my death, which, though it had been as good as the verses which Orpheus sang to bring Euridice back from hell, I shou'd probably have known nothing of, nor woud it have eased any of my pains if I had been condemn'd to that place. The weather is now so hot here that if fire be the punishment of the damn'd, I think I am in a sort of hell by anticipation. . . . What do you mean by mentioning Stowe to me? If I were to suffer my thoughts to dwell but for a few minutes upon the Templum Veneris Hortensis, and some other things I have seen and remember there, I shou'd have the worse opinion of all publick employments for seven years to come. I am at present in very good health, but as irritable as if I were a poor poet or a poorer counsellor of Georgia, therefore . . . if you chance to affront me, I may, in return for the elegy you promise to write upon me when I am dead, write a lampoon upon you whilst you are living."

Postscript.—"Are you not ashamed to be so fat, while your friends, Mr. Ellis* and I, are so lean?" 4 *pp.*

* Henry Ellis, Governor of Georgia.

WILLIAM KNOX to GOVERNOR LYTTELTON.

1760, March 5. Savannah.—The suddenness of your Excellency's departure and the tardiness of our assembly has cut me off from all hopes of coming to you, although the consequence of your new appointment seems to deprive me of the pleasure of ever seeing you again. Yet I must congratulate you on the change, because I am convinced that it will be no less happy than honourable and advantageous to you, and at all events it shows "that the British Ministry are better judges of merit than the sordid Legislators of Carolina, of whom, I think, it may now, without any injustice, be said that no King can govern nor no God can please. If your Excellency had staid another year I should have been happy in accompanying you to England, for it is my firm purpose to return thither in that time." Neither the climate or the country are agreeable to me, and there is no other person here who either will or can do any public business; therefore, I must bear all the blame of every impalatable measure. "Could your Excellency believe that it is in the power of a man to whom I have rendered more services than can be easily conceived to raise me to public notice, and that rather than do it he is bargaining with a man who will do the business for a less sum, but not so much on that account is he prefer'd as because his administration, 'tis hoped, will be an advantageous contrast to the one before it. This being the case, your Excellency cannot be surprised that I should quit thoughts of any office on this side the water. Indeed, I have little expectation of anything valuable on t'other unless by exchange or purchase. The agency for this province is the thing of all the world that I wish for, but I have been refused even a recommendation to that, lest it might be thought impertinent. . . . I did not expect to succeed Mr. Martyn without his consent. My scheme was either to exchange offices, giving him a sum, or to have leave to hold my own and reside in England, and to be appointed to his, giving him the greater part of the sallary during his life. Your Excellency will please to note that the agent for this province is appointed by the King, and has no sallary from hence." Mr. Martyn is advanced in life, and has but indifferent health. If you think there is anything practicable in this scheme, I beg for your advice as to how to pursue it. I do not so much want the emolument as the office, as I think that, in it, I should be able to recommend myself, and should be willing even to give Martyn the whole salary. My present office I have deputed, and I believe I could lease it for 50*l*. per annum, exclusive of the salary, which is 100*l*. I am now settling a plantation, and pope, by the end of the year, to have twenty good slaves on it. A planter, with whom I have already agreed, is to pay me 150*l*. per annum for seven years, and to make good my slaves at the end of that term. So long as I can enjoy 150*l*. a year in England or Ireland I know nothing that could tempt me to renounce them for America. There are abundance of pretty things in the Revenue in Ireland not hard to come at, and if I can obtain nothing more through my Georgia connections than leave to reside there and depute my office I shall forgive them. Had your Excellency's promotion been in England I intended to make you a tender of my abilities, and

should have thought myself happy in having you alone for my patron. I venture to think I should not have disgraced your recommendation to an office in the Treasury, and that I had a disposition for that sort of business I think the paper you will receive with this will be evidence of. Jamaica has put an end to my views, but, as your Excellency is going first to England, "that my labours may not be lost to my country for want of being properly introduced, I have, together with the scheme which I now present your Excellency, enclosed a paper containing a few thoughts which have occur'd to me at different times since I came to America. This is my whole political stock, on which I hoped to have set up under your Excellency's protection. I, therefore, make you my sole heir." *Draft.* 3 *folio pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1760, March 22. Charles Town—"I received a few days ago your very kind letter of the 5th instant, with the scheme that accompanied it, which I will take great care of, and put into the best hands I possibly can upon my arrival in London; you must not be surprised that I say no more concerning it at present, for if I was better able to judge than I am of a performance concerning finances I could not now have leisure to consider yours with the attention it deserves. . . . Had I continued in this country I should have omitted no opportunity of improving a connection with a man of your amiable turn and usefull talents, and now that my fortune carries me to England I shall be happy to bear testimony to your merit. . . . tho' much cannot be expected from my weak suffrage." As to your future purposes, "I imagine that which is most likely to succeed wou'd be the agency, unless you have any friends whose particular situation and circumstances wou'd enable them to serve you in Ireland. Your political conundrums, as you are pleased to call them, will be a most agreable present to me, and if I must consider them as the bequest of a *departed politician* I hope it will only be of one who dies in order to experience a happy resurrection." 2¼ *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to ——.

1760, May 20. Savannah.—"It is with real concern that I learn you have so good reasons for delaying to acknowledge the receipt of several of my letters; yet, however sensibly I feel your misfortunes, I will not give you the pain of an impertinent condolation, and indeed, as every station in life has its chequers, adversity must afford you a pleasure which you could not have tasted in affluence. You can now be assured that the general esteem you before enjoy'd was not adoration of your prosperity, and that it was not to your fortune you were indebted for your friends." My visions of securing a little competence and returning to Europe to enjoy it amongst my relations have all proved visionary, for I hear that my dearest brother has been for some time numbered among the dead, and that my poor father, not many weeks after, followed

him to the grave. As the desire of ministering to an aged parent was my strongest reason for wishing to return, I have postponed my intended voyage for some years, " and as our governor [Ellis] is so soon to go for England I must begin to think of acquiring something better than my present office. You will perhaps think it strange that among all the handsome things the governor has had to give away that I should at this time be able to declare that I have never accepted of any government favour to the value of sixpence. . . . It has not been the governor's fault, for he has offer'd me several, but the fear of exciting jealousies and lessning the governor's influence have ever made me refuse them. Such is the hard case of favourites. If they have more regard for the service of their patron than their own private emolument they must be content to be the last served. Should not our superiors consider this, and annex such salarys to their offices as might give the officer an hope of being one day in a state of independence without either betraying the intrests of the crown or plundering the people. My salary is one hundred pounds, and the fees of my office about fifty. This is all I am allowed to live on as a member of council in a country where every imported commodity sells at an advance of 75 per cent., and every necessary of life is proportionately expencive. This you must suppose when I tell you that day labourers will not work under two shillings. In short, had it not been for the assistance I had from Europe I must have either left the colony or become a scandal to my office. When the governor asked me if he should mention me for his successor as lieutenant I was obliged to decline it, partly indeed from an apprehension of miscarrying, having no one here to assist me, and partly from the narrowness of my circumstances. . . . What has occasioned me to give you all this trouble is your mentioning in your last to the governor that many complaints were come against our agent for Indian affairs, and as I have some hopes that, should he be removed and my Lord Halifax was made acquainted with my being desirous of the employment, that his lordship would have the goodness to appoint me to it, I must request your good offices for that purpose, for it might look like design were our governor, who has complained of the present, to recommend a successor. . . . I have several advantages over every man in England, and many over most people here. In the first place, I have served an apprenticeship under the second master in America. In the next place, the Creek Indians, who hold the ballance of power in this part of the continent, are the very Indians with whom I am acquainted, indeed I may say personally known to ; and in the third place, I think I am not ignorant of the intrests of the colonys and of the state of our connections with the savages ; and lastly that, as our governor is going from hence and his successor has not his ability, at least in this respect, the dificiencys in the governor must be made up by the agent. I might add that I am pretty well acquainted with the white people with whom I should have to do, and indeed at this time there is something more necessary in an Indian agent than merely a knowledge of Indian customs." I, therefore, beg the favour that you will mention me to his lordship,

and that you will be so good as to refer him to Governor Lyttelton, who is now in England, for my character. "Large as the salary is, I should find it all necessary, for as I should copy our governor in everything I should rather seek the goodwill of the Indians by acts of kindness and hospitality than, by an austere carrage, aim at exciting reverence. It is ridiculous in the highest degree to think of gaining an influence among a people who are as free as the wild beasts and as jealous of their liberty, by assuming a superiority over them." I have no room to speak of our affairs, but "in the meantime, as we are sure of the friendship (not assistance) of the Creeks, we are in no pain for ourselves; and as for the Carolinians, their pride requires an humbling, and get it they will." *Draft.* 3½ *folio pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1761, Jan. 2. Hill Street, London.—" . . . I have put your scheme concerning the National Debt into the hands of Mr. Oswald, one of the Lords of the Treasury, who has promised me to inspect it carefully and to communicate it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. . . . With respect to the superintendence of Indian affairs, I don't believe Mr. Atkin has any intention to resign it, but I will not fail to do your talents all the justice in my power in speaking of you to Lord Halifax. . . . This is all the service I can do you, for, circumstanced as I am with regard to Jamaica, I can take no part by applying for an office for anybody that is not concern'd in that island." Direct to me under care of Lord Lyttelton, who will forward the letters. 4 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to his brother, [ROBERT] KNOX.

1761, June 28. Savannah.—" . . . I am drawing in all my little affairs and settling them so as to be ready to leave this country next spring, yet, as the character of my fortune has always been disapointment in my views, tho' not to my disadvantage, I scarse dare flatter myself with the thoughts of returning so soon. . . . I have lately had a very extraordinary deliverance from death. I was struck by lightning on the crown of my head, but Providence gave the shaft an oblique direction which saved me, and I am now perfectly recovered of the shock and feel no injury save the loss of a hatt and the coat I had on, which were burned or tore in pieces. . . . The war with the Indians in these parts is spun out to a much greater lenth than could have been expected when it began. I hope, however, it is now drawing near a period. The Cherokees appear willing to make peace, but we all think it unsafe to make it with them, as they have not yet felt the calamities of war so as to insure their keeping it. The difficulty then lyes in coming at them to give them a good drubbing without making use of treachery, which would not only be infamous, but might prevent the Indians from ever treating with us again. . . . I think it most prudent to give them peace on *their* putting a few of the promoters of the war to death; even one of them would content me, and that, I believe, will be the most that can be done at last, tho' I

imagine, as the Carolinians are very proud, a few thousands more must be spent before they will put up with so small satisfaction. Be that as it may, the march of the army has humbled our neighbours, the Creeks, and whenever they shall hear of our landing at Mobile I dare promise they will fall upon the French and cut twice as many of their throats as they did of ours, by way of atonement. This we might perhaps call murder, if Europeans did not do the like every day to one another and acquire glory by it. Our present governor* continues to give great content. He is a realy honest man, and acts with great caution, and in most things by advice of the council. . . . I am upon the best terms with him, insomuch that I am in no doubt of having his interest to assist me in England. I wish I had been there when Lord Halifax was appointed your Lord Lieutenant." *Draft.* 2 *pp.*

William Knox to Governor Lyttelton.

1762, Feb. 10. Savannah.—Since I received your Excellency's of January twelvemonth I have written you a very long letter, containing the second part of the history of the Cherokee war and congratulations upon your marriage. "I may now, I hope, congratulate your Excellency on your once more taking up the reins of government, tho' if I knew any way of addressing your people I should think they had a better title to my congratulations on that occasion than your Excellency. . . . I have the pleasure to tell your Excellency that I have obtained the King's leave to return to England, and that our legislature have appointed me their agent for transacting their affairs in Great Britain in conjunction with Mr. Martin, the agent for the crown." I am to have only 50*l* salary, but that is enough for my purpose, as I only wanted the appointment to make better terms with Mr. Martin. I have farmed my office of P[rovost] M[arshal] for 60*l*. a year, exclusive of the salary which is 100*l*., and let my plantation and negroes for 130*l*. per annum, so I shall have 340*l*. to support me in London as the representative of Georgia. Lord Halifax's departure from the Board of Trade is a great loss to me, but I hope your Excellency will one day exchange your government for a seat there. "At present I have not the honour to be known to any gentleman there, nor to any of the Lords of the Council, altho' my business may call me often to both places, and countenance there is often necessary for getting business done, but I must struggle with all difficulties and trust in an upright conduct, for I have few friends to depend on." I beg your Excellency to allow me to hope that you will continue to be one of them. *Draft.* 2 *pp.*

Governor Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1762, April 28. Bath.—Congratulating him on his arrival in England, and urging him to visit him at Bath, as he has a thousand enquiries to make which Knox can satisfy better than anybody. As the business of an American governor is not the most favourable

* Sir James Wright, bart.

to health, he is trying to lay in a stock to carry out with him, and is going presently to Tunbridge, or, if he can get the King's permission, to Spaw. Is at Mrs. Flemming's on the South Parade. Asks for Harry Yonge's address, who, he hears, has been Knox's fellow passenger. 1½ *pp.*

GOVERNOR ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1762, April 30. Bath.—Your letter confirms me in my view that you would do well to consult with me before beginning to act under your new commission. "I suspect Mr. Martyn will throw every difficulty in your way in his power. . . . Were I here only for pleasure I should not hesitate a moment about returning immediately to London, but that is not the case. I am drinking these waters by advice of my physician, preparatory to a course of chalybeates, either at Tunbridge or Spaw." If you cannot come here I will go to London a week earlier, but as the stage coach comes here in a day I imagine you will be tempted to make the excursion. If you cannot defer your appearance at the Board of Trade so long "I will with all my heart send you an introductory letter to Mr. Pownall in as strong terms as I can word it. . . . As to your impatience to write by the Carolina ships the effects of your embassy, I think it is rather too great. You will not be able to do any business of a public nature so soon as you imagine. . . . You must have time to look about you, to survey the ground you stand upon and to know the men you will have to do with and the way to avail yourself of them. You may freely command my assistance in these things, who am now a veteran in soliciting and dancing attendance upon people in office." The testimonies of the remembrance of my American friends are very agreeable to me, as I have a real regard for the authors of them.

Postscript.—Mr. Rice, one of the Lords of Trade, and son-in-law to Lord Talbot, is my fellow lodger here, but leaves in about ten days. 3 *pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1762, Dec. 30. Spanish Town, Jamaica.—Congratulating him on his appointment as agent, and thanking him for his flattering expressions of esteem. Will always be pleased to hear from him on public affairs, and if he makes no remarks in return, it will only be because, owing to his distance from the scene of action, his observations would probably be wide of the mark, and also that in the office he holds, free comments might not be prudent. Is almost tempted to think he must have been born in these warm countries (not in London, as he has been told), the climate suits him so well. 4 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

1763, Aug. 27. [Paris].—"There are so few things in this country worth notice, and of those so very few are fit to be treated of in a letter, that if I did not suppose you were by this time wearied with rural diversions I should think myself very blameable for attempting

to amuse you with an account of myself and my observations. I always thought England very happy in giving birth to Mr. Pitt and yourself, but I am now exceedingly thankful that neither of you are Frenchmen. I have travailed 200 miles thro' a cornfield in coming to this town without seeing a single acre of uncultivated ground—no rocks, no hills, no woods, nor even fences, so careful are the pesants to improve every inch of their holding, and so watchfull is the police to preserve the property of every individual from the depredations of another. The Government alone may here steal, or rather rob, with impunity. The immensity of the tillage and the neatness of the farms fully convinced me there was no want of hands in the country, and since my arrival in Paris I have had no reason to suppose money is more wanted. All transactions are carried on in specie, and there is neither public or private bank that issues a note. Moneyd men here are litteraly so, for they keep all their effects in cash. What sort of policy is it which cannot find means to make it the interest of the subjects to lend out their superabundant money ? But how despicably weak must that Government be which, with such resources, could not find means to support one more campaign, the issue of which, at the worst, must have brought ruin on their enemies, had they been ever so successful. Do you imagine, had Mr. Pitt or yourself been Minister to the Grand Monarque, that England would now have enjoyd the Treaty of Paris ? What then ought to be our amazement when we reflect that neither of you were then in the Cabinet of Great Britain. Exclusive of the peace, England had certainly never more reason to be satisfied with the conduct of this Court than at present. A la mode Anglois is the bon ton throughout—English horses, English dogs, English post-chaises. Their clothes are cut in the English fashion, and roast beef is brought to the politest tables at supper ; all distinctions exceedingly flattering to Englishmen, and which, I think, ought to give us pleasure, as they may serve to keep up an idea of respect much longer than our conduct may intitle us to it. But of all things that I have either seen or heard since my arrival here nothing filled me with so much delight as the sight of the procession of the King going a shooting. Figure to yourself his Majesty, attended by all his Ministers and great officers of State, setting out to shoot partridges, and think if I could refrain from crying out *Vive le Roy*, and wishing him, from the bottom of my heart, ability to pursue the like diversion every day of his life. If you should be so obliging as to intend me the honour of a letter, be pleased to direct it *Chez le Chevalier Lambert, Banquier, à Paris.* This goes by a private hand to England, otherways I should have thought it too free for a man who wishes to stay here only two months longer." *Copy.* 3 *pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1764, July 22. Jamaica.—"I have lately had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th of May, which I have not only read with that satisfaction that every account of your wellfare will allways give me, but find your observations on French affairs and the particulars

you mention concerning this part of the world so interesting that I think your packet worth twenty from my other correspondents. I am not surpris'd that you shou'd have heard at the time you refer to that I was to return to England, because such reports were industriously propagated by persons who hoped to find their accompt in the falsehoods they published, both in Great Britain and here, concerning me and my administration of this Government, but everything now is in great tranquillity in this Island, and tho' I by no means loose sight of my native land in my reflections on my own situation, and hope to see you again there before I am grown old, I have no present purpose of quitting my American post by my own choice, or apprehensions of being obliged to quit it by the workings of popular discontents.

"What you tell me of France exactly corresponds with what I learnt was the state of the Court there when I was in that kingdom in the year 1752, I mean so far as relates to the influence of the women in the Cabinet; but there were then no projects, or at least no attempts to execute any, for the reformation of abuses in the Government, and if they now shou'd indeed seriously and vigorously prosecute it I am much affraid the natural resources of that country are so powerful that they will be in a condition to disturb the peace of Europe again, before we shall have paid off such a part of our vast debt as I believe every good Englishman wou'd wish we shou'd before we engag'd again in a new contest. But yet the measures of the last session of Parliament seem to have laid some good foundations towards the effecting of this, by amplifying the British revenues (by the prevention of smuggling, &c.) without laying new Brit'sh taxes, and by obliging these Colonies to bear a much larger part of the charge to be incurred for their defence and protection than they have ever hitherto done. We have not yet in this Island had any meeting of the General Assembly, since the resolution of the House of Commons concerning the proposition of a Stamp Duty to be laid in all the King's American dominions has been known here, but I think that the part you took in conjunction with your brother agents was a very judicious one; and, considering how much one American Colony differs from another in the frame of its Government, temper of the people, and capacity of bearing particular taxes, had a Stamp Duty been impos'd the last session of Parliament to take place in all alike without previous information of the local circumstances attending each, it might have prov'd in some inefficacious and in others have been productive of greater discontents than the object was worth. . . ." 3¼ *pp.*

William Knox to George Grenville.

1764, Nov. 9.—I have taken the liberty to present you with a paper * which contains the best information which the situations I have been in have enabled me to obtain. Such of the materials as I collected in France, when I had the honour to accompany Lord Grosvenor to that Kingdom, were intended for his lordship's use, as

* Perhaps the paper called "Hints relative to our Commerce." *See* p. 286 below.

he then thought the circumstances of this country called upon him to exert his best ability in the public service. But "he is now so well satisfied with the conduct of the public affairs, and has such reliance upon the ability and uprightness of your administration that he thinks anything which has a tendency to serve the nation cannot be better bestowed than by being put into your hands." No other person has been made acquainted with the matter contained in the paper, and if you think anything in it worthy your adopting, "you may make it your own with confidence, for I intended the paper for your use when I began it, and to you only have I communicated it." *Draft.* 2 *pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1765, Jan. 10. Jamaica.—"I very sincerely condole with you upon the melancholy event which has been so just a cause of affliction to you. . . . Since I wrote to you in July, I have had but an uncomfortable time, not indeed owing to any misfortune or ill accident, but to a bad state of health. I have had an intermitting fever of the Carolina sort, which during three months returned frequently upon me and reduced me very much; but I am now perfectly recovered, and the birth of another boy, who came into the world on the 28th of last month, adds very much to my domestic satisfaction. On the other hand, the tranquillity which I have enjoyed for these two years past with respect to the publick affairs of this island has lately been interrupted," owing to my having, as Chancellor, granted writs of *habeas corpus* to, and discharged in open court two men who had been committed by the Assembly for executing a writ of *venditioni exponas* upon the coach horses of a member against whom one of the men had obtained a judgment. This so inflamed the Assembly (tho' they have right of protection from suits of law in their *persons only*), "that they voted me guilty of *a flagrant breach, contempt and violation of their privileges*, and drew the heads of an address to the King, beseeching him to restrain *my arbitrary power as Chancellor and prevent such open and manifest violations of their said privileges.* Whereupon, I first prorogued and then, with the unanimous advice of the Council, dissolved them. We shall have a new Assembly the beginning of March, but what temper I shall find them in, or be able to bring them to, I cannot yet judge. . . . I am glad you are improving your connexions in general, and especially your acquaintance with Mr. Grenville, whom I love and honour most cordially."

I am reading a book lately published, written, it is said, by the Abbé de Mirebeau, called *L'ami des hommes*, which has shown me more of the internal state of France than any other work, I believe, would have done. 4 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1765, July 14. Jamaica.—" . . . In the month of May I had the misfortune to loose my wife, an event which was a most just cause of affliction to me. . . . I may truly say I have wanted all the fortitude I cou'd exert to support my spirits, as I

believe you did also." I have read your printed letter with great satisfaction, and communicated it to such persons as had candour enough to feel the force of its very just reasoning. There are too many on this side the tropic who are obstinately deaf to all that runs counter to their old prejudices.

"The picture you draw in your letter to me of the administration of the Minister who is mentioned so honourably in the conclusion of the printed one, and who so well deserves the appellation there given him, afforded me also very sincere pleasure.* I think, indeed, he deserves more than is said of him in that conclusion, for altho' possibly Sir Robert Walpole may have had as much knowledge, or even more, from his long experience in revenue matters than the other gentleman, it does not appear that the nation profitted much by his abilities during the many years he was as absolute at the Treasury as my Lord Godolphin or any other sole Lord Treasurer ever was, and you know, at the close of his ministry, but a very small part of the National Debt was paid off.

"I told you in my letter of the month of January what had then happen'd here between the Assembly and me. I have since had the honour to receive the King's most gracious approbation of my conduct, signified to me by the Lords of the Privy Council, and with this support I am going to try whether a new Assembly which I have call'd to meet in August will not have a little more temper and discretion than their predecessors have shewn; and as many new persons will be elected to serve in it, I have reason to entertain good hopes that the necessary supplies will be voted and the factious humours subside. I thank you heartily for other parts of your letter, in which what you tell me corresponds with the best accounts I have from others of my friends. I shou'd have been glad if the gentleman who now serves the Crown out of office had not hesitated in the manner he did to take what was offer'd to him. I have had a long acquaintance with him, and much respect him for his great knowledge in his profession and his irreproachable moral conduct in private life. . . ." 4 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1765, Oct. 20. Jamaica.—" . . . As I am told the affairs of this island are more discoursed of in London than I shou'd have imagined, I suppose you will have learnt that I was obliged to dissolve an Assembly which met in August, and I have not since call'd another. You remember the difficulties I had to contend with in South Carolina, but I assure you they have been much greater here, nevertheless they have not been such as to compell me to sacrifice the essential duties of my station to factious humours. What course the new Ministry in England will think adviseable to be taken with certain provinces on the continent of America to maintain the authority, not of the Crown but indeed of the King and Parliament, I shall be the more observant of, because I conceive it is a matter of the last consequence with respect to the future government of those colonies, and perhaps of all belonging

* Probably George Grenville.

to Great Britain, for if the doctrine openly asserted by the Virginian Assembly that that colony ought not to be bound by the British Act of Parliament for imposing the Stamp Duty, and the sedition of the people of Boston, who, as you will have heard, have compelled the distributor of the stamps to take an oath that he will not execute his office. after pulling down the edifice intended for the custody of them, and committing many other acts of violence, without any interposition (that we learn) of the Magistrates to restrain them, be not animadverted upon in an exemplary manner, I do not see how the Mother Country can hope for the future that her laws will be obeyd in such distant dominions. . . .

"I heard very lately of poor Governor Wright, who was then in pretty good health, but his spirits have never recovered the severe shock of that unhappy event which affected you also so deeply; but I am to blame to recall your thoughts to a subject of affliction which I flatter myself business and the dissipations of the great citty you live in will in some measure have relieved you from." 4 *pp.*

GOVERNOR W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1766, March 30. Jamaica.—"I most heartily congratulate you on your marriage, and beg you will make my compliments acceptable to your little woman. As I wrote some time since for leave to return to England, it may not be long before I shall be an eye-witness of your happiness, which I wish may be equal or superior if possible to what mine was, and of an abundantly greater duration. . . . I have lately received a copy of the King's speech and the addresses of the Parliament in January, and a very incorrect account of Mr. Pitt's speech, in which he is said to have inveigh'd against the Stamp Act as illegal upon principle, but what all this will end in we are yet ignorant here, and as an Englishman, more than an American governor, I confess I am anxious to learn. That Act has been fully carried into execution here, and I suppose that no reasonable man can doubt that the Mother Country has force sufficient to compell the obedience due to it upon the Continent, especially as I see the King has twice assured the Parliament, once in December and again in January, that there is no cause to apprehend any interruption of the good harmony that reigns at present between the several powers of Europe, but how far the consideration of commercial interests or other motives of policy or private interests may operate to produce a repeal I am not able to judge. Mr. Charles Townshend did me great honour, and I have reason to be vain of his good opinion, but I have such an obstinate people to deal with that all I dare hope for is to preserve myself from censure by doing what I think is my duty as a man of honour and the King's servant, but not to obtain that compliance with the instructions of the crown on the part of the people which, if they saw their true interest or could be made to see it, they wou'd not refuse. However, I have call'd another assembly, which is to meet on the 13th of May, and then a new trial will be made whether they will do the business they are convened for or ride resty, as their predecessors have done, on the points of privilege. . . ." 2½ *pp.*

Viscount Townshend to William Knox.

1767, June 6. Addisbury.—I am sorry that circumstances have deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you here, but beg that you will still consider yourself under an engagement to me for a visit.

"I am concern'd to hear Mr. Boone has acted precipitately in his manner of making grants; but . . . I have ever held that the perfect and general establishment of a sufficient American government can be the work only of Parliament. Few men are capable of conceiving the idea; still fewer are furnished with the knowledge requisite, and I doubt if any one man living has spirit or firmness enough to undertake and maintain, upon his own personal weight, a work of such infinite delicacy, extent and difficulty. In the execution of it he would find himself by turns offending the provinces and the Mother Country, or perhaps displeasing both at once by taking a middle point of moderation and good sense, between the extremes of absolute independence and absolute supremacy. To bring such a noble plan to accomplishment it must be framed with the utmost ability and discretion; it must come from a ministry possest of the confidence of the public; the two houses of Parliament must receive it with entire good will; it must have the real support of an unanimous ministry, and it must be thoroughly opened and recommended to the nation. Am I right in this? If I am I am not peevish in doubting whether, at this hour and under this ministry, Mr. Boone has overturn'd any great plan for the settlement of our affairs in America" 3 *pp.*

W. H. Lyttelton to William Knox.

1767, July 30. Port Eliot.—"A thousand thanks to you, my dear Knox, for your very instructive letter. . . . One of my friends says that the true cause of the rupture was Lord R[ockingham]'s insisting that Mr. C[onway] should have the conduct of the House of Commons, and that altho' what pass'd concerning America was given out to have contributed to it, it had in reality but very little. I conclude, however, it will not be very long before I hear of arrangements as to some one or two great offices at least, and nothing can seem more advantageous than the present situation of the court." Mr. Eliot presents his compliments. *Seal, Neptune with his trident.* 2 *pp.*

Addressed:—"To Will. Knox, Esqre., in New Street, Hanover Square, London."

The Same to the Same.

1767, Aug. 29. Lisbon.—". . . I have now only to acquaint you with my arrival in this city on the 16th inst., since which all my time has been taken up in formal audiences and visits. . . . All that you have heard of the noble appearance which Lisbon makes as you approach it by water is true, and in going about the town you have a most singular prospect of regular new-built streets intermixed with the ruins of vast edifices, palaces, churches and convents, overturned by the earthquake, which are much more striking from

the elevation of the ground on which the city is than if it had been situated on a flat.

"I hope your little woman and my little man* are well."

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Oct. 7. Wolton.—"I send you inclosed according to my promise a copy of the letter from S. Carolina, giving an account of the disposition of the people and of what had happen'd there on a seizure made under the Custom House laws. This letter was, I am told, sent to some of our newspapers to be printed, but was refused under the influence of those who have bought those channels of public intelligence, that the people of Great Brittain may be continued in ignorance of the state of things in America, a conduct which I fear will finally turn out a great misfortune both to this country and to that. I embrace with pleasure the occasion which the transmission of this paper gives me to return my best thanks to Mr. Grosvenor and to you for your kind visit to us. I beg the favor of you to make our compliments to him and to assure him of our warmest wishes that he may find his little girl perfectly recover'd and Mrs. Grosvenor free from all anxiety." 1½ *pp.*

W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Dec. 9. Lisbon.—I believe your letter had been opened before I received it, and to avoid the danger of this for the future beg you to send any you write to Mr. Brown, my agent and chief clerk at Lord Shelburne's office, who will enclose them with the government despatches. I am glad you have paid a visit "to a man [George Grenville] who will know how to do justice to your talents, and who is himself such a fund of usefull knowledge that everybody who frequents him must improve from his conversation, especially when matters of government are in question. . . . I thank you cordially for your good wishes. I have not yet been long enough here to form very mature opinions, but I may tell you that several things in my situation are not unpleasing. . . .

"I rejoice that my little man and his fairy mama are well. Give her a kiss for me, and a sugar plumb to the boy."

Postscript.—Tell my Lord Grosvenor that I have hunted all over Lisbon in vain for a good picture. "They say they were all lost in the earthquake, which is so common a reply here to account for the want of anything desireable that one wou'd think everything, even to the maidenheads of the women, had been lost then." 3 *pp.*

[ROBERT NUGENT] VISCOUNT CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Dec. 24. Great George Street.—"We adjourned the board this day to the 15th of February, so you will have full time to travel leisurely. . . . My situation is not at all affected by the present arrangements, and it it was—you will be at no loss to fill up the blank. If the Duke of Bedford is to be the directing minister, I

* Lyttelton was god-father to Knox's son.

believe it a secret which no one here except your correspondent knows, if your letter has not been opened at the Post-office. I am sorry to decline any service that can be of importance to you, but altho' often apply'd to, as you will easily believe must have happen'd to a Lord of the Treasury and a member for Bristol, I never in any one instance was a suitor for myself or any other, to be admitted into a loan. Were I to depart from this rule I shou'd disoblige many of my constituents and be able to oblige but a few." 2 *pp.*

GOVERNOR HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1767, Dec. 30. Bath.—Stating that he has recommended him to the notice of Lord Hillsborough, now made Secretary of State for America, and has also spoken to Lord Clare, who says that if Lord Hillsborough enlists Mr. Pownall he will take Knox in his place. 2 *pp.*

W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, March 14. Lisbon.—I am pleased to find that we have both entertained the same conjectures concerning Mr. G. G[renville], but it is probable that he may not be at liberty or may not choose to come into office unless his brother and some others are also satisfied. "I shall be curious to observe what degree of vigour the American department is exercised with. I don't expect that anything of consequence can be done untill after the meeting of the new Parliament, and yet the resolutions of the provinces of New England, and that spirit which you and I know to be so generally prevalent over the whole Continent, require the most speedy as well as the most judicious and efficacious measures to restrain their effects. . . .

"For some time past the Count d'Oeyras's illness has prevented my intercourse with him, but he is much better than he was, and I hope will soon resume the exercise of his ministerial functions."

Postscript.—Tell Mrs. Knox the women are not very likely to keep me from returning if the men do not. I wish Mrs. Smith and Miss Thomas would take a trip hither and enliven me with their agreeable company. 2½ *pp.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, June 27. The Grove.—I have not had time to consider your papers with the care they deserve, as I have been travelling about on visits to my friends, but they have given me much pleasure, and I perfectly agree with you "that we ought to take our materials for manufactures from our colonies, altho' we should pay higher prices for them or be obliged to reduce the price of them to our manufacturers by bounties, nor do I think it possible to prevent all manufactures entirely in our colonies, and the attempting to do it by force, notwithstanding what Lord Chatham declar'd in the House of Commons of '*filling their towns with troops and their ports with ships of war*,' would be most violent and unjust,

as well as impracticable; but the giving to them every possible encouragement to produce raw materials for our use would, in my opinion, be the most proper as well as the most effectual means of diverting them from manufacturing themselves to a great extent. This part of the argument may be explained and developed more at large then it is now done, and I think that and every other measure of good government and encouragement to the colonies is the just retribution which we should give to them for their support and obedience. But I own I cannot think that we ought for any consideration of Revenue from thence, even if it could amount to a million a year instead of 200,000*l.*, as you propose, to give up and sell for ever the right of sovereignty and taxation in the Parliament of Great Brittain over its colonies, which would be effectually done by the declaration propos'd in page 74—that the colonies 'should undertake to raise that sum amongst themselves, and that then every tax and duty laid on them for the purpose of revenue ought to be forthwith repealed.' If Great Britain, under any conditions, gives up her right of taxation she gives up her right of sovereignty, which is inseparable from it, in all ages and in all countries. The proposition in page 78 and 79 for 'Great Brittain to allow her colonies to carry directly from thence to all other parts of the world *every* production of their several climates which she has no occasion for' is an absolute repeal of one half of the Acts of Navigation, and contrary to the established principle and policy of every other European nation with respect to their colonies. It should, therefore, be thoroughly considered before it is propos'd to that extent. In some instances it has been already done; perhaps in some others it may be allow'd; but to do it universally might be dangerous, if not fatal, to Great Britain. The quit rents and the duty of 4½ per cent., which you mention in page 74 as part of the colony funds for public service, cannot be taken as such, as the former belongs immediately and certainly to the Crown, and the latter, tho' given originally for particular purposes, has for many years been disposed of and apply'd in the same manner." 3½ *pp.* *Seal of arms.*

VISCOUNT CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX, Little Chelsea.

1768, June 28. Newport.—When I mentioned my wish to forward your brother's pretensions at Bristol "I was informed that another person must be thought on, who is a great favourite of my best friends in that city, and is himself of that number." If, however, the emoluments of the office do not make it worth his while to quit Bristol and his friends there for a very troublesome employment, "I shall then be joined in recommending your brother to those chosen for Bristol. . . .

"I am come thus far on my way into Ireland, after having been yesterday unanimously re-elected, but not without some untoward circumstances arising from a jealousy conceived by the multitude of too much power assumed by the two societies in nominating their candidates; some grumbled, but all voted for me." 1¾ *pp.* *Seal of arms.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, July 15. Wotton.—"I have considered your letter of the 7th of this month with great attention, and the reasons you therein assign for adopting the plan of a requisition of a certain sum to be made upon each of the colonies, and upon that sum being raised by them, a declaration that all the present taxes impos'd by the Parliament of Great Brittain shall be repealed and no more imposed by them, except in case of refusal by any colony to furnish its contingent. I agree with you that it will be extremly difficult, if not impracticable, for the colonies to apportion a certain sum by a convention of deputies from each colony. They would, therefore, never do it, and the convention of deputies would quarrel, which would probably be attended with very bad consequences both to themselves and to us, besides the novelty of such an assembly. The difficulty of assessing the specific sums on each colony would then fall upon the Parliament (for God forbid that we should ever give that power to the King without Parliament), and as the various circumstances of the colonies would render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish any permanent rate for the several quotas, the consequence would be that none would be establish'd, and no man would think it worth while to make a quarrel with the colonies for a sum of money when the right of taxation, and consequently that of sovereignty, from which it has ever been and ever must be inseparable, has in effect and in reality been surrender'd. To such a surrender I can never be a party, as I think it the highest species of treason against the constitution and sovereign authority of this kingdom to deprive it of one-fourth part of its subjects; but tho' I cannot adopt nor approve of such a plan, yet I can submitt to it, and having done my duty to the utmost by endeavouring to convince the King, the Parliament and the people of the unhappy consequences of such a measure, I shall wait the event till experience has given conviction one way or the other; and so far am I from thinking, if I had the power, that I have a right to carry matters to extremity, as you tell me it is suppos'd I would, in order to inforce my own opinions, in contradiction to theirs, upon a subject of such infinite importance to the whole, that if I were to see the King, the Parliament and the people ready to run into extremes on that side. which in the course of things seems to me highly probable, I would employ all the means in my power to prevent it, and to suggest temperate measures as long as they were practicable; being fully persuaded, that whatever blame there is, it is owing to those in England who have weakly or wickedly misled the subjects in America, and not to the colonies themselves, who have done no more than any other people would have done, to whom an immunity from taxes had been holden forth, and who had been encouraged as they have been. I agree with you in thinking that the American factors here would be greatly alarmed at the proposal to give the colonies permission to *export every production*, but I own that in my opinion the disputes between us and our colonies are already of so very serious a nature that I would on no account open a door to any farther uneasiness. I shall wish to know the effect of Lord Hillsborough's letters to America, as soon as you

hear it. If they are writ in the style you mentioned to me they cannot remain long unanswered. . . ."

Postscript.—"I go from home to-morrow, and shall not return till Tuesday sênnight." 4 *pp.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, July 28. Wotton.—"The account which you gave to me in your letter of the 23rd of this month of the late transactions at Boston is so natural a consequence of the measures taken in Great Britain and of the state and temper of the government here, that whatever degree of concern it may give me I cannot feel the least surprise at it. If the eyes of those who are most interested in this unhappy situation had been sooner open'd to the most obvious truths many mischiefs might have been prevented. If the authentick proofs which they have now receiv'd of what has happen'd is not sufficient to convince them, I will venture to foretell without a spirit of prophecy greater calamities will, when it is too late, rouse them and the whole kingdom from the lethargy, as to all publick measures, into which they have been plung'd. I have long fear'd that the conduct holden in Great Brittain would encourage and delude the subjects of America, till they would come to extremities of one kind, which would too probably end in extremities on the other side. I may appeal to you as a private man and as a member of Parliament to my public declarations that my opinions upon this subject have ever been uniformly the same. They will still continue to be so till I see much better reasons for changing them than any which I have yet heard. What prospect there can now be that they will be attended with success I cannot pretend to answer, but if there is no plan form'd upon the sound principles of this constitution, supported both by firmness and temper, I can answer that no good success in the present difficult situation can arise from one desultory measure after another. The respect and affection of its subjects is the basis on which every wise government must be founded, but if that foundation has been once overturn'd it is not the work of a day to temper the materials so as to unite and rebuild them, especially it the workmen shall be daily chang'd, and each work by a different rule and line from that of his predecessor." 3 *pp.*

W. H. LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, July 31. Lisbon.—Expressing his hope, from what Knox tells him, that he may soon have another godson to make up for the one he has lost.

Thinks that "a certain measure will have great consequences; how extensive it is hard to say. If the dissolutions are submitted to without tumults or insurrections, will not government grow tired after some time of defraying the charges out of English funds which used to be provided for by the assemblies, or will the American duties, as now collected, be sufficient to defray them? It may very justly be apprehended that for a long time the assemblies will be obstinate in refusing to yield obedience to the requisition,

chusing rather to be dissolved than to comply with it. On the other hand, if the provinces suffer many inconveniences from the want of assemblies, may not the people grow turbulent in order to compell the governors to suffer them to sit contrary to their instructions, and is there a military force there sufficient to support those governors in the execution of their duty ? " 3 *pp.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, Aug. 15. Wotton.—A very long letter on the relations of taxation and representation, combating the doctrine that they must go together. 18½ *pp. Printed in Knox's "Extra Official State Papers."*

The SAME to the SAME.

1768, Sept. 11. Wotton.—"I am very glad to hear that you have almost got through the tedious business of correcting the press, and that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing your performance upon the state of the nation complete. . . . The facts relative to Sir Jeffrey Amherst's dismission from his government are now, I find, pretty universally known and occasion many observations. The accounts from America continue uniformly the same, notwithstanding which it is much doubted whether any measure has been or will be formed upon that important subject till the meeting of the Parliament, upon whom the whole, I suppose, will be thrown ? Have you read Mr. Pownall's new edition of the Administration of the Colonies ? which he has addressed to me, tho', as he very truely says, we differ widely in our opinions, particularly as to the doctrine which he endeavours to establish of a different mode of obedience between the subjects within this kingdom and those without it ; a doctrine very dangerous in its consequences, and which has not the least foundation in our constitution, nor do I think that the colonies incorporated in the times of King James 1st and King Charles 1st and 2nd stand upon the same footing with the Countys Palatine of Chester and Durham, or that our Kings have a right to create such independent principalities or to exempt them from any part of the jurisdiction of the supreme legislature, whatever might be the case of a new acquir'd kingdom under William the Conqueror ; notwithstanding which it appears from the preamble to the Acts of Parliament granting the right to send members of Parliament to Chester and Durham that in fact they had been bound by all the laws passed in the English Parliament, and particularly those of taxation, altho' the contrary is asserted in the petition cited to have been presented to King Henry 6th in Mr. Pownall's treatise. I do not agree with him that there has been 'a constitutional mode of administration thro' the establishment and invaried continuance of the precedent to raise the provincial quota of taxes by making in each case a requisition to the assemblys to grant subsidies '—page 152. So far from this being an invaried precedent, there have been many Acts of Parliament, as he himself admitts, for the purpose of taxation only, and there never was an

instance, I believe, where the Parliament made such a requisition, nor any which I know of where the crown has required them to grant subsidies, unless the instruction to provide for their governours or a general letter to exert themselves against the enemy which has been frequently done to Lord Lieutenants of English counties in time of invasion or rebellion is stil'd a requisition to grant subsidies, and this instance will, I believe, be found to have been practised chiefly during the late war and by Mr. Pitt whilst he was Secretary of State, whose authority upon this question is certainly of no weight, tho' I think that there have been some very few instances of a similar nature before. Whether it would not be just and reasonable to grant to the colonies members of Parliament upon their petition to Parliament for that purpose, in like manner as was done in the cases of Chester and Durham, is another question, which whenever such an application shall be properly made will, I hope, be considered with every favourable disposition which their situation requires or will admitt of." 5 *pp.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, Sept. 19. Wotton.—"There must certainly be some mistake in the account which you give me in your last letter. You tell me that notwithstanding the confident assertions in the newspapers of the arrival of an express with letters from Governor Barnard, 'that the whole was false, no express being arriv'd,' nor any letters of a late date to administration; that you was told that there were accounts from Boston so late as August the 4 by way of Halifax, which say 'all was quiet and the duties regularly paid.' I know from the best authority that a schooner was sent from Halifax, that Governor Bernard's dispatches to the Government were sent by her, that she sail'd after the 8th of August, because I had myself a letter of that date from America, which came by that schooner. That letter informs me 'that the aspect of things is not in the least mended; that a very great disorder had lately happened upon Mr. Williams, the Inspector-General of the Customs, return to Boston, from whence he had been absent during the late riots on a survey, that a vast mob beset his house that very evening and insisted that he should immediately go to Liberty Tree, there resign his office and take an oath never to resume it, which he refused, and assur'd them that he would defend himself to the utmost. Finding this resistance, they then insisted that he should go to the Castle to the Commissioners, where they have been prisoners at large many weeks, which he also refused. Much clamour ensued, and much vengeance was threaten'd, but on assurances being given by Mr. Williams that he would meet them at the *Town House* next day at noon, they dispersed without doing much mischief. He went there, accordingly, thro' a vast mob of many thousands, and by his resolute behaviour quite disconcerted them; but he has often since receiv'd anonymous letters threatening his life unless he resigns his office.' Governor Barnard was very apprehensive that the Castle would be attacked, and wrote to Capt. Corner, of the *Romney*, requesting his assistance by all means in his power for the

defence and protection of it. Thus things are at present from the information I have receiv'd. On the latter end of July Mr. Barnard pressed his Council to advise him to call for troops. The whole, except *three*, oppos'd the measure. Almost the whole trade of America, my correspondent says, is more or less illicit. When you compare the account given to me by this letter, which came to me but two days before yours, from a person of the greatest credit, with the information which you received from Lord Hillsborough, that the whole was false, and that no express was arrived, *nor any letters of a late date* to administration, and what was told you in the city, 'that all was quiet and the duties regularly paid,' you will not wonder at my saying that there must certainly be some great mistake. I do not see the least appearance of any change in the dispositions of the people, or of the Assemblys in North America, nor is it indeed probable that there should be any in the present situation. Various reports are every day propagated of the intentions of Government, from whence I should think that no plan is yet settled in this kingdom, whilst a regular system is steadily pursued in the Colonies. We shall soon see whether this is true, and I heartily wish it may be found otherwise. In the meantime, to deceive ourselves, or to indeavour to deceive the publick upon this important subject, is the weakest as well as the most fatal measure which can be pursued." 4 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1768, Oct. 9. Wotton.—"I have read over the papers which you sent to me, together with your letter of the 4th of this month, with the greatest pleasure. They are written with so much temper and force, with so much knowledge and precision, that I am persuaded they will do you great honor, if ever you shall think fit to avow yourself as the author of them. The general principles laid down in them correspond so much with my declared opinions, and are so favorable to the public measures I have pursued, that to express my approbation of them to you, who are so perfectly acquainted with both, must be unnecessary. I will therefore only return you my sincere thanks, both as a public man and as a meer individual, for having put them in so clear and advantageous a light. I have not been able to examine all the particulars contain'd in them with that attention which I will give to them, and which they so well deserve. I will, however, mention one or two things which have occur'd to me in reading them over, and which you will consider of in a second edition, as the present impression is all struck off. At the bottom of page 37 you seem to recommend it to the Parliament as 'the most expedient method to assess each colony a specific sum and leave the mode of raising it to the respective Assemblies.' This would, I think, be attended with great difficulties, and no advantage. It is a novelty, and I believe hitherto without example in the course of our Parliamentary proceedings, to tax bodies of men in particular sums, taxes having been allways imposed upon the several commodities produced or consum'd, or upon particular acts to be done, which it is in every man's power to

avoid in the whole, or at least in part; but specific sums have never, as I know of, been assessed upon bodies of men, nor even upon individuals, except in the instance of poll taxes, which were allways odious from their inequality. The same objection of inequality would infallibly arise from the assessing specific sums on each of the Colonies, as it would be impossible for the Parliament to assess them in the exact proportion of their abilities; and if they did it once, the fluctuating state of our Colonies would demand an annual change of it, and be the source of perpetual injustice and altercation. Notwithstanding what has been said about *Requisitions to the Assemblies*, which Mr. Pownal in his late treatise calls 'the Constitutional mode of administration,' thro' the establishment and invaried continuance of the precedent, there is, I believe, no instance of such a requisition made by Parliament to any Assembly, except in the late Mutiny Act, which you know was as much objected to, and upon the same principle, with justice, as the other Revenue Laws. Many of those who have wish'd to exempt the Colonies from paying any taxes by authority of Parliament, have given way to this proposition from a persuasion that the Parliament *can never* carry it into execution, and tho' I do not agree that they *never can*, yet I think it so difficult, that they *never will*, which amounts to the same thing. In page 23, you say that the Ambassador Extraordinary (to Russia), when 'he had enjoyed the title *and emoluments* of the office for a twelvemonth, resign'd it.' I think Mr. Stanley said in the House of Commons that he had declin'd receiving the whole or part of the emoluments of that office. If so, the words 'and emoluments' should, in justice to him, be left out. There are some few little inaccuracies, possibly owing to errors in the press, which I will mention to you when we meet in town. In the meantime, I rejoice to hear that a work of this national importance, and of this great extent and compass, is likely to be as universally circulated as it deserves, and I am persuaded as universally approv'd." 4 *pp.*

Lord Clare to William Knox

1768, Oct. 10. Bath.—I repeat my thanks to you and Mrs. Knox "for the confidence you repose in me by confiding the conduct and education of a young lady to my spiritual direction. I shall, for the present, trust her to her mother's care, and a few years hence I dare say you will both think she may as safely be trusted to mine. . . .

"Your letter is the only piece of politicks I have read in manuscript since we parted. You tell me what is done, but wou'd to God you cou'd tell what can be done! The way is so intricate and the night so dark that he who shuts his eyes has as good a chance to go right as he who opens them.

"But you have seen the King of Denmark, and possibly may have got a ticket for the masquerade without costing you thirty guineas. What pity it is that such sights cannot last for ever. I wish they were to continue at least all this winter, and draw away many of the good company from St. Stephen's Chapel. There is,

however, one chance, which has kept this place emptier than ever I knew it. Elections have cost so much that our knights and burgesses cannot afford to travel." 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1768, Nov. 19. Lisbon.—". . . My errand hither has not proved so useless as you once prophecied it wou'd be, but much is still to be done. The people of New England have not compell'd their governor to call an Assembly, as I told you I thought it not improbable they might, but they are holding one by their own authority under the name of a *Convention*, which is as bad, or worse. . . ." 1 *p.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1769, Jan. 11. Wotton.—" I am very glad to find by your letter of the 9th of this month, which I receiv'd last night, that you have almost finished what you are about. As to the question which you ask of me, whether it is safe to blame the proceedings of the late or any former House of Commons, it has been agitated in debate during the present Session, and it was urg'd that in the case of any *virulent* or *outrageous* abuse of the former House of Commons, the subsequent House of Commons might censure it. This was strongly denied by many, and there it was left; but I imagine that those who supported that doctrine meant to confine that censure to instances of gross and scandalous abuse, for if it be true that the proceedings of former Parliaments are not to be questioned, nor the conduct of former Kings to [be] blam'd, because there may be a libell upon a dead King as well as a living one (which, if I am not misinform'd, was the doctrine laid down by the present Lord Chancellor when Attorney-General in the case of Dr. Thelbeare), it must follow that it will be utterly impossible to write any history except a panegyrick out of the Gazette. At the same time it will certainly be safer, and I think more effectual, to canvass the conduct and character of a late Parliament or King in decent and temperate language, at the same time that the facts and inferences are stated and drawn with the utmost freedom. This right is essential in the most limited idea of the liberty of the press, and I imagine will scarcely be questioned at present. The other question which you ask is whether a man may without offence express the just expectations of the subject from the present House of Commons; that they will by their conduct restore the sinking authority of Parliament, enquire into past misconduct, and punish those who dispute their right, and foment resistance to the laws? This question seems to me to admit of no doubt, for I take it for granted that it cannot be a crime to write that, which every subject has a right in decent and respectfull terms to petition the Parliament to do, and no man, I think, can deny that all these are real and serious grievances both upon the King and his people. . . . All my letters from London agree in the same representation of the unsettled, unhappy state of things and of the divisions which prevail." 4 *pp.*

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1769, Aug. 5. Lisbon.—I am charmed to find that two works—one of which I think is the best upon Finance since Sir Robert Walpole's answers to Pultenay, and the other a most candid, learned and cogent exhortation to the colonies to return to their duty—are your own. "I did, indeed, as you suspected I should, attribute a considerable share in them to you when I read them, but the very great extent and variety of knowledge displayed in them made me suppose them the joint labour of different hands. . . . Now that I am assured the works are yours, I will read them again, and shall have double pleasure in receiving instruction from them. . . . I cordially join with you in lamenting evils which may, perhaps, have worse consequences than any man who is the most active in inflaming our ill humours can foresee, or the wisest and best-intentioned among us suggest a remedy for."

I have appointed Sneyd my agent in place of Brown. The payment of my arrears is very welcome, for since I came here I have been obliged from time to time to sell out of the funds to enable my banker to answer my drafts. 4 *pp.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1769, Sept. 24. Wotton.—". . . I am much obliged to you for your kind wishes and good opinion of my son, who, I hope, will deserve both the one and the other. I return my thanks to you for the information which you have given to me about our American Colonies. The consequences which have happened I have allways foreseen, and those which will happen inevitably, I fear, from the conduct of our government, and, let me add, of our people." 1¼ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1769, Oct. 22. Wotton.—Expressing his astonishment at receiving a printed copy of his speech on the expulsion of Wilkes from the House. Begs Knox to see Mr. Almon, the publisher, and if possible stop the publication, or if too late for this, to insist upon the affixing of a statement that it is published "without the approbation, consent or knowledge of the right honourable gentleman who made it." 3¼ *pp. Seal of arms.*

Printed in the "Grenville Correspondence," Vol. IV., p. 471.

The SAME to the SAME.

1769, Oct. 29. Wotton.—"As I find by your letter that your application to Mr. Almon to stop the publication of my speech in the House of Commons was too late, and that too many had been dispers'd to prevent its going further, I think the alteration of the advertisement to shew that it was done without my consent is the only step which can be taken. There are some mistakes in the printed copy which you sent to me; two or three of the most obvious which struck me in reading it I have marked in the enclos'd paper. They may be corrected in the errata, particularly those in page 10 and 11, relating to Mr. Wilke's imprisonment. but you must by

no means give my paper to the printer; if you do, it will be said to be corrected *by me*. I wish that you were in the right in your opinion that the publication of the truth is the sure means of stopping lies. I am afraid that the experience of these times has not corresponded with that observation, which has made me so averse to all publications relating immediately to myself. By a letter which I received lately from America, I am informed that the demands of our Colonists rise in proportion to the accounts which they receive from hence. . . . God grant that the difficulties which daily augment and incompass us on every side may not become too great not only for the administration, but for the King and Kingdom, to surmount." 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, Jan. 5. Lisbon.—"I wish you and your little woman, your *good* little woman—which, according to the description you give of the present female world in England, is an epithet that grows every day less applicable to the greatest part of them—all joy of the birth of your son, and return you many thanks for allowing me to take a particular interest in him. I shall desire Mr. Sneyd to pay a little matter for me as the nurse's due on such occasions." Other letters received with yours seem to promise better success to Administration than you think possible. "I am inclined to think that if the Closet does not give way to anything but a real necessity of yeilding, it will carry its point." 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to [J. POWNALL ?]

[1770, Feb. 5 ?].—The violent disease from which I have been suffering has prevented my expressing my gratitude for the kind things you have said of me, "though, in your manner of saying them, you sufficiently abate the vanity they otherwise would excite by showing me how far the utmost exertion of my poor abilities must ever fall short of even the sportive gambols of yours."

The reflections of a sick-bed have made me anxious about the future of my wife and little ones, as most of my income would expire with me; but I have some hopes that my office of Provost Marshal of Georgia might, by Lord Hillsborough's goodness and humanity, be continued to my little boy. The Assembly of Georgia talk of abolishing the office, which strengthens my wish that it should be in my family when that time comes. May I beg your good offices with his lordship in the business? 3 *pp.*

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, Feb. 9.—In reply to Mr. Knox's kind letter of the 5th inst., states that he has taken the first opportunity of mentioning the wish contained in it to Lord Hillsborough, who expressed the greatest esteem and regard, but only said that he wished to see Mr. Knox as soon as he could venture out, and would then talk with him on the subject. 1 *p.*

GEORGE GRENVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, July 19. Charleton.—I am here on a visit to Lord Suffolk, and your letter has had to be sent after me, or I should not have delayed till now wishing you joy of the situation in which you have engaged. "I am very sensible of the obliging expressions contained in it with regard to myself, and should have been truly sorry if any consideration relative to me alone had prevented you from accepting an offer which you thought advantageous and honourable to you, and which I am persuaded no man is more able or more willing to discharge with industry and fidelity towards the King and his people in the present distracted state of affairs in America. I shall see with real pleasure any measure taken which may contribute to that great object, the importance and consequences of which are, I fear, not yet sufficiently felt, and therefore, as I told you when I saw you, I despaired of anything being done, in which opinion I am still more confirmed by the accounts which I have lately received from London. I am much obliged to Lord Hillsborough for the justice which you say he does to me, and which I shall allways be ready and desirous to return. . . . I very sincerely wish you more comfort and satisfaction than my own mind can promise to any man who is to sail in the present stormy weather without a compass to guide him over the troubled sea on which you are embarked." 2 *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1770, Aug. 7. Naples.—"It is with singular pleasure I learn that you are appointed joint secretary with Mr. Pownall in the American department. This is an event, I should think, not very favourable to him, but what I have long and very earnestly wished for, as well on your own account as on that of your friends, the publick, and my Lord Hillsborough, whose great kindness must ever interest me in his happiness." After congratulating you, you will allow to recommend to you my old rough, but honest, friend, Mr. Ellis. His former intemperate behaviour towards you leaves him no just title to expect your protection, but I know your humane and liberal turn of mind will overlook his past folly, and I trust you will honour him with your countenance and advice.

"I have just now received a letter from poor Price, intreating me to write a line to Lord Hillsborough which may give some weight to a memorial which he intends to present to his lordship, praying for a five years' leave of absence from Georgia. I think the petition improper, and what can hardly be granted, but I presume he might obtain a general leave of absence for the recovery of his health, such as I had, without limitation of time. . . . A thousand things occur to me upon your new situation. . . . Your station will, as you know, subject you to many difficulties, as well of a private as publick nature; but I really think you need have no apprehension on that account, as your prudence and abilities are equal to them; and without meaning to say even a civil thing to you upon this occasion, I can truly assure you that I conceive better hopes now of our colony differences being happily accommodated than I ever once entertain'd since they began." 3¼ *pp.*

Lord Clive to William Knox.

1770, Dec. 8. Bath.—"I have received the honor of your letter of the 6th instant, enclosing one from Mr. Ellis in favour of a relation of his who is going a cadet to the East Indies. His wish is that I should obtain a commission for the young gentleman. Were this in my power I should not hesitate a moment, but the rule, and I believe the invariable rule, of the Company is not to appoint ensigns in England unless the persons applying have already held that rank in the King's service. All I can do is to furnish the gentleman with a letter to somebody in power abroad, requesting a commission for him as soon as possible after his arrival. But it is necessary I should be informed of his name and to what part of India he is going, both which circumstances the Governor has omitted to mention. If you can supply me with the information I shall have great pleasure in writing the proper letter of recommendation." 1½ *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1772, Aug. 1.—"The business that has been so long in agitation and uncertainty is at last decided, the Report is to be made before Lord Hillsborough goes to Ireland, and the offer of the American Seals is now with Lord W[eymouth]. If he refuses (which I am almost sure he will), Lord D[artmou]th is the next upon the list, who will, I think, also decline, and then I foresee the Administration of the affairs of the Colonys will undergo some new arrangement.

"Lord Hillsborough says you wish to have your office in Georgia for life. If so, there must be a new Commission by letters patent under the Great Seal, and if you think the alteration of the tenure worth the expense, the business is done. . . ."

P.S.—"I think it not impossible that the office of Secretary of State may discontinue, and that powers and patronage may revest in a first Lord of Trade. If this should be the case, will our friend Lord Clare have any objection to come amongst us again, if he should be thought of, as is I think most natural to expect? It is of no small consequence to me to have a guess about this, for if he mounts the box I get up behind directly." 2¼ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1772, Sept. 19. London.—"Our lord and master [Dartmouth] was in town on Thursday, but went back to Sandwell as soon as the drawing-room was over, and probably will not return before the first week in October, so that there will be no manner of occasion for your coming to town sooner than you intended. . . . It will certainly be proposed to you to be Under-Secretary of State in the Southern Department in the room of Mr. Sutton, who has fallen into a fortune of 4,000*l.* per annum. I am pretty certain of what I say, and therefore you will do well to prepare your mind upon it. I beg my best respects to Mrs. Knox, to whose goodness to me I stand indebted for so much happiness at Tunbridge Wells." 2¼ *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1772, Sept. 21. Whitehall.—" . . . The Duke of Gloucester has formally announced to the Court his marriage with Lady Waldegrave, and I presume it will be followed by the same interdiction that confines the Duke of Cumberland to the situation of a private gentleman.

" The India Company, disappointed in raising money from the sales of the immense quantity of goods on hand, have attempted to borrow a large sum of the Bank, but the Bank not choosing to lend, an alarm has been spread, and the stock has fallen prodigiously within these few days.

" A letter from Leyborne received to-day gives a very unfavorable state of the expedition against the Charibs. Nothing of hostility has yet passed, but the Charibs have declared their resolution to resist to the last extremity, and the business appears to me to be at present in a state of great doubt and delay. . . ." 1½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1772, Sept. 26.—Stating that as Lord Dartmouth is about setting out for a tour in Yorkshire, he has had to take the King's pleasure through Lord Rochford, and having written the necessary letters, has sent them to Sandwell for Lord Dartmouth to sign. Has heard nothing more about the vacancy in the other department, and begins to think that " some other person may have been thought of." 1 *p.*

Lord Hillsborough to William Knox.

1772, Sept. 29. Hillsborough.—I enclose Mr. Smith's deed and bond duly executed, and presume that when you get the patent under the seal of Georgia you will send it to him. I do not send the letter you wished for to Lord North, because Wheelock urges that he is to hold the agency so long as you hold the Under-Secretaryship, and I rather incline to his opinion. " I know your justice and moderation, and I am sure you will not let the poor man lose anything he is entitled to. . . .

" I hope I shall hear from you that everything goes on well and pleasantly in the American department. For my part, I have totally forgotten that I was ever concerned in public business, and am so employed in church-building, road-making, farming, and every rural occupation that belongs to an estate and a country gentleman, that I go to bed every night very much tired, and find little time for anything else. I did not, you know, wish to resign, but am not now at all sorry it was necessary I should." I hope Mrs. Knox and her little ones are well. Her father is so lively and well that he thinks of paying me a visit. 2 *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1772, Oct. 3. Saturday.—" Mr. Wills, second son to the Bishop of Bath and Wells (you know him), succeeds our friend Sutton in Lord Rochford's office. If I feel any regret on this occasion you will place it I am sure to the account of the love and esteem I have

for you ; in every other light your appointment to that office would have been a misfortune to your faithfull friend.

" Lord Dartmouth set out from Sandwell for Yorkshire on Thursday, and I am to know nothing about him till he returns, which will be this day sennight. . . .

" I believe I mentioned to you in a former letter that the letters from St. Vincent, lately received, give but an unfavourable account of the state of the expedition against the Charibs. It meets with many obstacles ; those savages are desperate and determined, and the issue of our war against them is become doubtfull ; and in this state of it Leyborne has assumed the *Generalissimo* more than was necessary. This has given offence, and a resolution being taken in Lord Dartmouth's absence that the Governor should have nothing to do in the business of military operation, it was signified to me that I should propose such orders as would be necessary and settle all the arrangements with the other Secretarys of State (think, my dear friend, of my difficultys and distress). I immediately dispatched a messenger to Sandwell, and inclosed I send you in the confidence of friendship the letter I received in answer. From the general view I had of this business it seemed to be big with mischief and difficulty, and I am afraid you will think me too vain in saying that I was not sorry therefore that the arrangement of it was left to me. I had, however, soon cause to repent of my presumption, for in my first conversation with Lord Barrington, I found that an arrangement had been made respecting the changes and relief of the troops in the West Indies without the least communication to our office, that a regiment was upon the point of embarking from hence, and that all the orders had been issued by the other Secretarys ; happily those orders were so imperfect that the business was not half done, and therefore I took upon myself all the directions that were further necessary, and took care in preparing the draft that the orders should be expressed to be given by the other Secretarys in the absence of Lord Dartmouth. This was (as I imagined it would be) objected to, and Lord Rochford insisted that it did not belong to the Secretary of State for America to give any orders to the Admiralty or Secretary at War respecting troops or ships. I stuck, however, to my point ; I produced my precedent, and having, as I have reason to believe, the King with me in opinion, Rochford soon gave way. He left, however, the business before it was finished, and I had the ground to fight over again with Lord Suffolk, who took up the same pretence in a much higher tone ; but I persevered, and having the same support, prevailed, and everything has been done in point of office form as it ought to be. As to the more essential part, it was left entirely to myself, and I trust I have so conducted the whole of this business as to please the King, to avoid the appearance of disgrace or injustice to Leyborne, to give more efficacy to the operations of the troops, and to defend our office against unwarrantable encroachment. . . ." 6½ *pp.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1772, Oct. 17. Bath.—Applauds Lord Hillsborough's retiring from Administration " upon the motives he did, which were honour-

able, and have been generally approved," and rejoices that Knox still keeps the Under-Secretaryship, and that his merit is appreciated by Lord Dartmouth. 4 *pp*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1772, Dec. 21. Bath.—Thanking him for his very kind letter, and begging him to "continue a correspondence that gives so much comfort to a friend living here in total ignorance and oppressed with infirmity." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1772, Dec. 26. Bath.—Is beginning to amend, and hopes soon to return "with health and cheerfulness." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1773, July 23. [London].—". . . No one rejoices more than myself to find that the Spa waters have had so good an effect. It is my entreaty and Lord Dartmouth's command that you stay where you are so long as you continue to profit by it.

"Our business has hitherto been as light as you could wish, and I think it is likely to continue so, for what can Lord Dartmouth have to do whilst Bamber Gascoigne is minister for America at the Board of Trade and Lord Suffolk at the Council Office, where they will not let us have anything to say, all Councils for American business being in Lord Gower's absence held by Lord Suffolk. . . .

"If Cressener does not know more than he writes, you will not get a great deal out of him, and I think from your account of the Nuncio, he has not the infallibility of his master. Don't you wish, for many reasons, that the great powers who are making so free with what does not belong to them, would in some of their partition Treatys include North America? I believe they wou'd soon be sick of their acquisition.

"My dear Knox, Lord North's blindness, or rather indolence, in respect to the arts that are practised to ruin and disgrace our department, and ultimately himself, is astonishing and unpardonable." 2½ *pp.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox, at Whitehall.

1773, Nov. 10. Dublin.—Concerning his own private affairs. Before his father's death, he had near seven thousand pounds in Ireland, yet out of all this and his father's fortune, "which is so considerable in debts and landed property," he has not yet been able to collect 300*l.*, owing to legacies and donations and removing of encumbrances. These have absorbed all he had in England, "save a qualification to vote at the India House," which he has reserved for a particular purpose, and he has often wished he had been disinherited, "rather than made heir to such a load of vexation." He has, however, at last wound up his affairs to his own and, apparently, to other people's satisfaction, and hopes next day to

get away from Ireland, "where the poverty and distresses of the people surpass all description. If something is not speedily done for their relief, 'tis hard to say what may be the consequences." 2¼ *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1773, Dec. 3. Friday.—I am rejoiced to hear you are so much better. When you can think of business without being disturbed by it, I have got some for you that, whilst it amuses you, will greatly lighten the burthens of your faithfull servant. After so many years neglect of the business of Quebec, everything now is to be done in a hurry. Lord North has begg'd that he may have from us a précis of the affairs of Quebec from the first establishment of it, so far as regards the claims and complaints of the new subjects, and what has passed thereupon, &c., &c.

"You know how little able I am to sit down to such a work, and you know that nobody but you or I can do it. And in this you will see the wishes of, &c." 1½ *pp.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1773, Dec. 8. Paris.—Was exceedingly grieved on calling at Knox's house to learn how ill he was. Urges him to take more care of himself, as he hears he "got this illness in a cold church." Is now well again himself, but being attacked in London with a sore throat, deafness and sciatic pains, was obliged to fly from that city with precipitation and regret. 1¾ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1774, March 23. Marseilles. L'Hotel Dauphin.—American affairs are doubtless in a state truly critical, "but still I by no means think the case so desperate or irremediable as many people imagine. We know the real inability of the Americans to make any effectual resistance to any coercive method which might be employed to compell their obedience. They are conscious of it themselves, but may well give a scope to their insolent licentiousness when they have so long been suffered to practice it with impunity. What is decided upon appears judicious, and I hope what may be farther resolved upon will be equally so. . . .

"I am glad to hear Mr. Cressener is to be so early at Spa, and I hope you will be so too, as I think it most agreeable when thinnest of company. We are to have several folks of condition there from our country this season, amongst others Lord Ely and his family, the Attorney-General and his, &c." As to the good Archbishop [of Tuam] and his family, Lady Rider is strongly disposed to revisit the Spa, but the fatigue and inconveniences of the journey incline his Grace and Mrs. Hamilton to go to Switzerland instead. Mr. Neville is in that country at present. 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1774, June 27. Spa.—Both Mr. Cressener and I are much disappointed that we shall not see you here, but we rejoice to hear that you are so well recovered.

"I wish the Bostonians were at the d——l, for they are likely to be a continual plague to us. I have, however, no apprehensions from their power, nor yet from their courage; we know their weakness as well as their want of bravery. I think no measures could be better calculated to bring them to reason than those adopted by Government. I dare say they will have a good. tho' I am afraid but a temporary effect, for the seeds of discontent will necessarily remain so long as the point in contest is left undecided, which it must be unless we give it up.

"We have but few company here as yet, and those what we English call foreigners; they are, however, hospitable and sociable to such a degree that we do not much miss our country folks. The houses of Prince Guémenée, of Marshall Lacy, and the Archbishop of Narbonne, I as often dine at as at the table d'hote."

I am now in very good health, but have not yet determined where I shall seek my winter quarters. I fear I must not encounter the severity of the English climate, but I may go from hence to England, and thence to Lisbon, Spain, and at length to Italy for the Jubilee. 3¼ *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX, at Whitehall.

1774, July 15. Spa.—Your letters have quieted the uneasiness felt by Mr. Cressener and others in relation to America, though for my own part I never imagined that the colonists would dare to attempt any hostile opposition to the measures of government. "Could the combination proposed by the Bostonians take place it would, I fear, compell us to yield to them the matter in contest, but the defection amongst their brethren which you mention relieves us from that cruel necessity. The ignorance of people on this continent of the inability of the Americans to make a successful effort towards acquiring independence is truely surprising. They had actually given up the Colonies as irrecoverably lost to Great Britain, and are astonished to find it is not so. The French wished it ardently, as an event alike tending to destroy our influence and to facilitate their schemes of aggrandizement. The Dutch equally wished it, in hopes that the Americans would then buy at theirs, instead of our shop, and that thence they might be enabled once more to dispute with us the empire of the ocean. . . . As to the Quebec Law, to me it appears the most judicious, as well in point of equity as policy, that could possibly have been framed, and I have not the least doubt of its producing the happiest effects. Although, from the infatuation with which wicked and designing men had found means to infect the minds of the ignorant multitude, the authors of that monument of British generosity and benevolence might not be safe from insult and abuse, yet I am persuaded there are but very few real patriots, who are competent judges of the matter, that do not cordially approve and applaud the intention and ability displayed in it. I guessed from what quarter it came, but for prudential reasons kept my conjectures from the profane." I hope I may see you before I leave this place, which will be on the 8th or 10th of next month, and at any rate I will secure you a good horse. "This

season has produced no great crowd; we have not one English nobleman or other person of distinguished rank to maintain the credit of our nation. The French take the lead of politeness and hospitality, and do it in a very becoming manner. Mr. Cressner and his family, in which are Mr. and Mrs. Astle, desire their cordial respects to you." 4 *pp.*

LORD CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1774, July 17. Dungan, near Galway.—"I am extremely obliged to you for your very comfortable letter of the 4th. . . . I beg you will be pleased to congratulate Lord Dartmouth in my name upon this prelude, which I hope will be succeeded by a perfect reconciliation of our unhappy differences, and confer honor upon him and happiness upon all. New converts are always most violent, and the greatest persecutors of those whose cause they have forsaken; I am, therefore, not at all surprized that those who wou'd have nothing done are now for doing too much, but I hope and trust that their advice will be equally disregarded in both extremes. Such an Association as was proposed by the Bostonians, and has, I find, been accepted by some, wou'd, if generally comply'd with, complete in one year and in one article, of lumber, the ruin of this country, already distress'd beyond the power of expression; nor wou'd our sugar-islands fare much better. I am now at the house of a gentleman possess'd of a rental of seven thousand pounds a year, who does not receive *one*, merely from the inability of his tenants to stock his lands; and I shou'd be in as bad plight if I were as incapable as he is of stocking mine upon my own account. I am now endeavouring to convert a grazing country, where a plough never was known, into tillage; and in order to people it and intercept some of the migrations into America, I have advertised large tracts of land in Leinster, Ulster, and Munster to be let rent-free for two years, with timber to build houses. . . .

"Such is the effect of native air, that although it hath rained every day, and almost all the day since my arrival in Ireland, I am incomparably better than when I came. Dear Sir, your faithful and affect. servant, Craggs Clare." 2 *pp.*

LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1774, July ?].—"Bulletin de Blackheath. The people of Virginia will beat out their brains against the post which their wiser brethren at Boston seem to be taking more effectual measures to remove. The accounts Governor Hutchinson has sent me of the 9th of June do not shake the hopes I have begun to conceive."

I know your mouth water'd at the contents of Sir R. Payne's letters, but you did not perceive that the turtles they announce are no longer in existence. I go to-morrow to the Chief Baron's near Tunbridge. 1 *p. Endorsed with year date.*

G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1774, Aug. 28. Bonn.—"I am charmed you were pleased with your journey; I am sure not so much so as I was with your good

company, for the hours I passed with you are the most agreable I have spent since my residence in this town. . . .

"We have heard nothing of the quarrel between the French and Swiss guards; had it been true, I think the news wou'd have reached us ere now.

"I have the joy of telling you *entre nous only* that a most prudent, wise and spirited answer hath been given by our Royal Master to the Declaration I shewed you of the Court of Vienna. Most of the Electors are as well pleased with it as they are piqued by the Declaration of the Imperial Court, for they don't approve *le haut imperieux ton* with which that Court treat the Electors of the Empire, and they are alarmed at the schemes that they have formed to inlarge their territorys at the expense of the neighbouring States. Since the division of Poland, they will have no difficulty in making out a title to whatever lyes convenient for them to take.

"You will be surprized to hear an army of 200,000 Turks have been surrounded and obliged to deliver up *all their cannon* (as the only hostages Marshal Romanzow would accept for the ratification of the Treaty by the Grand Seigneur) by an army of only 40,000 men; but to explain this, it's necessary to let you know that after the several defeats the Turks had sustained, and particularly after the defeat of 28,000 men the Grand Vizier had detached to meet the 5,000 waggons loaded with provisions, the desertion was so great that the Grand Vizier had not twenty thousand men in his camp when he signed the Peace.

"I fully believe the Courts of Vienna and Berlin are by no means pleased with this peace as it will thwart some of their schemes, for Russia will now be at liberty to speak their sentiments. Amongst other things, it will hinder a further division of Poland, be of use to Dantzick, and, may be, change the face of affairs.

"I must not conceal from you my fears in regard to America. The obstinacy of those rebels, the desertion (as they say) of our troops, and the small force we have there, in regard to what the Colonies may raise, gives me many uneasy hours. Though I am fully convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the measures taken by the King and Parliament, yet I wish we had taken the resolution to secure success by numbers." 6 *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1774, Aug. 31. Whitehall.—". . . I have done nothing but play truant since you left us, for I found no body would do anything, and I begin to have as much contempt as my betters for that solicitude for the public welfare you have so often laughed at me for cherishing.

"Of the peace between the Russians and Turks, either as to the motives for it, or the terms on which it has been concluded, I know nothing but what I read in those inestimable State Papers that are published every day by your friend Mr. Woodfall and his fraternity, and I am not ashamed to say that they furnish me with better and earlier intelligence of what is doing in America than I receive

through any other channel; for you will scarcely believe that we have not received a single letter of any moment from the continent of America since you left us.

"I do not wonder that the state of our Colonies is an object of speculation in other countrys. Our interests there grow more and more serious; but tho' the seeds of disunion begin to germinate, it must be our own fault if they ripen into maturity in the present generation. There is, however, discontent enough to give encouragement to our natural enemies in Europe, and in that light they have a very pernicious effect.

"I shall be curious to hear what passes in the general Congress of deputys. There are various opinions, but I esteem Dr. Franklin's the best, because they will probably do what he bids them to do, and he says that they will draw up a state of their claims in the form of a petition, or rather Bill of Rights, and annex to it a resolution of non-importation to continue untill those claims be yielded to. . . .

"I see in the *Circulation* a letter from Compeigne of the 24 of August, and therefore I conclude the flying report of a scuffle between the French and Swiss Guard is without foundation. The politicks of France, or rather the cabal and intrigue of its Court, are so fluctuating as to puzzle all speculation; but as things stood by the last advices, I think Choiseul will be the minister at last. My attention, however, is fixed to what I think more important to us—I mean the war in S. America between the Spaniards and Portuguese, for if that goes on I dread the consequences." 4 *pp.*

EDMUND, BARON DE HAROLD, to WILLIAM KNOX.

1774, Sept. 2. Dusseldorff.—Stating that he thinks the pamphlet sent him by Mr. Knox so masterly a performance that he has translated it into French, "as it may enable many who do not understand English to admire the wisdom and lenity of the Administration and the justice of the legislature." He also sends the petition concerning his pardon, with apologies for any faults there may be in it, as he is not accustomed to write English. 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1774, Sept. 13. London.—". . . . General Gage had not on the 28 of July received the Act for regulating the Government, nor the appointment of the new Council, in consequence of it. He says the people at Boston were using every art to excite a more violent and open opposition to these last measures, and complains in language of vexation and disappointment that Government has no friends, and that either thro' duplicity or timidity those who were stated to be such will not stand forth. He says not a word of the desertion of the troops, tho' he sent over prisoner a man for encouraging desertion, whom we discharged, and I understand he is now in training by John Wilkes to start upon the first occasion.

"Everybody's eyes and expectations attend the Congress; their proceedings and manœuvres have less of violence than I expected, and more of firmness and method than I like. I think their first Resolution will be that Boston should pay for the tea.

"I think that *Maurepas*, unable to go through the task he has undertaken, will give place to *Choiseul*, and I am more and more apprehensive of the consequences of what is passing in the neighbourhood of Rio de Janeiro." 2 *pp.*

G. Cressener to William Knox.

1774, Sept. 20. Bonn.—After the lies of the newspapers your letter was like a bright sun dissipating the fogs and mists. Last week I had a visit from Lord Shelbourne and Dr. Priestly. "His lordship displaid his eloquence in favour of the Americans, but I did not find that strong reasoning I expected from him. When the suite of the conversation informed me he was so intimately connected with Beckford and Wilkes, I held him still cheaper, tho' I presume he only served himself of them as tools to bring about what he had in view. He is going to Paris to pick up matter for opposition next session. I hear France intend a very considerable augmentation of their troops; it's said the King has increased the pay of the soldiers. This rather looks war-like; but as I am sure their navy is in very bad order, the bottoms of the ships at Toulon being destroyed by the worms, I should not judge they will break with us, besides it requires time to concert measures and make alliances; and in the present situation of affairs that is not easily brought about. By the peace made with the Turks, Russia will become very formidable. France has in every respect treated that Court very ill; they will resent it when opportunity offers. The Court of Vienna have not behaved better to the Empress of Russia, and she now is convinced she has been the dupe of the King of Prussia. England has effectually assisted her by opening her ports to her ships, both at Port Mahon and Portsmouth, &c.; so as far as gratitude can influence States, we may expect a proper return. I believe the peace has prevented a further division of Poland; that dont please the King of Prussia. I think there is no harmony between us and the Court of Vienna, from which I conclude we are better with the King of Prussia than for some time past, but how can we trust a monarch that is tied by nothing but his interest? . . ." 4 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1774, Nov. 10. Bonn.—". . . The dissolution of the Parliament at a time no one expected it was a master-piece of politicks; the surprize is how the secret could be so well kept; it gives me the highest opinion of the Cabinet Council, and I dare say it will produce the best effects, both at home and abroad. I am sorry to see the contagion spread in America. I fear the force employed is not near sufficient to answer the end proposed if the Bostonians should prefer arms to negociation. . . . The Empress Queen is very angry that her daughter has no more influence on the King. She was desirous the Duke of Choiseul should have been restored to power; the Imperial Ambassador pushed that point, but he miscarried, and thereby he has made the present ministry enemys to his court and shut the door against the man he wanted to intro-

duce. I know the French Ministers in the Empire have orders to oppose the Court of Vienna in everything, and I foresee those courts will hate each other very soon as cordially as they did in 1742.

"The system of France is *peace*, and it's absolutely necessary to bring about the changes they have at heart. The Pope was twice poisoned. The first worked too slowly for those who desired to put him out of the way; the second was so violent as to put it out of doubt of what he died. He had almost all the Cardinals and the whole Prelature against him, so it's no wonder they shortened his days; however, this will be of no use to the Jesuits, as the Courts of Spain, Portugal and France will exclude such Cardinals as do not engage to finish the work they have begun." 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1775, Jan. 30. Bonn.—I confess I feared the government might have been led to temporize, and "thereby encourage the colonies to interpret what was really only humanity and tenderness into fear. . . . You can't believe how different measures would have lessened us in the esteem of every court abroad. I congratulate you on the very wise steps taken, and I rejoyce that the provinces who were so forward in coming into the agreement of non-importation will feel the resentment of their Mother Country by the loss of their commerce. I am persuaded whenever General Gage advances into Boston he will be joined by many of the better sort, it being impossible that men at their ease or of common sense can be pleased with being governed by the rabble. I look on the Bostonians as men in a high fever; bleeding will bring them to their senses, and then they may be reasoned with, a new charter granted, the King's authority restored, and everything settled on a permanent equitable footing. . . .

"The King of Prussia sees with jealous eyes the acquisition the Court of Vienna have made in Moldavia and Valachia. I believe the Turks are not pleased with it. I am sure the Russians have great cause to complain of the Treaty of 1771, and I think no power will chuse to have anything to do with such a court as that of Vienna. The princes of the Empire, particularly Bavaria and Saxony, are alarmed, and, indeed, every court of the Empire has just cause to fear after what they have seen in Poland. The King of Prussia has an army equal in number to the Austrians, superior in discipline; both have greater armys than they can maintain without ruining their subjects; this proves they have something in view. It has been said the King of Prussia was ill and in so bad a way he could not live long, but I have a letter from Dr. Baylies, who was formerly a physician at Bath (and had the Middlesex Hospital), and is now physician to his Prussian Majesty as well as his Privy Counsellor, informing me that His Majesty may live *these twenty years*. In the present situation of affairs his death would be an evil, the more so if what I hear of his successor is true. The King some time ago sent an officer with a message that displeased the Prince; his R. H. drew his sword and killed him on the spot; on this the King sent a major *pour lui donner les assets*, who would have shared

the same fate with the officer if he had not been on his guard and saved himself by flight, but this is only *entre nous*; judge what a King he will make with such a fiery disposition." 4 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to MR. BLACKBURN.

1775, Feb. 15.—A long letter on the subject of the right of Great Britain to tax the American colonies. *Copy.* 9¼ *pp.*

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX, at Spa.

1775, June 2.—After a long dearth of American intelligence we have been alarmed with "a strange, and in many parts unintelligible, account" of an affair between a detachment of the King's troops in Massachusett's Bay and some of the provincials, who, if their account could be believed, proved bolder than was to be expected.

The account (published by an agent of theirs sent on purpose) is, however, so evidently prepared to convey misrepresentation and create alarm that it has had little effect on public credit. It is five days since the relation arrived, and not a scrap of paper has been received from General Gage or anyone else. Something has certainly happened, but it will probably turn out to amount to no more "than that a detachment sent by General Gage to Concord to seize some cannon and destroy some stores effected their purpose, but having been fired at by partys of the provincials from behind trees and houses lost a few men. Be it however what it may, the dye is cast, and more mischief will follow." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1775, June 13. [London].—"You will find in the inclosed *Gazette* the real truth of what passed on the 19th of April in North America, and I have only to add that Boston is actually invested by the rebells to the number of 15 or 20,000 men, who menace an attack, which every discerning man here holds cheap. I hope they do so there.

"The terror this event has spread over the rest of North America—I mean in those who are too easily frightened—is the worst part of the story. You will see this effect of it in the enclosed minute of the Council of New York, and you will also see the wretched situation of the King's affairs in that colony, and I dare say you will agree with me in thinking that this intelligence, which arrived soon after our advice from General Gage, is far the most serious and important. The fears of the Council, and the folly of their advice under the influence of them, ruin all our measures and disconcert our whole plan.

"Our meetings of consultation begin to-morrow evening; in a few days you shall hear again."

Postscript—"Governor Leyborne died at St. Vincent the 16th of April." ¾ *p.*

[THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH] to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1775,] July 3. Monday.—"The ruin threatened to your plantations in Carolina is the strongest reason why you should not relin-

quish the share you have in the plantations here, and I shall be hardly brought to consent to such an idea till you are able to convince me that you are incapable of giving any assistance to those who must now stand to the burden they have taken upon their shoulders. I dont know what business you had to receive any news from England while you was at Spa; your business was only to drink and drown care and leave anxiety and misery to us, who could not fly from them. Your confident hopes of success have sometimes kept up my spirits when they were beginning to sink; let me now prevail upon you to believe that all will yet do well, notwithstanding the gloom that covers the face of the horizon. The fate of empires often depends upon events that are little foreseen till the moment of their appearance." 1¾ *pp.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1775, July 18. Spa.—"I heartily rejoice with you upon the particulars transmitted to Mr. Cressener from your Office in reference to the state of our fleet, our successes in India, South Carolina, the Channel, &c. The French here have had advice of the distruction of their fleet of transports, and confess that as yet but four of them have got into their ports. Last night's Paris Gazette contains an exposition of the reasons for the conduct of the Court of Versailles with respect to us. This, in my opinion, is the most extraordinary composition of false and impudent assertions that has ever been obtruded upon mankind. It is mighty easy to impose upon those who have no personal interest to investigate the truth. No nation is more sensible of this observation or profits more from the ignorance and indolence of others than the French. The performance in question appears with that view, and is written with such plausibility and art as may well deceive the multitude.

"It greatly behoves us at present that Europe should have a just idea of the perfidy and ambition of our enemies, which makes me earnestly hope and wish they may be properly and speedily answered. The French and Spanish manifestos have already made unfavourable impressions of us, which would be strengthened and confirmed by our silence.

"Nothing is so easy as to produce a contrary effect; a simple exposition of notorious facts would do it. Our friends expect this from us; our enemies dread it; and our ministers abroad stand in need of it; for how few of them, without ample instruction, have either sufficient knowledge or abilities to detect and refute the false representations and artful reasonings in those papers. Should we reply to them I think a multitude of unquestionable facts may be collected to prove the early steps taken by the French to excite and foment the rebellion in America, and incontestably fix a series of prior agressions on their side.

"The last petition from the Americans intimated an expected aid from that nation. When the troubles broke out, supplies of all sorts were sent out by the French merchants and connived at by the Court, who did the very same from the King's arsenals. The rebell vessels and agents were received and protected in France.

Treatys were made with them, and avowed with menaces by the French Ambassador. A fleet was sent to America with a public minister on board, and orders to commence hostilities there; and this, I apprehend, before any hostile orders were transmitted by us to the East Indies, with which they reproach us. Hostilities in North America and the conquest of Dominica took place before the capture of Pondicherry; and all accounts agree that the first cannon fired upon the ocean hostily were by the French. . . .

"It would be superfluous to meddle with other political subjects in this occasion, as I know Mr. Cressener will omit nothing of that sort, and that besides, he loves writing. All that I have heard of any moment here is a letter received from the Queen of France by the Comtesse Polignac, her favourite, who is at present drinking these waters, which says a force is going or gone against Jamaica." 4 *pp.*

VISCOUNT CLARE to WILLIAM KNOX, at Whitehall.

1775, July 19. Spa.—The Spanish fleet sail'd for the coast of Algiers on the 26th ultimo, and either is or is to be reinforced with six ships of the line, which will make the number of the line thirteen. Let Lord North know this. The letters I have received point to fairer prospects in America. I hope the storm may blow over. "If, as I am told and hope, two regiments of Canadians are to be raised, and if they are to be officered by Roman Catholicks, why may not some be taken out of the French and other foreign corps who have served with reputation, and who, I dare to say, wou'd be willing, upon very reasonable terms, to enter into the service of their country. Their religion would, I suppose, render them agreeable to the Canadians, and their long experience more useful to us than Canadian officers." Mr. Cullen, now a general in the Dutch service, and who is well acquainted with the disposition of our countrymen in foreign service, is strongly in favour of this measure. "There was not very long since a project for raising some Roman Catholick corps in which he was to be employed, and upon which he was in correspondence with General Conway and Sir Philip Yorke. . . . There is now a general discontent among the Irish in the French army, occasioned by some very hard treatment which they have lately received in the reduction of some regiments and the incorporating of others into one. A spirit of œconomy which has dictated this measure in France, wou'd, I believe, easily induce the French ministry to part with the whole or a great part of what remains. . . . ." 2 *pp.*

EARL OF DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1775, Aug. 6. Sandwell.—"I shall say little to you now but that I rather wish than expect a settlement of our differences upon the ground of the terms stated in the article from Philadelphia. However, I see no reason why we may not set our feet upon that or any ground that can be given, and tho' both sides will have a great way to go before they will be within the sound of each other's voice, it is not impossible that they may come near enough to shake

hands at last. If they mean to admit of duties for regulation of trade, and will add to that a revenue for the support of civil Government, and such military force as they shall themselves desire to have among them, I think we may soon be agreed. God send that day as soon as may be." 1½ *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1775, Sept. 6.—General Gage's despatches contain literally nothing, but our information through other channels is more important.

"Lt.-Col. James of the Artillery, who brings our letter, is a sensible, intelligent man; he makes but an unfavourable report of the state of our army, diminishing every day by disease, and beginning to lose men by desertion; of the state of the rebells' army, or of their situation and designs, General Gage had no intelligence except what had been collected from a sergeant that deserted from them, and came into General Howe's camp on the 24th of July. His account was that the army besieging Boston did not exceed then alltogether 14,000 men, but that four or five days before, they had sent orders for the minute men of the four New England Governments to attend, which amount to 20,000, and also for all who had leave to go home to return, so that in a very short time they would be 50,000, and that their train of artillery consisted of 92 pieces of cannon. . . . Our army also was preparing for operations, the object of which seems to be to pass Mystick River with about 5,000 men in order to draw the enemy into a general engagement in the open country on that side; but the generals did not think it would succeed, or that even if it did, and victory was the consequence, it would much mend our situation, especially if it was as dear bought as the last.

"To balance the gloomy appearance of the present hour, Providence opens to us a prospect of better things hereafter; for to you I may whisper what ought to be on many accounts, and I hope will be, a profound secret, that we have secured the assistance of 20,000 Russians; an excellent thing, my dear frend, to begin the Session with, on the 26 of October, which is the day fixed for Parliament meeting." 2½ *pp.*

G. Cressener to William Knox, at Tunbridge.

1775, Sept. 25. Bonn.—". . . I am sorry your estate in Georgia is in so bad hands, but I flatter myself it will not long remain so. All this might have been prevented by more vigorous measures. . . . I should think Montcalm's letters might have convinced our ministers of the views and sentiments of our colonies I am sure their conduct ever since Mr. Grenville's time could leave no doubts of what they aimed at. . . . I rejoice to hear you are firm and united, that our stocks rise, that our manufactorys flourish, that plenty once more reigns, and that the great majority of the nation are desirous of asserting and fixing the dependence of America on Great Britain.

"I am glad General Gage is recalled. I am not better pleased

with your Admiral than with your late General. General How is a very good officer; but I should think some lieutenant-general should be nominated if the army is augmented to 50,000 men. I fear you include Canadians and such Americans as may join our troops in that number. The present French system is certainly pacifick. The King of Spain is desirous to be revenged of the Algerians, and I believe he will make use of all force next spring to bring about what he has so much at heart; therefore, we should profit of the next year to finish our quarrel with our rebellious subjects. . . ."

"*Postscript*—It's amazing the Northern Colonies should have kept their designs so secret for so long a time; it proves our want of intelligence or inattention. I fear the retreat from Boston will be attended with loss and disgrace to our arms." 4 *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox, at Tunbridge Wells.

1775, Oct. 10. [London].—". . . As to measures for America, I know nothing about them, for since I have been deserted by our principal, that business is got into other hands, and my friend Eden knows a great deal more and does a great deal more of the American business than your faithfull servant. In short, my dear friend, our office makes a most pitifull figure and is most thoroughly disgraced by a conduct in Lord North that I cannot understand. Whether this proceeds from any personal dislike to me or from some fascination in Lord Suffolk and his secretary I cant tell; but so it is that I am as ignorant of what is intended, tho' I know a great deal is in agitation, as you are at Tunbridge." 2¼ *pp.*

Sir Grey Cooper to William Knox.

1776, Jan. 2. Worlington.—"Many thanks to you for your letter, bad as the news was it conveyed. The taking of the Ordnance brig is a most unfortunate and mortifying accident. My accounts say she was seen by the *Cerberus* man-of-war about the 16th of November, and that the man-of-war, after having put some men on board her, parted with her in a hard gale. If the town of Boston and the cantonments of the army should be burnt by the very carcasses and bombs which were sent for in order to burn Roxburgh and Cambridge, the saints of predestination will have it to say that the Lord hath delivered them into their hands. I see their proclamation for a fast ends with *God save the People.* The loss of the two companies of the 32nd is another instance of the ill-luck with which this business has been hitherto accompanied. God grant this new year may be more prosperous than the last." 2 *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1776, April 9. Stoneland Lodge.—Stating that he fancies Lord Dunmore's demands will not, or rather cannot, be immediately complied with, but that if his cruisers are as successful as he relates, it is to be wished he had the command of the fleet, "and then, perhaps, the Delaware river would not be so neglected." Is glad to hear of the safe arrival of the *Jane* transport ship, and wishes the *Speke* hospital ship had accompanied her. 1¼ *pp.*

G. Cressener to William Knox.

1776, April 25. Bonn.—Regrets the delay in the shipping of the Brunswick and Hessian troops from Stade and Bremen, as it gives the rebels more time to prepare for the campaign. Fears Quebec may be besieged in force before the succours can arrive, but finds it is the opinion of military men "that the rebels will not be able to resist such a number of old disciplined troops, let their numbers be what they will. The affair of Corsica and many others make this very probable."

Hears that the King of Prussia is in a fair way of recovery, "appears in publick rides, and has ordered the usual reviews. If he appears at them, it will mortify the Court of Vienna, as they had advice he could not recover, and had taken their measures in consequence. . . It's he and only he who keeps the Imperial Court in awe and preserves the liberty and privileges of the Empire. . . ." 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1776, May 27. Bonn.—Sir Robert Keith has been here on his way to Vienna. "He has in some measure removed my fears in regard to Quebec, and given me hopes means will be found of gaining some of the provinces. If we can once break the chain, I hope peace will be restored ere the year is ended." The troops from Ireland and the Brunswickers have had a fair passage, and we may expect the Hessians to arrive at New York in June.

"The report of a treaty, offensive and defensive, between the Courts of Vienna and Petersbourg causes much speculation, and the breaking up of the visitation of the chamber of Wetzlar may produce bad consequences. I was much surprised yesterday to see our stocks fallen two per cent. without any apparent cause. This makes me apprehend a war between Spain and Portugal." 3 *pp.*

William Knox to Lord [Dartmouth.]

[1776, June 24].—Is informed by the Lieutenant of the *Lizard*, just arrived from Quebec, that the troops from Ireland arrived there the night he left, May 26, and that on his passage down the river he met the Brunswick troops at anchor at Condre. General Carleton was gone up as high as between the Grenadines and St. Ann's, and had left orders for the transports, store, ships, &c., to press up after him without stopping at Quebec. "Some of the savages who had come down from the party at the Cedres [Cedars] informed him that the whole body of the Western Indians were in motion, and within two or three days' march of the Cedres." Nothing was expected but the total rout of the rebels, who were in the utmost confusion and consternation. 2 *pp.*

Date given in endorsement only.

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1776, July 27. Kew Lane.—Has but just received the despatches from the King. Wishes Carleton's letter to be put in the *Gazette*,

and also "the agreement of Capt. Forster about the exchange of prisoners,* as a paper enclosed in the General's letter, as it will show the Indians have not massacred all the prisoners." 1 *p.*

LORD GEOPGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 28. Kew Lane.—"I am sorry the *Gazette* could not do justice to Capt. Forster's good sense and humanity. As the agreement about the prisoners could not appear as part of Gen. Carleton's despatch, it will come awkwardly in on any other day, so that we may leave it quietly in the office. I cannot consent to the smuggling it into the public thro' the channel of any common newspaper. I thought the contents very unexceptionable, as they were the acts of an officer without any orders of his General, adopted from necessity and humanity, and refusing to treat with the rebels upon equal terms, since he took hostages for securing the performance of them. I do not remember any scruple about publishing the capitulation of the garrison of St. John's, a much more exceptionable transaction than this agreement, for you may observe that Arnold does not presume to sign in any rank as an officer, tho' Montgomery did. I am sorry to hear that the rebels are driving our fleet from every part of the coast. If Massie mentions nothing of the Highland transport being taken, we may have some hopes of its being safe." 2 *pp.*

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 29. Sandwell.—"I return you many thanks, with my hearty congratulations, and if you have always such news to send, I don't care if you have the trouble of writing to me every post. One great part of my sollicitude, now, is for sundry of my *kinsfolk* and acquaintance, who are in durance under the power of those, some of whom may, and some may not, be inclined to use them well. I wish you could give me, for the comfort of their nearer relations, some prospect of their release, and now I will keep you no longer; you have enough to read without me; and besides, my hay will be spoiled if it is not got in with all the expedition possible, and my men won't work, if I don't go and look at them." 1 *p.*

LORD TEMPLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, July 30. Stowe.—Thanks him for sending the *Gazette*, and hopes that the good news therein contained "is a happy prelude of still more decisive success." ½ *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Aug. 12. Marble Hill.—Understands that Lord Sandwich has gone to Lord de Despenser's, and desires that the summons for the Cabinet Council may be sent to him there, as his presence will be necessary. ¾ *p.*

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* This agreement is printed in Force's *American Archives*. See also *Report on the MSS. of the Royal Institution*, vol. i., p. 41.

The Same to the Same.

1776, Aug. 16. Kew Lane.—" . . . By Lord Amherst's letter it appears as if the Ordnance transports were not arm'd in any degree. Pray enquire whether that is the case; if it is, they must have forgotten the letter I sent to the Board in January last, and which I refer to in the enquiry about the loss of the *Hope*. . . ." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1776, Aug. 19. Kew Lane.—" The Ordnance store ships seem but slightly provided with guns, &c. They do not say whether a naval officer is to be received on board each of them." If I remember rightly the Board omitted to insert that condition on a former occasion. I hope it is provided for now. " Something must be said to the Admiralty upon Lord Barrington's suggestions with regard to the ships which carry the cloathing. Mention what you say to be in consequence of a representation from the War Office. No convoys, I should think, can be necessary for Gibraltar." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1776, Sept. 1. Kew Lane.—Desires him to send extracts of the Governor of St. Vincent's letter to the Treasury, as there are many points in it worthy of immediate attention. 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1776, Sept. 13. Kew Lane —" I wish you would enquire at the War Office what transports may be wanted for the business of that department before next spring. . . . I should wish to be empower'd to direct the Admiralty to discharge the transport ships as fast as they arrive. Get me the best information you can from the different offices upon this subject, that I may take the King's pleasure upon it." 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1776, Oct. 10. Kew Lane.—" The demand of the Hessian General, as stated by Sir G. Osborne, is warranted by precedent in the last war, and I conclude must be comply'd with. Lord Sandwich desires an extract from Mr. Forster's letter to Mr. Robert Knox, relative to the ships of the Americans loading at Bordeaux". May I trouble you to send the *Gazette* to the Duke of Dorset at Knole, and to Sir John Irvine and Major-General Cuninghame in Dublin. 1 *p.*

Lord Hillsborough to William Knox.

1776, Oct. 11. Hill Park.—Thanking him for the *Gazette*. Is happy in the thought that this " detestable rebellion " will soon be crushed, and languishes for the account of the taking of New York, which event he considers as almost certain. 1 *p.*

Marquis Townshend to William Knox.

1776, Oct. 19. Rainham.—" . . . The suspense we were in has convinced me that I ought to yield [to] no man in real

patriotism," for the critical situation of affairs in America has superseded every private concern in my mind. I guessed that Mr. Howe would lay hold of Long Island, " but doubted whether the enemy would be sufficiently there in force to afford so capital an advantage. It has indeed been taken with great judgment, and executed with a vigor which will unquestionably be followed by the most fortunate effects for the country. When I have the pleasure of seeing you, we may, perhaps, consider ourselves as men of property once more in America." 3 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Oct. 19. Kew Lane.—" I have made a little alteration in your letter to Mr. Howe, for I could not say I approved of a *cartel* with rebels, tho' I am glad the prisoners are to be exchanged. . . . Sir James Wright can be of little use at present ; his ideas of military operations are most extraordinary. He gave me a plan for keeping a few oxen in an island, which would employ a fleet. I have another plan for subduing Georgia and S. Carolina, where he desires the alliance and assistance of all the Indians, and only 11,000 regular troops." 2¼ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Oct. 22. Knole.—Hears from Ireland that a regimental surgeon has arrived there who says that New York was in Howe's possession the 8th of Sept., and that Capt. Gardiner was sent with the news. 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1776, Oct. 23. Kew Lane.—" A thousand thanks for your news. I believe it true, and a most fortunate circumstance that the rebels will collect their force at King's Bridge, tho' I am very certain their numbers cannot amount to 40,000 men. General Lee's attack, or march towards Augustine, is only to be lamented by you and Sir James Wright." 1 *p.*

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1776], Oct. 23. Saturday.—Lieut. Dacres has just arrived, and from him I collect " that Carleton is wholly uninformed of the state of Ticonderoga, or of the rebell army, which some reports make to be no more than 5,000, and others 25,000 ; that after his arrival at Crown Point with the Fleet and the Artillery, he sent orders to the first brigade of the army, consisting of about 3,000 men, under Burgoyne and Philips, to advance over the Lake, and when Dacres came away they were got the length of Pointe au Sable. The main body under Reidhesel remained at Pointe au Fer, St. John's, &c." Burgoyne told Dacres he should be in England as soon as he. 2 *pp.*

SIR JOHN BLACQUIRE to LORD HARCOURT.

1776, Oct. 28. Greenwich.—Recommending William Knox's brother as agent for the Irish Linen Board in London, on the death of Mr. Ellis, and speaking strongly in praise of Mr. Knox's exertions for Ireland, especially in the case of the Fisheries. 2 *pp. Copy.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Oct. 29. Thursday.—Certainly does not wish the convoy to sail without the Ordnance store ships, which he believes are in their passage to Spithead. As to the regiment from Ireland, he cannot take it upon him to delay the whole trade to the West Indies without knowing when to expect it, but imagines that it will arrive in time for the convoy. 1 *p.*

J. POWNALL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Nov. 13.—". . . Our friend D'Oyley is in business a little like the dog in the manger, which, combined with the indisposition of our chief to take much trouble except in capital leading cases, creates some difficulties, more especially as I am out of the Cabinet in Pall Mall, and therefore not able to do all you wished in domestick matters. However, I shall make shift to manage matters tolerably well till you return."

Postscript.—No letters except one from the Governor of Newfoundland, " who is arrived at Portsmouth, having parted from many fishing ships that came out with him. I fear they will meet with privateers in abundance on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. The rebels have not disturbed the fishing much." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME

1776, Dec. 2. Tuesday.—". . . Upon the ground of the intelligence we have of the intention of France to send a squadron of six ships of the line and four frigates to the West Indies, I have induced the consideration of the state of defence of all our islands, which, indeed, became highly necessary, and Lord G. Germain will write a circular and secret letter to our governors on the subject of this armament, which, if it sails, *as I am almost confident it will not*, will be followed by a British squadron of equal force."

I know not what to say about Grimaldi's resignation or dismission. As a friend to the Choiseul faction his removal has a certain advantage ; on the other hand, I fear his backwardness in some points respecting the Spanish armaments has been the occasion of it. " The packet that carried out Le Maitre is returned with him and his despatches after getting into the gulph. The *Union*, that carried out MacLean, put back to Halifax in the same situation," and I fear the *Richmond* will do the same. 3 *pp.*

CHRIS. D'OYLEY to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 3. Whitehall.—I am glad to hear you intend to stay another week at Bath, though sorry that a cold is the cause. " What business had you in a shower! 'Tis too late for you, my friend, to be playing such tricks. . . .

" Grimaldi is certainly out, but it is by no means decided that his removal will produce any advantage to us." 2 *pp.*

EARL NUGENT to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 17. Bath.—Rejoicing in the news brought by the *Active*, that the rebels have been driven from King's Bridge. *Signed*, "Craggs Nugent." 1 *p.*

EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 29. Hill Park.—Concerning Knox's health. The letter ends—"Whether I shall ever be a public man again I do not know, nor do I think it of any consequence. I shall always be a well-wisher to the public, and in my private capacity, thank God, I am a very happy man." 1 *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1776, Dec. 31. Drayton.—Sir Wm. Howe finishes his campaign honourably and advantageously; but I cannot approve of the general pardon from the Commissioners.

"It is poor encouragement for the friends of Government, who have been suffering under the tyranny of the rebels, to see their oppressors without distinction put upon the same footing with themselves. I perceive it strikes Tryon in the same light it does me. This sentimental manner of making war will, I fear, not have the desired effect. I am surprised at Clinton's coming home. Burgoyne will not be sorry to see that he is not the only General, second in command, who takes that liberty without the King's leave." 2 *pp.*

G. CRESSENER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Jan. 2. Bonn.—Stating that the physician tells him that Mrs. Cressener cannot live more than a few days. 2 *pp.*

LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1777, early in]. Monday.—"I do not much like your *Gazette*, if the paper of intelligence you have sent to me is intended for it. It gives a worse colour to Lord Cornwallis's march and retreat, and to the action between Col. Mawhood and the rebels, than they deserve. I hope this account will not [be] published in its present shape. . . ." 1 *p.*

Endorsed:—"1776, account of affairs after Trenton."

[*But Trenton was not taken until Dec.* 26, 1776, *and Col. Mawhood's action was in the first week of January*, 1677.]

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1777], March 12.—The King has been enquiring in what state the *Bute* * armed ship is. He was informed by General Harvey that she was ready a fortnight ago, but the guards are not yet embarked. As she has the camp necessaries for Howe's army on board, it is very important that she should arrive early in the spring, and his Majesty wishes a letter to be sent to the Admiralty, to know the real state of the ship, and what has occasioned the delay. 1¼ *pp.*

* For year date, *see* Report on the *MSS. of the Royal Institution*, vol. i., p. 90.

G. Cressener to William Knox.

[1777, March].—Concerning the loss of his wife, "the best wife, the best friend, and the most cheerfull, agreeable companion. God rest her soul."

"The loss of the Hessians had very near destroyed me. It was augmented in all the Empire (where the generality are good Americans); they said the rest of the corps had laid down their arms and deserted. Though I know this was false, it still made an impression on a mind ill at ease. . . .

"On this occasion, the Dutch have done us more harm than the French, for they have furnished the rebels with everything necessary for carrying on the war; we had better treated them as enemies than as friends. France, I believe, waits to see the event of this campaign ere they declare themselves; the Vox populi at Paris is *War*, but the sentiments of the King and his ministers are, I believe, pacifick *for the present*. Spain has enough to do with Portugal and the rebels in their provinces in America. . . . The Turks are disposed to quarrel with Russia sooner than comply with the conditions of the last Peace in regard to the Crim Tartary. I hear France blows up the fire. However, I think the Russians are in a condition to give the law to the Grand Seigneur. The Courts of Vienna and Berlin are armed, as the French say, *jusqu' aux dents*; one sword keeps the other in the scabbard. Many events may unsheath them, but as the troops of Prussia exceed those of Austria in number and discipline, and as the confusion and discontent in Bohemia rather increases, I think the Empress Queen will avoid a war as much as she can and as long as she lives." 4 *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1777, April 2. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am sorry Burgoyne cannot avail himself of this fine wind. . . . I didn't know two winds were necessary at Plymouth before they could put to sea. . .

"Sir Robert Fletcher's letter is the strongest attack upon Lord Pigot I have yet seen, and his lordship's behaviour to the Nabob gives the Council full right to represent and protest against that part of his conduct. But I am yet to learn how the Council at Bengal can approve of the deposing and imprisoning a Governor upon the accusations laid against Lord Pigot. I hope the Directors will immediately send Mr. Rumbold to Madrass to prevent this new kind of rebellion.

"Your news from Portugal is most pleasing, and I should hope Spain will now renew their negotiations, and that a war in Europe may be prevented. If that should be the case, we shall soon see whether France means to break with us on account of America. If her naval armaments continue, I shall have no doubt of her bad intentions. At present the strange conduct of Portugal may give a fair pretext for having a formidable fleet ready to act upon any emergency." 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, May 22. Drayton.—I am sorry the *Bristol* is not yet ready, but suspect she will be hurried as soon as the transport with the

Guards arrives at Spithead. "I have always observed that the Admiralty can be expeditious when the King is inquisitive or anxious about their preparations." Capt. Sinclair may certainly go in the packet, and I should think with more convenience to himself than to be the unwelcome guest in a man-of-war. You had better write a line to Sir Wm. Howe in his favour.

"I shall rejoice to hear that Lord North explains the rum contract to the satisfaction of the House, but as I am already persuaded that Mr. Atkinson made a bad bargain for himself, I shall not lament my being absent upon that occasion." 2½ *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, June 11. Stoneland Lodge.—"I conclude you have by this time settled what will be the consequence of the success of the Spaniards in the Brasils. Had M. de Pombal continued minister, every advantage would have been taken by Spain, and the Portuguese must have been demolished before England could have interpos'd. As it is, the King of Spain, with appearance of family affection, will dictate his own terms to his niece, and we shall have the satisfaction of seeing Portugal acceed to the family compact."

I hope that Balfour will have convinced Sir Wm. Howe that he distresses us "by not communicating his ideas more frequently and more explicitly." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, June 13. Stoneland Lodge.—As regards the Admiralty and the Letters of Marque, "Lord Sandwich will have one more battle in Cabinet before he agrees to the delegating his powers to the Governors. He disputed as long as possible about the legality of the act, and when the other lords said that might easily be put out of doubt by sending for the opinion of the Attorney, &c., and all inclined that the power should be granted, he ended by saying that, if it was legal, much might be said as to the policy of the measure which could only come under consideration when the point of law was settled. I think, however, that the next conversation we hold upon this subject, the affair will be put upon the right footing; in the meanwhile, I wish you would apprise Lord North that the Attorney and Sollicitor have given their opinion in the manner I suspected they would."

The share the captors have had granted to them should be made public by inserting it in the newspapers, "and foreign papers might be desired to copy that article as they do many others of much less importance." 3 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME

1777, June 15. Stoneland Lodge.—". . . I hope Lord Suffolk guesses right about the effect the Attorney and Sollicitor-General's opinion will have in the Islands; I mean as far as encouraging the inhabitants to make prize of the ships of the rebels whenever they can sieze them. My motive for publishing that law opinion was to convince the King's loyal subjects that the Admiral had been too

precipitate in treating them as pirates. . . . I perceived there was no haste in granting any effectual relief ; I was resolved to give them some hopes that their situation would be considered ; and I am certain the letter was sufficiently guarded, and directly pointed out to the Governors that they were not authoriz'd to grant Letters of Marque. The Sollicitor-General proved sufficiently that Letters of Marque would be much more desirable than the present mode of seizing ships for the disposal of the Crown. I hope Lord North will soon settle what ought to be done. . . . Lord Sandwich may not think himself call'd upon to remind him of it, tho' I flatter myself the letter I wrote to the Governors may induce the Admiralty to give some instructions to Admiral Young.

"Lord Howe is the most disinterested man I know, in permitting the trade of Charlestown to be carry'd on without interruption, when he might avail himself of so many rich prizes." 4 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, June 23. Stoneland Lodge.—"If the Board of Ordnance think Mr. Cleveland's demand necessary, they will, of course, apply for the order. . . . If the ship is not immediately taken up, no stores will arrive at New Yorke till next spring. If this additional demand is necessary, the detaining of the present store ships will have ruined the campaign.

"The permitting Cunninghame to arm another privateer at Dunkirk is such an insolence (if true) that I do not see how the Ministry can avoid taking serious notice of it." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, June 24. Stoneland Lodge.—"I cannot guess by Sir Wm Howe's letter when he will begin his operations, or where he proposes carrying them on. His saying that Lord Cornwallis is obliged to use the old camp equipage, the new not being yet arrived, inclines me to think that he may wait for the *Isis* before he takes the field in force. Sir G. Osborn's letter is very alarming, such a sickness among the best of the Hessian troops is dreadful, as we cannot repair the loss of those that die. I hope the *New York Gazette* gives us in general true accounts, but I am sorry to see such falshoods inserted with regard to the expected reinforcements. I wonder those who inspect the paper do not prevent such notorious blunders, as it must bring discredit upon the rest of the intelligence I do not understand why Sir G. Carleton sends a part of his force to Crown Point so early as the beginning of May if Sir Wm. Howe's intelligence is right, that he does not propose being upon the Lakes himself till the beginning of June. I incline to hope that his preparations are in greater forwardness ; if they are not, Burgoyne's arrival may cause him to change his dispositions and create a delay. The New Yorke paper mentions the alarm at Ticonderoga upon the supposition of Carleton's arrival. If it is only an advanced party it is giving the rebels time to prepare for his reception. I shall be glad of an opportunity of applauding the General's conduct this campaign." 3 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, June 24. Stoneland Lodge.—Be so good as to lay the enclosed papers before Lord Weymouth and the Admiralty.

"I hope this fair wind will carry out the powers of granting Letters of Marque to the respective Governors; that will be the best remedy to these complaints. . . . Lord Stormont will have frequent occasion to trouble Mr. Vergennes with our complaints, and he will, I fear, get nothing but fair words instead of redress." 1½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, June 27.—The Comte Grabowski [Gaborowsky], a Polish Colonel, aide de camp to the King, is going to America. Will you write a line in my name to Lord Howe, to say he has his Majesty's leave to serve as a volunteer?

"The King wishes to know if there can, from enquiry, be any distinction made between Mr. Petrie, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. P. Campbell, for Lieut.-Governor of Tobago. He inclines to give it to Campbell, as senior, but is open to give it either of the others."

Postscript.—No orders relative to the Percy letters. 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, July 1. Stoneland Lodge.—". . . As Burgoyne went up towards the Lakes in May, I flatter myself that he will be in action by the middle of June. I shall wait with impatience for Carleton's despatches. I do not wonder he is displeased at receiving such particular directions from hence, as he must see they proceed from the inactivity of the last campaign. I do not see why you might not say something civil to Tryon, as he commanded a successfull expedition, and as Sir William Howe returned thanks to the officers, &c., for their behaviour. The General's silence in his last letter is remarkable, but I should hope he is not dissatisfied with Governor Tryon's conduct. . . ." 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to [SIR GUY CARLETON].

1777, July 10.—"The very extraordinary manner in which you express yourself upon the measures which his Majesty thought proper to adopt with regard to the different operations in Canada must have arisen from your supposing that such measures had been taken upon no better authority than my advice and suggestion.

"Affairs of such importance receive the fullest consideration from his Majesty's principal servants, and they are then submitted, with their humble opinion, to the King, who, after mature deliberation, gives such commands upon them as his Majesty judges most proper. The executing such orders belongs to my department, and if the manner of conveying them is improper, I stand alone responsible for it. The last letter, however, relating to General Burgoyne's taking the command of the troops, and to the disposition of the forces in Canada, however displeasing it may have been to you, was particularly directed by the King, after his Majesty had taken into consideration every information which could be furnished from the

Secretary's office, or from the report of Gen. Burgoyne, so that all my business consisted in putting his Majesty's commands into the form of a dispatch; but I must add that there was not a part of it which I did not think most wisely calculated for the publick service.

"Since I have had the honor of being in office, his Majesty has uniformly declared his intentions that as he had appointed two commanders in chief by commission under the Great Seal for different provinces, that they should not interfere with each other. Had that not been originally his Majesty's pleasure it would have been impossible you could have commanded the army in which Sir William Howe served from the time it was judged necessary to appoint only my Lord and Sir William Howe his Majesty's Commissioners.

"It would ill become my situation to enter into an ill-humoured altercation with you upon various parts of your letters relating to the operations of the last campaign; all I shall say is, that every possible exertion was made here to supply you with such a force as we flatter'd ourselves would have been sufficient not only for recovering the province of Canada, but for enabling you to assist Sir William Howe in his operations by sending part of your army to penetrate as far as Albany. The expectation of such success was not the result of idle conjecture, but was encouraged by the opinion of many officers who had served in that country; and, indeed, if the intelligence we have since received be true, the rebels intended to have abandoned their post at Ticonderoga had you marched your army towards it.

"I must now assure you that whatever reports you may have heard of my having any personal dislike to you are without the least foundation. I never had any disobligation to you, and if I had look'd upon you as my greatest enemy I should, in the situation you stood in, have given you every assistance in my power which could have contributed to your honor and success; a contrary conduct would be repugnant to those principles upon which I shall ever act, but could I have been so mean as to have been influenced by private pique or resentment, my duty to the King and the interest I must feel in the suppression of this rebellion, ought to have convinced you that your suspicions were unjust and ill-grounded. I cannot finish this subject without expressing my astonishment at your supposing that I could descend so low as to encourage faction and cabal in your Government. I trust that you did not so lightly give credit to intelligence when you were to decide upon measures relating to the publick service." *Draft.* 4 *pp.*

Endorsed with date, and also :—"This was shewed to the King and approved by H.M."

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1777, July 27. Stoneland Lodge.—"I thank you for the embarkation returns; if that army is not able to defeat any force the rebels can oppose to it we must give up the contest. If I had not been so often mistaken in my conjectures about the military operations in America, I should say that the transports going to

Rhode Island were to be employed in carrying on some expedition in that part of the world. As the best troops of New England are sent to Ticonderoga, what should prevent the attack of some of the ports adjacent to Rhode Island ?"

I think it will be better to send out the clothing in the early spring than to begin preparations now, and I hope Gen. Harvey will let us know what is wanted, that the Admiralty may have timely notice from my office for providing the ships early in February. 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 2. Kew Lane.—The safe arrival of so many ships gives me great satisfaction ; I feared that some of the victualling ones at least would have been intercepted. If the news from Ticonderoga proves true, we may expect a glorious campaign there. "I wish the merchant who mentions the surrounding the Fort may mean the investing it in such a manner as may prevent the garrison from evacuating it when it can be no longer defended." 2 *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 4. Spa.—". . . I wish for my own sake, for yours, and for the sake of the public that you had had something more comfortable to communicate ; but still I am not discouraged with the present appearances, unfavourable as they seem ; for I think I can account for and even justify General How's measures, provided my information is founded. I had heard, from pretty good authority, that his intention was always to transport his army by sea to Pensilvenia, and to land it on the shore of Chesapic Bay, in order to avoid a long march by land, which could not but be extremely hazardous in the face of an army, at least in numbers equal to his own. We have also been told that a body of our troops have been sent southward, probably to land where the General himself intends to carry the grand army. Should these facts be true, the motives of General How's conduct are evident. By seeming determined to march thro' the Jerseys, he has obliged Washington to collect and retain the principal part of the rebel army there, whereby no considerable body of troops could be detached either to obstruct the landing of the troops sent southward or the army from Canada, which must have surmounted the principal difficulties before How changed the direction of his operations. . . . We have many politicians here at present whose eyes are turned towards us. I have many a battle to fight with prejudice and ignorance, which, altho' I often silence and confound, I cannot conquer. I have much discussion, too, with Messrs. Stanley and Jenkinson, with whom I am upon the most friendly terms imaginable, but I find neither of them know so much or judge so well as yourself. . . ." 4 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 8. Kew Lane.—I see no objection to the list of stores if the Treasury will advance the money for such as the troops will repay. I spoke to Lord North about it, who said the practice was

new, but he would have it taken into consideration. Tell Gen. Harvey this, and that I have also given a memorandum to Lord Suffolk about the Hessian clothing, &c. "I think your letter to Morris is too strong, and I have left out a part of it, which I hope you will not disapprove." 1½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, Aug. 12. Kew Lane.—"I thank you for your invitation to the turtle, but as I do not care to be robb'd in returning hither at night I hope you will excuse my being of the party."

I think the island of St. John's, if not taken more care of, had better be given up entirely; "the precarious protection of a cruiser can be no encouragement to the inhabitants to improve that country."

I know nothing of Sir Basil Keith's death; when I know the fact I shall hear what the King thinks about a successor, but in your state of health I should not wish to see you the object of his choice. "What you could mean by offering yourself to be one of the commissioners to go to Madras I never could understand. Such climates must be immediate destruction to you." 2 *pp.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1777, Aug. 13. Spa.—Your good news is very acceptable; I have imparted it to Mr. Cressener and Mr. Tisdall. This place is excessively crowded. "You would think all Ireland had flown from their country to drink the waters. The English are but few; but we expect an after crop of them soon." I have had much pleasant intercourse with Mr. Rice, Mr. Jenkinson, and Mr. Stanley. This last leaves to-morrow, but I shall be here until the end of the month. Before that time I hope we shall see the extraordinary *Gazette* you predict, but dare not depend upon it, "for nothing is more true than what Voltaire so frequently repeats in his works, that '*le probable n'arrive presque jamais.*'" 3 *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1777, Aug. 16.—". . . The intelligence from the Missisippi is very disagreeable, but no representations can be made officially till we hear from Governor Chester. But if we write to Pensocola, he should be directed to enquire into this report, and, if true, make the strongest representation for satisfaction to the Spanish Governor." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, Aug. 17. Kew Lane.—Col. Ogilvie has been here, and I sent him to the King. He hopes Sir Wm. Howe is going to Boston, and not to the southward, but everything is kept a profound secret. Ticonderoga, he hears, from one who saw Burgoyne's express to Howe, is taken, and Burgoyne pushing forward. "Prescot is again prisoner, surprised in his bed at Rhode Island. Pigot sent to take the command there. Clinton arrived and commands at New York.

Capt. Finch of the Guards kill'd in an attack upon one of Washington's posts, in which the rebels were beaten and lost three pieces of brass cannon." 1½ *pp.*

LORD WESTCOTE * to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 17. Hagley.—Regretting that he will not be able to partake of the turtle and malmsey, and hoping that when Knox has time to play truant he will come down and taste the lampreys and venison of their country. 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 19.—" All I know of the hospitals of the foreign troops is that they are separate from ours, because the officers commanding those troops insisted upon their own surgeons having the care of them. Sir Wm. Howe has always assigned them the most convenient houses for their sick, and as to the Anspach troops, those that were wounded (in the skirmish where Capt. Finch was killed) were order'd to the English hospital, their own not being then ready. I am persuaded there will be no objection to take all the sick of the Anspach troops into our hospital if the Margrave approves of it. Capt. Loftus does not believe Capt. Loring's history of Ticonderoga, as he, Capt. Loftus, was in New York since Loring saw his brother, the Commissary."

Postscript.—" The exchange of prisoners seems to depend on Lee's release. I wish the rebels had him, provided we had Col. Campbell, &c., &c., &c." 2 *pp.*

EARL OF DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 20. Sandwell.—I am heartily obliged to you for your intelligence, though the joy it gives me is much alloyed by the death of Capt. Finch and the capture of Gen. Prescott, whose sufferings, I am afraid, will not be light.

" What have you been about that you have suffered the Treasury to overlook a claimant whose pretensions have been fully laid before them ? If they do not include you in the herd of sufferers it must be because they mean to distinguish you in a way that others are not entitled to expect." 1 *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Aug. 22. Stoneland Lodge.—I think we should relate what Sir William Howe says of his intelligence from the Canada army, and Burgoyne's letter to him should also be in the *Gazette*. If we are silent concerning Ticonderoga it will alarm, as Capt. Loring has given so particular a detail of what he believes passed there, and as Sir William Howe believes it to be in Burgoyne's hands, it will give some satisfaction to the public.

I hoped our letters would have given us some reason why the campaign began so late, but we are to remain in ignorance.

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* William Henry Lyttelton. Created Baron Westcote (Ireland) in 1776 and Lord Lyttelton in 1794.

The King's letters, dated 55 *m.* past 4, have only just come at 20 *m.* past 7. "I wish the messengers for the future would take places in the stage coach when they are too fat to ride above five miles an hour." 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, Aug. 22. Kew Lane.—It occurs to me that it will have a bad effect if we say nothing of the taking of General Prescot. The fact is too well known to be concealed, and the account given by Brigadier Smith has nothing in it improper for publication. "If there is anybody in town you can advise with, I wish you would ask what their opinion is; as for me, I am always for telling as much as can be done with propriety." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, Aug. 29. Kew Lane.—General Haldimand readily accepts the government of Quebec, &c., and hopes to be here the first week of September. Will you be so good as to order what is necessary for his appointment that we may send him out this year if any ship goes to Canada, or he might go to New York, trusting to the Hudson River and Lakes being free for his passage. 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, Sept. 1. Kew Lane.—As regards the French contracts, I fear nothing can be done without a general embargo. "As long as the merchants can clear out for England they will certainly carry their provisions to the best market. I am not surprised that the Virginia ships know nothing of Sir William Howe's army. I hope their intelligence about Burgoyne has no foundation. If they would not date their reports they would gain more credit. . . . You perceive how disinterested Lord Howe's cruisers are, since they permit such rich prizes to pass unmolested." 1¾ *pp.*

Endorsed:—"Irish provisions."

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1777, Sept. 4. Spa.—Your intelligence is always the earliest and most circumstantial of any received here. Mr. Jenkinson's was generally a post later, which I think touched his pride a little, "for if I mistake him not he is not displeased to be thought a principal mover, or at least to be in the inmost secrets of government." I always imparted first to him what information you sent me, telling him I had your particular direction to do so. "This flattered him, and was useful in supporting the idea he seemed to wish should be entertained of him." He leaves Spa to-morrow. Mr. Tisdall is still here. I doubt much of his complete recovery, and he certainly ought to pass the winter in the South, but he is determined to reach Dublin by a certain day. I am much pleased with the activity of Gen. Burgoyne and with the ardour and intrepidity of the troops under his command. We regret the escape of the Ticonderoga garrison, but perhaps they may be reserved to grace another triumph.

People here are greatly puzzled by General Howe's conduct, but if he can get between Washington and his magazines, by possessing himself of Philadelphia, his last motion will have decisive consequences. Washington "cannot then move northward to obstruct Gen. Burgoyne, and in going south he must meet the Royal Army under great disadvantages. Meanwhile, it were much to be wished that some attempts were made to destroy Boston and the other nests of privateers on the New England coast, which annoy our commerce so prodigiously." 4 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Sept. 6. Stoneland Lodge.—"I wish you would enquire at the Admiralty whether any ship of force is to be or can be sent to Quebec this year, as the King is very desirous that General Haldimand should, if possible, take possession of that Government immediately. I must also beg the favour of you to inform the General of the state of that country and of its civil constitution. He has had no experience of the Canadians since the passing of the Quebec Bill; he lived and commanded some years among them before they were taught to be bad subjects." ¾ *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 19. Kew Lane.—". . . I understood a convoy was now ready to sail for New York. . . . The number of guns and seamen, with the assistance of the soldiers, may make a good defence against a privateer; but there is a little article at the bottom of the paper which I do not like—that the desertion of seamen may occasion some little variation in the numbers mentioned. That circumstance may serve for an excuse of sending the ships out very short of men. It is certainly to be wished that they should all sail with convoy; if that cannot be done, their safety must depend upon the character of the person who commands, for, indeed, I think the force sufficient if properly conducted. I like the letter to Sir G. Carleton very well in general. I had rather not have said that the information which Haldimand was to receive could not fail of being of the greatest use in the conduct of his Administration. As I do not believe a word of that sentence, you must absolve me from the crime of signing what I do not think true." 3 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Sept. 20. Kew Lane.—"You will see the King's orders about the ship bringing Haldimand back to England if he should fail in his attempt of reaching Quebec. Pray hurry the Ordnance ships if possible, that they may not miss this very fair wind. It is impossible for me to order the stores to Chesapeak Bay, as most people differ with you and me about Sir William Howe's destination. I am still persuaded he will attack Philadelphia from that side." 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1777, Sept. 25. Kew Lane.—" The King has read the despatches, and approves highly of Burgoyne's conduct." Sir Guy Carleton wants the power of issuing Letters of Marque ; perhaps Haldimand may carry them out with him. Burgoyne's letter will do well for the *Gazette*. 1 *p*.

The Same to the Same.

1777, Sept. 29. Kew Lane.—" . . . The story of Sir William Howe is so strange, and comes in so extraordinary a way, that little credit can be given to it, yet I should think Philadelphia must be in possession of our army by the 26th of August if the General had not changed his plan of operations. . . .

" I am sorry the Canada army will be disappointed in the junction they expect with Sir William Howe, but the more honour for Burgoyne if he does the business without any assistance from New York." 2½ *pp*.

Lord North to William Knox.

1777, Oct. 7. Bushy Park.—" I return you my best thanks for your intelligence ; it is good in itself, and, I hope, promises better. By all the attacks of the rebels on Staten and Long Island, they seem to shew a degree of activity, upon which I hope we shall improve with better success, as, I dare say, what our troops attempt will be executed with more resolution. Your conjecture about Sir William Howe's army is verified. It has appear'd, as you expected, in Chesapeak Bay. I am neither soldier enough or well enough acquainted with the country to reason upon the situation of the army, but it seems to me that if Sir Henry Clinton and General Burgoyne make themselves masters of the North River, and Sir William Howe cuts off Washington from the Southern Provinces, Washington must, after a little time, be reduced to fight or disband his army. In either case I flatter myself that the war seems to be taking a more decisive turn than I thought a little while ago." 2 *pp*.

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1777, Oct. 7. Kew Lane.—" The King has seen Mr. Watson's letter, and is pleased with the contents, but he cannot believe that Burgoyne is advanced so far. I differ with his Majesty, for I think Clinton's preparing to march gives authenticity to that part of the report. If the repulse of the rebels from Staten Island should prove true, and that their loss was as great as represented, I should hope another body of troops would not easily be collected, and then Clinton may act offensively. The landing at Baltimore will create a terrible alarm in that part of the continent, I believe. Maryland has never felt the miserys of war. . . ." 1½ *pp*.

The Same to the Same.

1777, Oct. 9. Kew Lane.—" I am sorry for Haldimand's disappointment, but I could not expect he would reach Quebec this year.

I fear Sir G. Carleton will do nothing but scold all the winter. . . . Washington's army cannot exceed the number you mention, but you may depend upon it he will not fight with the King's troops." 1 *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Oct. 31. Drayton.—"I am sorry to find that Burgoyne's campaign is so totally ruined; the best wish I can form is that he may have returned to Ticonderoga without much loss. His private letter to me, being dated the 20th of August, contains nothing material about the affair near Bennington but military reasoning about the propriety of that attack; but what alarms me most is that he thinks his orders to go to Albany to force a junction with Sir William Howe are so positive that he must attempt at all events the obeying them, tho' at the same time he acquaints me that Sir William Howe has sent him word that he was gone to Philadelphia, and indeed nothing that Sir William says could give him reason to hope that any effort would be made in his favor. This action of the 19th of September, as McClean represents it, can have no material consequences farther than it may enable General Burgoyne to retreat to the Lakes; had he lost the field of battle, his whole army would have been destroyed. The communication between this country and Canada being now shut, we can neither send instructions nor reinforcements. I conclude nothing will be put into the *Gazette* to-morrow relating to this business unless Lord North should think it necessary. . . ." 3 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Nov. 3. Thursday night.—"The King approves of the drafts to Gen. Burgoyne. He started at the foreign being mentioned before the British, so I have alter'd it as he liked it, according to his own words. He said hearty would not have done, highest approbation was the proper expression from him. He spoke to me about the packet boats; he order'd me to represent the bad state of them to the Post Office. . . . You will be so good as to prepare a proper letter to the Post Masters." 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1777, Nov. 5. Pall Mall.—Lord Stormont has made repeated complaints of the protection given to the rebel privateers. The two Jamaica ships are to be restored to the owners. Admiral Montagu has taken three rich Carolina ships, and the ship of the line, sent to Newfoundland, in her passage took a rebel privateer of 24 guns. 1¼ *pp.*

VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1777, Nov. 5. Rainham.—"I thank you for your last *Gazette*. It left me, however, in some pain for Burgoigne, and wishing he had had something on the Connecticut to have restrain'd those bandetti from inquieting his left and his communications.

"A retrograde motion for want of this, at a late season, may be

very delicate; however, the decisive stroke I hear Sir William Howe has struck will, I hope, be followed by so general a dismay that Burgoigne's progress will be clear. . . . If this general and decisive action has taken place, it may require some ingenuity to prove that General Washington was a Fabius, either cunctando or restituendo, or that Lord Sandwich told a lie when he said the Americans would never meet our people in fair conflict. . . I will pay you no compliments on all this, but you shall have some pheasants." 3 *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

[1777], Nov. 11. Monday.—Nothing material has come into this office but a short letter from Arbuthnot, of Oct. 8, saying that during the absence of the King's ships the rebels' privateers infested that coast, and did a great deal of mischief, but they all disappeared upon Sir G. Collier's arrival. Also letters from Lord Maccartney, "representing the defenceless state of his Government, which indeed is a lamentable one." 3 *pp.*

Viscount Townshend to William Knox.

1777, Dec. 29. Rainham.—Though your news has not answered my hopes, yet I can feel for the sufferings of those in office, and "instead of cursing them and immediately imputing all our misfortunes to them (as the ignorant do with witches, whenever their crops are bad, or they have the rheumatism, or their children the worms), three of the fattest pheasants killed this day are to be delivered at your office. Partridge we have none. Would it had been a day of carousal. For such I hoped by this time at Rainham. . . . If bad news should come from Sir William Howe or New York, a strait waistcoat will suit me better than my robes.

"My son may think himself a patriot, but he may find himself an antient peer in a little Kingdom." 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

[1777].—". . . The marches I see by the New York *Gazette* backwards and forwards of Sullivan across the Jersys must be very severe on his people, but the resolutions of the Congress of recalling all their generals in their army against Burgoyne, and their recalling that order and leaving them to fight with halters round their necks, is very amusing, and must speak very plainly their situation to their own people as well as the whole world. . . ." 2¼ *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1778, Jan. 16. Knole.*—"There was no great hurry for the messenger; I only had a desire of writing to Lord Suffolk, hoping that if my necessary absence from the Office or Parliament should be prejudicial to publick business, that no personal consideration for me should prevent the Seals being put into other hands; for I

* Written the day after the death of his wife. Lord Suffolk's letter, refusing to accept his resignation, will be found in the Report on the Stopford-Sackville Papers, 8vo edition, vol. ii., under date Jan. 20, 1779.

really feel so little able to return to the business with the activity that our present situation requires that I should act unfairly by those with whom I have served if I did not wish and advise their adopting the best measures for the publick service. I do forsee there may be difficulties in prevailing upon any proper person to undertake so responsible an office in such times; all I can say to that is, that when I came in there was as little appearance of success, and as I never had any view but the giving every assistance in my power, so that if my being permitted to retire answers any publick end I shall rejoice in having proposed it. A man at my time of life, depress'd by misfortunes, will make but a bad figure in an office that requires full vigor of mind, activity and diligence. I can not expect anything good from New York; if Sir William Howe had met with success, it would have found a shorter road to us. I hope Lord Suffolk will want no explanation of the papers which you will not be able to give him." 2½ *pp.*

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL [THURLOW] to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Jan. 20.—Asking if he may be allowed to see the two précis of the operations of 1776 and 1777, which Mr. Knox mentioned, drawn up by himself, "as he can expect nowhere else so clear a view of the whole subject." 1 *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Jan. 23. Knole.—"I am obliged to you for the care you take of the office without sending any papers to me. I am glad the Attorney-General informs himself so fully of the Canada business; as to the measure of carrying on the war from that quarter, it was the opinion of every officer and of every American I ever convers'd with that an attack from Canada was the only method of crushing the Rebellion and of bringing the New England Provinces to their senses. Whether the force was adequate, or that force properly conducted, were, I thought, the great objects of enquiry. What papers may be asked for, or what Lord North may give, I know not; but for my own part I should wish to come soon to a decision, for nothing is so disagreeable as to have enquiries of this sort hanging over the heads of Administration. I see no use in my being in town till I can act in business, and I really cannot hitherto bring myself to undertake it. I propose being in town on Tuesday, and I will then do the best I can. If I find myself unequal to the dutys of my office, I trust I shall be relieved from it, for I shall be hurt to the greatest degree if the publick business suffers by my being in a state of mind which renders me too inactive and unfit for the office I now hold." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Jan. 25.—I shall be in town to-morrow, Monday, instead of Tuesday, as Sir John Irvine tells me that "Lord North did not chuse to consent to the papers from my office being laid before the House till I had been acquainted with the particulars of the motion." 1 *p.*

LORD TEMPLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Feb. 12. Pall Mall.—Stating that Lady Mary Duncan is unwilling to accept Mr. Knox's plan, but that, when the division is made, it may be adopted for "the Grenville shares." ½ *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Feb. 18. Pall Mall.—"The Cabinet thinks no time should be lost in sending the dispatches to New Yorke by the *Andromeda*, and you will desire the directions of the Admiralty to Commodore Hotham to forward the letters as soon as possible to Lord Howe and Sir William Howe. Sir William Howe will have one of the circulars as Commander-in-Chief; I suppose that directed to the Commissioners will be sent to Lord Howe. Tryon and Sir Henry Clinton will likewise have copies of the Bills sent to them. . . .

"The lords have advised some little alterations in the two drafts, and they think that some general intimation of the plan of the campaign should be given to Sir William Howe. I think it might come in at the end of the draft to him, by saying that as we may not be able to send early in the spring any large reinforcement of troops, to enable him to act offensively at any distance from the coast, yet his Majesty wishes that such a detachment may be made from his army which, in conjunction with the fleet, might be able to attack the ports of the rebels in the Connecticut, Massachusets Bay, or New Hampshire, and destroy the ships of war and privateers which have so greatly annoyed the trade of this Kingdom. I do not mean to confine you to my words; I only mention the purport of what the lords wished might be added." 2½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, April 19. Stoneland Lodge.—Is happy that there is "nothing bad" from Philadelphia. Has long been without hopes of hearing good news from America. 1½ *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, May 15. Spa.—I have been very ill with fever and dysentery, and called in three physicians "to avoid the reproach of having died to save the fees. They were contradictory and apparently ignorant; I knew my own case, prescribed, and cured myself in a few days." I am very miserable about public affairs. "I cannot blame the intentions of our ministers, nor excuse their measures, which appear to me to have been extremely unwise and improvident." I could never, when in the south of France, learn certainly the destination of the Toulon fleet, but the general idea was that it was bound to the Delaware, to block up or destroy our ships there, and thus reduce General Howe to General Burgoyne's condition. We here can form no favourable opinion of the event of the embassy to America. Could no abler men be found to conduct a business of such moment? I could question a multitude of ministerial proceedings, which seem to pass all understanding. 4 *pp.*

LORD CHANCELLOR BATHURST to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1778, May 30 ?] Saturday, 12 o'clock.—Requesting Mr. Knox to lend him the letter from Sir William Howe of October 22, wherein he desires his Majesty's permission to quit his command. ½ *p. Seal, with monogram and coronet.*

Noted by Knox :—" The day Lord Bathurst notified his intention to quit the Cabinet." *

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, June 29. Stoneland Lodge.—" I see no alteration necessary in the letter to Sir H. Clinton. You have given proper credit to the conduct of the officers and troops employed in destroying the ships of the rebels, and I hope they will perceive that we have the power of distressing them, whenever our commanders please to exert the force which is under their command. . . .

" You are very severe upon the poor Ministers who are breathing the country air to enable them to eat a good dinner on Thursday, and to consult upon the momentous affairs of State." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, July 5. Stoneland Lodge.—" I cannot say I have much fear about Halifax till after Mr. D'Estaign has been at Boston, and if Admiral Byron should arrive at New Yorke in a short time, after the junction of the French with the rebel fleet, I shall not despair of an engagement at sea to our advantage. I long to hear of Mr. Keppel's return to Brest, and if ever I am concern'd in drawing instructions for Naval operations I will strike St. Helens out of my Dictionary.

" Cressener's news seems so probable that I give full credit to it, and when war once begins upon the Continent we may hope France can not keep out of the scrape. . . . If your weather is as hot in London as it is here, the Lord have mercy upon you." 2½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, July 23. Stoneland Lodge.—" The Commissioners' letter and Mr. Johnston's protest are a melancholy beginning of our negotiations with America. I can not say I expected much good from that quarter, but the Commissioners begin by taking care of themselves in laying the blame upon Administration, and will soon declare that peace would have been settled had Philadelphia been held by our troops. What their opinion will be upon the appearance of the Toulon Squadron is still to be learned. I think the orders sent by Drummond were discretionary, tho' even at that time the keeping of Philadelphia was thought unadviseable unless it could be done by a small force. The delegates to Parliament from the States of America is a new idea, and by no means any part of the Instructions, as I can recollect, and I think the whole of the proposal is rather premature, but as the Congress will not treat with them unless Independance is acknowledg'd, we shall have nothing to trust

* Bathurst resigned on Wednesday, June 3.

to but the sense of the people at large, should they be tired of their connection with France, and I still believe if we have any success in the opening of the war that it will have a great effect upon the minds of the Americans.

"Tonyn's dispatches are not pleasing; as there is no harmony between him and Prevot there must be bad consequences arising from their squabbles and jealousys. . . . I do not believe any invasion will happen, as there are no number of troops in S. Carolina, and I should hope Sir H. Clinton will soon send the reinforcement order'd for that country, which will secure it from any attack." 3½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1778, July 26. Stoneland Lodge.—I return you the draft of the letter to the Commissioners and the letter signed for the Admiralty. You have done very right in speaking to Lord North, "and if he and the other Ministers approve of the answer I had rather it should be convey'd in the gentlest manner possible that they have acted not quite within their instructions. . . . Is it improper to take any notice of d'Estaign's squadron being probably destined for N. America, which might make the collecting our force necessary? I should wish Lord Suffolk, Lord Sandwich, and in short all the Cabinet if possible to see the draft before I sign it." 1½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1778, July 27. Stoneland Lodge.—I doubt whether we are wise (in our letter to the Commissioners) to give so many reasons for evacuating Philadelphia, as it is acquainting our enemies with our defence. Perhaps if we said in general that the certainty of a French war made it necessary to alter our measures it would be more prudent. It would prevent a laboured reply, and if possible, "I had rather have something new to say in debate than to enter into a paper war before the meeting of Parliament." I wish you would speak to Lord North about this. I suppose Keppel's letter to Lord Sandwich must relate to the Brest squadron. Probably a junction with the ships from Toulon is the object of France; but I do not see how it can be effected unless the Brest squadron ventures nearer to the Straights of Gibraltar than is prudent.

"There is intelligence from Paris that several pilots, &c., were ordered from thence to Cadiz, from which it was conjectur'd that Spain was to join with France. Now I think it more probable that those pilots are to wait at Cadiz for the Toulon fleet, as the Mediterranean seamen are not the most proper for the ocean. We are still pursued by ill-fortune in Byron's fleet being so little advanced, and in having one of his ships disabled. There is a great deal due to us from fortune, and I hope our luck will turn before we are quite ruin'd." 4 *pp.*

Lord North to William Knox.

1778, Aug. 8. Bushy Park.—"I do not see anything in your letter to the Commissioners that will prevent them from treating

with any province that may be inclined to treat upon the footing of their Proclamation, and, in that respect, I approve of it, but think that the alterations [which] are made (except that which left out our reasons for evacuating Philadelphia) were rather for the worse.

"Great care must be taken now in everything we say and write not to give our enemies in America the least pretence to say that we do not mean sincerely, and that, when we have brought the Colonies to treat, conjointly or distinctly, we mean to disavow our Commissioners.

"The news you heard from France has not, I believe, been since confirm'd, and is, therefore, not at all to be depended upon. What is true, I am afraid, is that part or all the French fleet have sail'd by this time, by which, exclusive of the mischief they may do, they will persuade all Europe that the advantage of the last action was with them.

"I shall be in town to-morrow, and hope soon to see you and to talk with you upon some method of permanently providing for the American sufferers, who will soon be too numerous to be provided for as they have hitherto been. Cannot a practicable and advantageous plan be devised of settling them in the provinces which still remain connected with England, and of granting them lands with other encouragements to induce them to settle there? This is the first and most obvious idea that suggests itself. Nobody knows better than you do what difficulties are in the way, or is better able to point out the proper methods of surmounting them." 3½ *pp.*

Lord North to William Knox.

1778, Aug. 15. Bushy.—"I am much obliged to you for your intelligence and early communication of the advices from America, which I received at Windsor, and sent immediately to the King. I own that I am in pain for Gen. Sir H. Clinton, and shall think him in great peril unless we soon hear that he is arrived at New York. If his present situation should terminate in a battle, it may end prosperously for him, and in that case the liberal offers of the Commissioners may yet have some effect. I mention this to you for your consideration, for perhaps you may agree with me that care should be taken, that nothing in any letter written in these times to America should look like an intention to disavow the Commissioners. The use that would be made by our enemies of any circumstance of that kind would be to raise an opinion in America of our intending to deceive them, in which they have been too successful on former occasions, and which they consider as one of their principal means of preventing any reconciliation with Great Britain. The letters from hence (though it is impossible to deny that the Commissioners have exceeded their instructions) should not give the least ground to suspect that we will not confirm any agreement they may make. I am more of this opinion, since I do not expect that any treaty will take place as yet. As the Commissioners will, probably, come away, *re infectâ*, it is right that the Colonists should suppose that the whole extent of the Commissioners' offer would have been granted, which, indeed, would be supposing no

more than the truth, for, as little pleased as many people are with the terms, I do not [think] the Nation would refuse them, if they should produce an immediate peace. Should matters turn out less favourably for the Americans hereafter, the remembrance of what they have lost will operate strongly for us and against France; it is, therefore, of great importance that they should not consider the offer as merely captious and insidious." 3½ *pp.*

HENRY WHITE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 17. New York.—On my arrival from England, finding that inconveniences and loss of fees would arise from the office lying dormant, I appointed Mr. Moore to act in it, the Rebellion having put an end to your agreement with Mr. Bayard. I have paid Mr. Moore at the rate of 50*l.* out of the moneys he has received. Mr. Bayard has been obliged to deliver up the Records to the new rulers, and I hear he is expected to be in New York very shortly.

"I have as little inclination to touch upon our publick affairs as yourself, still I have not patience to refrain from giving vent to what I feel; the series of blunders and mismanagement will be better known to the world when the transactions on this side come to be more generally understood. That there has been a determined resolution in some body not to inforce unconditional submission, I have no doubt; their conduct cannot be accounted for by us on the spott on any other principal (*sic*). We find a great deal said about the Canada expedition, most certainly it was badly conducted, but the expedition to Chesapeak Bay is the real occasion of all the mischief that has happen'd; had it been left to the Congress, they cou'd not have plan'd a more destructive measure to the King's affairs; and it was foreseen and foretold by every man of sense who was well acquainted with the country. This unaccountable movement is well deserving a national enquiry, and also the reason why so much time was wasted, to the middle of July, without makeing any effort, without that ridiculous Parade in the Jerses can be call'd one, I mean the going to look at Washington, and returning again as they went. There was time enough to have opened Hudsons River, fixt the Canadian army at Albany, and taken possession of Philadelphia as soon as they did, notwithstanding your Red Banks and Mud Islands; had the former event only taken place, you wou'd not heard much of the Rebellion existing now. This Province, you have had an opportunity of securing, and so you have still, and I still insist upon it, a great majority of the people wish to return to their alleigeance. This idea is, I know, laugh'd at by those whose misconduct makes it necessary for them to exagerate the numbers of Washington's army, as well as magnify their prowess. If you were to recall all your Generals, and let your army with their officers remain, and leave it to them with the people of the country, who will assist, and go their own way to work, you wou'd soon see a surprizeing alteration for the better. The Commissioners are humble suitors to Congress; the latter would not condescend to answer the last overtures, they have not yet been offer'd the estates of those who wou'd not joyn in taking arms against

the King, nor to exonerate those who owe money in England from paying it, nor exchange the continental money for real specie. When these things are engaged for, perhaps the Commissioners may be more attended to by their high mightinesses. Timidity in politicks on your side has done much harm ; you'l know before the receipt of this that the French fleet has been rangeing along this cost for more than a month; had you sent one after them, D'Estaing and all his ships must [have] been yours, which wou'd [have] been a decisive affair ; but it seems everything must goe wrong. After laying a long while before Sandy Hook they went to Rhod Island, which induced Lord Howe to goe their with his inferior force to draw D'Estaing off, and thereby raise the siege, which he has affected by the last account. Since his lordship sail'd, the weather has been very stormy, very uncommonly so at this season ; I fear his ship has suffer'd, and I have no doubt that the French fleet are much damaged, they are very large ships, not well man'd nor well acquainted with the coast ; its supposed they have made for Boston if the wind wou'd let them go their. What great national advantages wou'd been acquir'd had Lord Howe received a reinforcement only ten days ago ! The French had a very long passage, and its a very luckey circumstance, or they had fallen in with our transports from Philadelphia or taken them in the Delaware ; then they wou'd come here where no force was collected to oppose them, so that all your shiping and stores at both places wou'd have fallen into the enemies hands. Happily D'Estaing did not make his appearance on the American coast before all our force was collected to defeat the destructive vews of his expedition.

" Butler, you'l hear, is going on very rapidly on the frontiers ; he strickes more terror and occasions more distress to the rebells than all your other military operations put togeather ; if that man had a few thousand men with him that is now here adoing nothing, he wou'd give a mortel blow to the Rebellion in a very short time, but instead of being assisted, I shou'd not wonder if he was ordered to desist, least his going on shou'd give such offence to Congress as occasion that *virtuous and magnanimous body* (as one of the worthy Commissioners stile them) from even reading the next application to them. You know they did answer one, and deigned to reade the second. Had you put these Colonies on the footing they were on in 1763, and passed the law you have now done with regard to Taxation, and persisted with firmness in not going further in the way of concession, you wou'd have found this a more likely method to bring these people to reason than any other way. You have offered everything but the Name of Independence, in substance you give it to them in the fullest extent, and equally in my humble opinion destruction to Great Britain ; future ages will produce factious and ambitious men as well as the present, and such a Naval power will grow out of this country as will conquer your West India Islands before you can prevent it. . . . I fear I have gone on so long as to tire your patience. Not knowing whose hands this may fall in before you receive it is the reason why I don't sign my name." 7 *pp.*

Noted by Knox—" Henry White, one of the Council."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 17. Kew Lane.—"I hope Sir H. Palliser is in the right, and that Keppel's fleet will sail on Wednesday; probably the French ships may be longer in repairing than they expected, but whoever is first at sea may fairly claim the advantage in the late engagement." I hope the Treasury will send some provisions to Antigua, or a famine may be the consequence. Burt's extracts relating to provisions should be submitted to their lordships on Wednesday.

"The Quebec letters are curious. I did not know a Governor could dismiss a Chief Justice. I thought he could only suspend." I am sorry the Dutch Admiral and Burt disagree. 2¼ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Aug. 21. Pall Mall.—What Admiral Montagu means "by being surprised at having no orders I do not understand; as I recollect, he was to defend the Island with those troops and attack St. Pierre and Miquelan when hostilities commenc'd. He says in his private letter that a master of a ship from Hallifax saw off Isle Sable twelve large ships steering westward on the 9th of July. Surely that must be d'Estaign's squadron." 1¼ *pp.*

MARQUIS TOWNSHEND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 22. Portman Square.—I wish in God your intelligence were of another sort. "I needed not this testimony of the hazard, nay impracticability, of all land enterprises without an indisputable superior naval force at the proper stations. The consequence of 30,000 veteran troops and as many excellent seamen captur'd at this crisis is certainly as decisive as immeasurable to the British Empire. I fear Mons. d'Estaing has force enough to leave off N. York at the same time he detaches for Rood Island." 2 *pp.*

JOHN ROBINSON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 22. Parliament Street.—Lord North wishes Lord George Germain to be informed that Mr. Carmichael (who has been with the Congress) is expected to arrive by the Ostend or Helvetsluys packet either to-morrow or next day, at the house of Mr. Samuel Wharton, 8 Craven Street, Strand. [Description of his appearance.] There is also a Mr. Parsons, an Irishman, lodging at a baker's in Fleet Lane, who has been with Dr. Franklin, offering his services to him, and is lately returned from France. His wife is shortly expected from France by Dover, and it is believed that she will bring many letters with her. 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 30. Kew Lane.—I have made some alteration in the drafts to the Commissioners and Sir H. Clinton. "That to the Commissioners is certainly necessary, because the King say'd he could not refuse them leave absolutely, but wished it should be given

to them in a manner that would show he expected they would exert themselves to the utmost before they avail'd themselves of it." The alteration in Clinton's is because the King told me on Friday not to forget "to mention the judgment the General showed in making the rebels recall their detachments which were sent to attack the baggage, by his bringing on an action with the main body." 1½ *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Aug. 31. Kew Lane.—I have waited with impatience for news from Keppel. "Brereton's being dismissed for drunkenness convinces me that Keppel did not wish to have a ninety gun ship under his command in the next action, and yet I suppose he could not be broke for any misconduct in the late affair." 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Sept. 14. Drayton.—". . . The French fleet being off Cape Finisterre must be either to invite the Spaniards from Cadiz or to secure their junction with the Toulon squadron. If the latter, and Keppel has had intelligence of it, he may more eagerly desire a re-inforcement. Lord Howe, having been re-inforced by the *Cornwall*, may look after Mr. D'Estaign with more security, but I hope he will have no occasion to risk an engagement till some more of Byron's squadron have joined him. . . . I do not like Clinton's dispatch so well as I expected; he is magnifying the force of the rebels and diminishing his own by the new-fashioned way of computing his army by the number of rank and file fit for duty, and even in that manner of stating his strength he has a formidable body of troops, capable, I should think, of withstanding any attack of Mr. Washington, &c. He surely cannot think seriously of evacuating New Yorke; but my comfort is, he will not have the transports for effecting it after all the other supposed services are comply'd with." I suppose I shall see Sir Guy Carleton at the Levée, "for I conclude he will not do me the honor of reporting to me the state of his late Government before he has related all his grievances to his Majesty." 4 *pp.*

LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Sept. 20. Bushy Park.—"Though affairs are in a ticklish situation in America, yet I still think they are not without hope, unless Sir Henry Clinton hastily determines to evacuate New York. His letter alarm'd me till I read Lord George's secret instructions, which are so clearly written and so cautiously guarded that I think it impossible that he can think himself justified in abandoning New York unless the forces of the rebels are vastly increased and his own very much diminish'd from their present numbers. . . . If Sir Henry Clinton determines upon that measure, he must see our circumstances upon the spot in a very different light from what they appear to me. By his letter, it appears to be his opinion that if he does not evacuate the place before the end of this month, it will be too late; I think, therefore, that he must continue in his post all

the winter." I do not find that General Haldimand has made any requisition for troops, so the best support Sir Henry can afford to Canada is to keep his army at New York, ready to make a diversion to the southward in case of any attack on the province of Quebec. 3½ *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1778], Sept. 21. Kew Lane.—"Lord North's letter is very satisfactory. . . . I still flatter myself that if no requisition is made from Haldimand, that Sir H. Clinton cannot take a measure so contrary to the interests of this country, but all will depend upon Lord Howe's success. If Clinton should go to Halifax towards winter the army will be ruin'd, for the troops which went with McLean are encamp'd, and no barracks could be provided for them in less than two months. . . ." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, Oct. 4. Kew Lane.—I am as unhappy as you can be about the Brest fleet getting safe into Brest, but as to the return of D'Estaign's fleet to Europe, Admiral Arbuthnot is now convinced that what he saw was d'Orvillier's, not D'Estaign's.

"What you say of America is indeed alarming, but I still hope that Sir H. Clinton will remain at New York. . . . I have nothing to say to Haldimand; he must do the best he can with the forces he has, and with the re-inforcement he may receive from Clinton should he apprehend an attack. As to Massey, the King approves his diligence in putting Nova Scotia in a proper state of defence, in his successful attack, in conjunction with Capt. Fielding, upon the ships of the rebels, &c." In compliance with his request, the King gives him leave to come home, and has therefore sent Col. McLean, an officer of experience and abilities, to take over his command, to whom he is to give all the information in his power. 3½ *pp.*

LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Oct. 16. Sandwell.—"I am bound to thank you for your news, such as it is; it might have been worse; I wish it had been better. I have lately been what I have hardly ever been in my life before, an invalid. I am going immediately to Bath, and if you should have any very good news to send me . . . it will do me more good than the water." 1 *p.*

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD [GEORGE GERMAIN].

1778, Oct. 26. Bath.—Lord Dartmouth came here two days ago, and from him I have had particulars of the Spanish Declaration. "Spain has seen that France, notwithstanding all her boastings of having a marine superior to England, is likely to be worsted. It is not her interest that France should be depressed by us, nor that we should increase our possessions and strength in the West Indies. She has seen the change in our plan of carrying on the war, and from that and the failure, and, perhaps, discomfiture of D'Estang's fleet, she may easily conclude that the French Islands

will become our object. Before the French power is too much broken, therefore, she thinks it prudent to step in, determined that if she can't save France by negociation, to assist her. The American business is the pretext, but the saving France is her object. Her demand of having our claims stated is, I think, favourable for us. We have no claim to make upon France but the fulfilment of the Treaty of Paris, and of that Spain is a guarantee; for by that Treaty the Treaty of 1667 is renewed, which gives an exclusive right to each European State to its dominions in America, and the Treaty of Paris describes our possessions in America. We then want no more than to have our right to those possessions acknowledged, which, of course, will oblige the French to abrogate their Treaty with the Colonies. So simple a state of our case must place us in a dignified light in the eyes of all Europe, and embarrass France and Spain to evade acknowledge[ing] the justice of our demand. I do not conceive it will be right to hold back or wait the motions of France; there is, I think, more dignity in openly avowing our demands at once, adding a reserve in case they are not complied with, that we are not bound to adhere to them. I feel much concern on account of our Minister at Madrid; a great deal will depend upon his management, and I am afraid Lord Grantham is not sufficiently painstaking. The Brest fleet will no more come out, while there is any risque of meeting Keppel, but I hope we shall have some other accounts that will give spirits to Parliament.' . . ." *Copy.* 3 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Oct. 29. Pall Mall.—"Your opinion upon the situation of this country with regard to Spain strikes me to be perfectly just. If Treaties and the most solemn assurances could bind a Court, that of Spain is pledg'd to take no part in this war; but an arm'd mediation, and its family compact with France, must create the strongest suspicions in our minds that its intentions are hostile towards us. Our business is to endeavour to delay the evil if it cannot be totally avoided, and to put ourselves as much in the right as possible. Every prudent step is taken for attaining those ends, and I trust we cannot go to war with Spain without wasting some time in negotiation. The letters from Clinton and the Commissioners you will have an account of. . . .

"Governor Johnstone is seemingly in good humour with the Ministry, at least he makes no complaints, and is very communicative. He says peace may still be had if we shew ourselves in a situation to make war, and if the opinion can be destroyed that we mean to grant Independence to America as soon as the Parliament meets. Dr. Franklyn has assured the Congress that Mr. Hartley acquainted him that such was Lord North's resolution, and therefore it would be folly in them to treat upon any other terms, and above all, that they should put no trust in whatever Mr. Johnstone might say to them. You may imagine Lord North is much displeas'd at such a misrepresentation of his intentions, and I hope he will for the future not permit such negotiators as Mr. Hartley to have access to him. Clinton's troops are in motion to endeavour

to attack Washington's army, as the Militia have left it, and the Regulars are divided. Washington was at Fishkill with about 5,000 men, and La Fayette at the White Plains with between two and three thousand. Lord Cornwallis with 6,000 marches into the Jerseys, another party goes up the Hudson's River, and the Hessians are advancing towards the White Plains. This account comes to me in a message from Sir H. Clinton by Captain Omanny of the *Tartar*. The arrival of the India men is another piece of good fortune we were not entitled to, and the Jamaica fleet, with so small a convoy, coming safe, is beyond all computation. Lord Howe has not yet made his appearance. He is reposing himself after his fatigues, and probably consulting upon the language he is to hold in the Closet, &c." 5 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to [LORD GEORGE GERMAIN].

1778, Oct. 31. Bath.—"I am very happy that your lordship thinks my reasoning upon the state of affairs just. Lord Suffolk has communicated to Lord Dartmouth the resolution of the Cabinet, and I draw very comfortable conclusions from the line taken. What a proof is the Bedford enterprize of the propriety of the orders so repeatedly given for attacking the rebel sea ports, and what a reflection is it upon Lord Howe's character that Gambeir, in his short absence, has done more to subdue the Rebellion than his lordship during the whole of his command. It was always clear in speculation that the Militia would never stay with Washington or quit their homes if the coast was kept in alarm, but the experiment having now been made the effect is reduced to a certainty. Surely somebody will ask Lord Howe why he has never attempted anything of the kind, and if your lordship's orders for making use of the provincials and the garrison of Rhode Island in this manner comes before the public, as I hope they will, is Burgoyne so weak as not to avail himself of the information and to charge at least some part of his misfortune upon Lord Howe's refusal to execute what is there pointed out? The destruction of the French stores at Shrewsbury is, I suppose, the object of Lord Cornwallis's expedition; that stroke would complete D'Estang's disgrace. I much fear he will go to the West Indies, as our expedition has been so long delay'd and its object so generaly known in America, and the defeat or prevention of it is certainly the best service he now can do France; but perhaps Byron's enterprizing turn may discover the practicability of burning his fleet and the town of Boston together, and then everything will succeed with us. The Commissioners appear to write for Parliament rather than to your lordship, but their state of affairs is by no means a desperate one. I do not suppose you will send out any other reinforcement than recruits, but if the garrison of Rhode Island was withdrawn, Sir Henry Clinton would have a sufficient force to maintain New York, and carry on a destructive war upon the coast, and also to take possession of Carolina. I submit it therefore to your lordship, whether it would not be proper to propose this to his consideration, for the importance of Rhode Island is, I think, greatly diminished, since all our batteries and an army of near 6,000 men could not prevent the French fleet going

in and going out of the harbour without mischief, or give protection to our frigates stationed there. . . .

"Poor Nutting and the Penobscott orders have missed their way for this year, and I fear something will happen to prevent our taking possession of that country in the spring. We muster very strong here in great folks—the Dukes of Montagu and Northumberland have increased the list of dignified personages, and Lord Shelburn, Col. Barri and Hartly have reinforc'd faction, and Lord Cambden." *Copy.* 5 *pp.*

LORD NORTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1778, Nov. 25.]—"I thank you much for your good news and return your manifesto. By this time I suppose that the Commissioners are upon the sea, and I expect to have them here during the Christmas recess. Their return will please those who were afraid of agreement with America, but, in no other respect will it relieve me from the difficulty I shall be in to-morrow; but the arrival of the victuallers gives me spirits at this impatient juncture." 1 *p.*

Endorsed with above date.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Dec. 4. Pall Mall.—". . . The House of Lords intend calling for the state of Dominica, &c., from 1775. I told Lord Suffolk they must begin from an earlier period; you will be so good as to send him the date when the first applications were made and the orders issued in consequence of them. I said I thought the commencement was in 1769 or 70. If you will, in a note, write him what you told me upon the subject, and then if the Lords give any papers they will know to what date they are to go back. The motion will probably be made on Monday by the Duke of Grafton." 1½ *pp.*

LORD THURLOW to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Dec. 5.—Stating that he should be extremely obliged for any papers which would throw light on the business of the convention with Prescot or Preston, which was broken off by the rebels. 1 *p.*

With note by Knox :—"Sent him Forster's agreement with Arnold."

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Dec. 13. Pall Mall.—Is Lord Weymouth's office or mine to send the order for embarking Picton's corps, &c., for the expedition to the West Indies? Whichever it belongs to, it would be done at once. "As to Governor Roberts, Lord North consents to advance the 1,700*l.*, and the ship may go its voyage.

"The embargo matter of doubt, but agreed to have a Council on Monday to take it off. Lord President says it cannot be done without the King. I quoted the butter, which Mr. Cottrell and I settled without thinking of his Majesty, but Lord Gower says it must have been afterwards reported. I believe it was not, but I was satisfy'd if the thing was to be done, not to dispute about the mode." 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

[1778, end of ?*]—Thinks that what Lord Macartney says, in his clear and able despatches concerning the stationing of ships of war, should be communicated to the Admiralty, but fears that, "as the proposal comes from a landman, it will not be attended to." It seems absurd to leave Grenada, &c., so exposed, when a few cruisers would give security to those islands, and at the same time be of great service to the trade from Africa. 1½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, Jan. 2. Drayton.—I wish you could send me more agreeable news for the opening of this year. If this country can triumph over its enemies, what becomes of a few individuals is of little consequence, "and I should be happy to see the administration in those hands which could most effectually relieve us from our present distresses, but if I was to be asked where the men were capable of such exertion I must confess I knew no such. I fear the Senegal dispatches contained apprehensions of attack, or at least of distress for provisions. This last stroke must be attended with fatal consequences, as it will stop all supplies to the West Indies, besides the mischief done to the shipping. . . ." 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, Jan. 7. Pall Mall.—Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth and Lord Sandwich will be out of town, as well as Lord Carlisle, on Saturday, but Lord North wishes that we may have some conversation on that day with Messrs. Eden and Johnstone, so be so good as to summon these two and also Lord Amherst to be at Lord North's at twelve o'clock on that day. 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same

1779, Jan. 12. Pall Mall.—I understood it was agreed in Cabinet that a regiment should be sent to Jamaica, and, in consequence, told Mr. Fuller that the petition from the Council, &c. there would be complied with. "I must now tell them that what was resolved to be recommended by his Majesty's servants is not agreed to by his Majesty." I did not understand that the King objected to it when I spoke to Mr. Fuller, and must now explain the whole transaction or he will think I have deceived him.

Postscript.—"I hope Lord North understands the paper I sent him as design'd for his information, not as propositions from me to the Cabinet. If he adopts them they may be of use; if they come only from me, I know their fate." 2 *pp.*

John Scott to William Knox.

1779, Jan. 20. Harcourt Street [Dublin].—". . . I trust you will not think it inattention if I omit to write to you as often as

*See Lord Macartney's letter to Lord George, dated Oct. 31, 1778, in the Report on the Stopford-Sackville Papers, vol. ii. (8vo edition).

I am bribed away by two guineas, or by a client that looks as if he would give them were they in his power, for he too must have a preference. I now write to you to say that your very disinterested conduct deserves from this country, and especially from the present Government, much more than you ask for Mr. Smith, and much more than from the bounty of his uncle he has occasion to be solicitous about, for I am told that his part of the residue amounts to 20,000*l.* However, if that should not be the case, or if, as it happens, men's wants multiply with their wealth, and that Sir Richard Heron should not be able to spare you anything out of the Dean of Cork's livings, Doctor Chinnery, promoted to the bishopric of Killaloe, . . . desire Lord G. Germain, or write boldly yourself to the Archbishop of Dublin, whom you have made, and ask for the next thing his Grace can spare, worth not less than 500*l. per annum,* for your brother-in-law and the nephew of his Grace's predecessor. . . .

"The deanery of Cork is, I understand, given to Sir Richard Heron's nephew, Mr. Ractal, which, with the living given him by Cloyne upon his arrival here, makes him a young candidate for a bishopric and may smooth your approaches to the Castle."

Postscript.—Thanks for your ridding us of the embargo. . . . What delays Heron amongst you? 2 *pp.*

Noted by Knox :—"Now Lord Earlsfort."

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1779, March 12.—"The drafts are approved, the warrants are signed, &c., but it is to be understood that Mr. Charles Pryce will not be permitted to act or continue in office should he return to Savannah, if he has taken the oaths to the Rebel States.

"Sir James Wright's queries are very minute, and many of them must be decided upon as his own judgment shall direct. If one of his opinions proves true, that he cannot trust the loyalty of the first Assembly when chosen, it argues against the putting the Colony at the peace of the King, and it must continue under military government. That opinion of his I trust is erroneous, and, among other things, makes me doubt much whether he is equal to the undertaking of governing a province under the circumstances of Georgia."

Postscript.—"I have heard of such jobbing about the provincial clothing that I wish some enquiry was made about it, both as to price and quality. Some military inspection should be made, that the Government may not be imposed upon and the soldiers discouraged by such usage." 2¼ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, March 15. Pall Mall.—Stating that he little imagined that private correspondence would have been wanted for parliamentary inspection, but that what he has kept Sir Wm. Howe may have the use of. ½ *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, March 27. Pall Mall.—Lord Sandwich wishes to keep all the troops where they are, but this must not be. We meet on Monday to decide the matter. "About the Miquelon prize money Lord North thinks I may signify the King's pleasure about it. If it should go through him officially he is ready to do what is proposed." 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, March 31. Pall Mall.—The Scotch regiments will probably be at Spithead to-morrow morning, and the fleet will sail as soon as the Chatham recruits join, without waiting for the Germans. The memorial from the Dominica proprietors deserves consideration. I wish you could send it to Lord North and ask him whether the Attorney-General's opinion ought to be asked. The King permits me to do it if it is thought expedient. 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, April 4. Stoneland Lodge.—". . . I hope the fleet will sail before the Hessians can arrive. Sir H. Clinton will not lament their delay. Your account about Spain is just what I could wish, for if our proposals are comply'd with, this campaign in America will not be interrupted, and if France begins a treaty with us the Provinces will be too wise not to close with England upon the best terms they can get. If France does not shew a sincere desire for peace it must be owing to the dependance she has that Spain will soon assist her, for she cannot risk immediate distress for the uncertain profit of the American alliance." 1½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, April 6. Stoneland Lodge.—Concerning Admiral Arbuthnot's intended voyage. If he "is in a puzzle," Knox is prayed to set him right.

"The post is so obliging as to come every day to Tunbridge Wells, which it did not do formerly till after the 27th of June. We have charming weather, but we farmers are never contented; the wheat wants rain, and we shall be all undone." 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, April 7. Stoneland Lodge.—Stating that the Chancellor has returned the Dominica Memorial, and agrees that the request cannot be complied with. 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1779, April 9. Stoneland Lodge.—"Lord Cornwallis now offers his service, when he knew everything was settled. I suspected his intention some time ago. I did not understand the delay. Vaughan's commission may be recalled, but I cannot advise doing so slighting an act to an officer who has behaved so well, and who has the merit of remaining steady whilst others were so ready to resign. If the King and Lord Amherst like this new arrangement it must be their measure not mine. . . ." 2 *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, May 5. Brussels.—I congratulate you on our late successes, especially in Georgia, where I hope you will be re-instated in your property. In France they had great hopes that that province would be a trap *à la Burgoyne*, and I confess I was not exempt from fears. G. Provost's success has relieved them, but there is still much at hazard in the West Indies. Present appearances are good, but I see the possibility of disaster there.

I arrived here two days ago from Marseilles, where I passed the winter very agreeably, "particularly as none of my own country-folks were there, who are the most restless and discontented people upon earth. From the general order to exclude every English subject from the sea ports in France, Princess Guimenée obtained an exception of the King in my favour. . . . So singular a mark of confidence from that jealous government laid me under the strongest obligation to an exact conduct, which I rigidly observed." I, nevertheless, associated pretty freely with the French, who treated me with uncommon attention. "The winter in Provence was the finest imaginable, four months passed without the appearance of a cloud," but the unseasonable mildness relaxed me so much that I am on my way to the Spa to brace up again. 3½ *pp. Seal with crest.*

GOVERNOR GEO. JOHNSTONE to LORD GEO. GERMAIN.

[1779], June 19.—Private. "Mr. Eden desired me to put upon paper some measures which I think expedient to be adopted in case that an attack on New Orleans should be determined upon.

"I apprehend 1,500 men to those already in the Province of West Florida will be necessary. They should be sent in the men of war destined for the expedition, with the necessary stores, provisions and artillery which may be deemed necessary. They should pass by the Windward Islands and Jamaica, or if sent from the forces under General Grant, they should call off Jamaica and pick up what they can.

"The success will depend on a judicious negotiation with the inhabitants of New Orleans, who are disgusted to a degree of irritation hardly to be believed, from the government of the Spaniards and the cruelty practised by Oreilly when he reduced the revolt in that colony. They are also dissatisfied with the French for leaving them a sacrifice to Spanish crueltys on their appeal to that court. Not less than fifteen of the principal familys fell victims on that revolution, with all their property and effects. Several were put to death, and some lost their lives in iron cages. Your lordship will see how ticklish this must be, for fear of giving the alarm before the force arrives, and yet it would be better done before the force arrives than afterwards, in order that the inhabitants may be assured that there is no design against their effects or estates.

"The Chickasaw, Creeks and Chactaw Indians must be secured by presents and good management; this is absolutely necessary. Pensacola must be guarded against hostilitys as well as Mobile, and the inhabitants regimented and armed. A number of canoes and flatt boats, drawing little water, must be provided. They

may be got in the country. The island on the mouth of Lake Ponchartrain must be seized and fortifyed by redoubts.

"The attack by the river is very difficult, tho' a diversion should be made that way also. If the fort at the Balize could be seized by a *coup de main* it would be well, and facilitate all future operations by the river and prevent supplys. Not less than two forty gun ships and three frigates and two sloops should be employed on the service of the expedition. But the matter of all others the most to be attended to is fortifying Egmont Island and securing the Harbor of Espiritu Sancto, which is of more consequence in annoying the commerce of Spain than the Havannah, or of Gibraltar for the Mediteranean trade. I consider this as an object not to be neglected for an hour, and the means certain and easy, while the advantages are innumerable in this contest.

"Provisions necessary for the forces by sea and land should be provided in time, but I know no place where they could lie in perfect safety against an enterprize from the Havannah, as we are now fortifyed; and therefore the necessity of fortifying Egmont Island appears more essential on that account also, as well as being the best rendez-vous for all the privateers which may be fitted out and sent to that part of the world, where the riches of all the Spanish colonys are passing afloat." 3¼ *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, July 13. Spa.—". . . You are the most pleasing coresponsdant in the world, as you always present the brightest sides of ideal objects, and have the talent of reviving expiring hopes." Your letter had a prodigious effect upon Mr. Cressener, who was in the most desponding disposition, and seems to have collected new life from it.

"Spa is but very thin of company, and likely to continue so by the war, and the shutting up the passage from Calais to Dover, or rather from Dover to Calais. This was certainly a right measure; I greatly approve of it, although it is to be highly inconvenient to me. Had it not taken place, I should have been in England ere now. . . . Of the French nation who are at this place, the most distinguished are the Dutchess of Bourbon and her suite, the Duke de Coigny, Count Polignac, le Marquis Vaudreuil, their ladies, &c. These latter are of the Queen's partie and consequently not well with Madame de Bourbon, but both sides court the English with as much zeal and assiduity as if they liked them. The Spencers, the Dutchess of Devonshire, Lady Clermont and the Archbishop of Tuam and his family are the whole of our country of any note who are here, tho' it is said Lord Northington is daily expected. There are, besides, a considerable number of persons of condition from other parts, but principally Russians, who are neither the most opulent or the most animated people, and consequently the diversions are more languid than usual. A general intercourse, however, is maintained, and were it not for the newspapers and some puffing letters now and then from Paris, such is the tranquillity that reigns at private and publick resorts, that one might well imagine there were no wars in the world. . . ." 3½ *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, July 27. Stoneland Lodge.—"I cannot believe the rebels will make any serious attack upon Canada unless the French send some ships up the River St. Lawrence; indeed, the proclamation which alarms General Haldimand gives the Canadians no assurance of such a support. It is unlucky that Governor Hamilton should be taken at this time, as it will give spirits to the Americans, and when the declaration of Spain reaches them, they will think we shall not be able to resist such powerful enemies as are now united against us. I fear much the supplies of provisions will be so late sent out from Cork that the ships will again lose their passage; in that case Haldimand cannot support his out-posts. . . .

"Sir Charles Hardy's fleet will have a powerfull squadron to contend with, if the enclos'd intelligence be true. I think confusion must be the consequence of such a number of large ships attempting to manœuvre together, especially when not composed of the ships of one nation. . . ." 2½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Aug. 1. Stoneland Lodge.—". . . The arrival of the Leeward Island fleet must give spirits to the city. When I heard of the number that passed Breghthelmstone yesterday I was in hopes the Jamaica fleet had joined them; possibly Hardy may have resumed his station, so as to protect those which are expected from Jamaica and the East Indies, but I think we have more reason to trust in Providence than in our Admirals. By a letter I have seen from Cadiz, the 25th of June, everything was then preparing and embarking for a siege, and by their being ordered to Algerias, they must be intended for Gibraltar, which I think the best thing that can happen to us. . . ." 2¼ *pp.*

THOS. FALKNER to PETER POOL.

1779, Aug. 23. Plowden.—I give you my hearty thanks for so many notices of my old cronies, and send you some information concerning Thomas Brown from the dispenser in the College where he was bred, and who, from Brown, had information of me and my missions. I have had no correspondence with the province since you came away, and so know not who lives nor who dies. I am not of opinion that Buenos Ayres is an object worthy of our arms, nor would it be teneble without great expense. It is a wide, open town, and though I have as little opinion as you of the Spanish valour, the governors of the provinces round might harass us with incursions, and the people cannot be depended on, even when it might suit their own interests—lazy, idle, faint-hearted wretches. And to keep Buenos Ayres, those provinces must be conquered, and all the places to the foot of the Andes must fall. They are mostly, I confess, defenceless villages, but the long marches through mostly barren countries, "sometimes over vast sandy plains, others through hundreds of miles of thick woods, and at others over vast high

mountains and precipices," would dishearten our men more than to meet with a well-disciplined enemy. I should imagine a blow might be better directed against some other of the Spanish settlements. "I have been credibly informed that the city of La Vera Cruz is but sorrily fortified by the landside, and that the only defence of the haven is the island and strong Castle of Don Juan de Ulloa, which might not cost us a week to take. This is the key and only port to the rich Kingdom of Mexico, whence comes the greatest part of the Spanish treasures, and if this was taken I believe that upon good treatment and promise of protection and making 'em independent, those countries might be tempted to revolt." They are heartily tired of the Spanish Government, and if they had courage to fight for their liberty much might be done, but they are accustomed to peace and luxury, and are no soldiers. But they will not, thus, give us much trouble, and we should only have to do with the troops from Spain. The black vomit, which rages upon those coasts, is a great obstacle, but it lasts only the summer months, so if the expedition was undertaken in September, that difficulty would cease. Three or four thousand men might be sufficient if the object was kept a secret and the enemy taken unawares. This place is much nearer than Buenos Ayres, and might be succoured from our Colonies.

"I have likewise heard our missionaries talk much of the new Kingdom of Leon, its great fertility and abounding with rich silver mines, lying near to our Colony at Pensacola. The Spaniards are there at war with a nation called Seres, formerly our neophites, whom the avarice and barbarity of a Spanish governour drew upon 'em by seizing their lands and making a butchery upon 'em in cold blood in time of peace, and being Christian converts, and carrying off their wives and children to slavery, which they have since dearly pay'd for. The missionaries early made strong remonstrances to the Governor and Viceroy, but in vain. Farewell . . . *Jube et ora pro me.*" 2 *pp.*

Addressed to Mr. Peter Pool, 5 Great Castle Street, Oxford Market, London.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to ——.

1779, Aug. 29. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am glad Hutchins is taken. As to the keeping his confinement a secret, it is too ridiculous to found any proceeding upon, or that Mr. Wharton can be induced to give intelligence thro' Mr. Hutchins is not possible. There may be difficulties in convicting him, and the only use that can be made of the fright he is in will be to convince him that the only way he can have any chance for mercy will be to give usefull information to Government, and that it will be improper that he should see either Lord North or me till he can shew that he can be of real service. He is too sensible to imagine that anything can attone for his conduct, but the most open and unreserved communication of all he knows. . . . Encourage him to be honest, but make him no absolute promise of pardon." Let Lord Weymouth know of this proceeding. Knox will be in town to-morrow. 3 *pp.*

LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Sept. 4. Sandwell.—I see from the papers that Governor Browne is superceded. If this is the case, his wife, who is my near relative, will be reduced almost to a state of absolute want. "I don't say that this is any reason for sparing a man who is convicted of misconduct, and I have no doubt that there is sufficient ground and good occasion for so summary a proceeding. I know that complaints have been made of him, and I know the character of his accusers, and therefore I don't suppose he is dismissed without an opportunity of clearing himself."; but I shall be much obliged if you will tell me what the grounds are. 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Sept. 20.—"We must now determine whether the war in America is the first object of our attention, or whether the defence of the remainder of the Leeward Islands is to be preferred to the expected acquisitions in North America. Admiral Barrington's whole information is so desponding that I flatter myself he is only diverting our attention from enquiring into the reasons of his quitting his post instead of assuming the command as he was ordered. The Cabinet dinner is on Wednesday at Lord North's." I want the papers relating to the bombardment of Havre, "for I will not let that idea be treated as one that was improper to be pursued. Admiral Mann professes knowing nothing of that coast, so that his opinion is no better than mine, and Admiral Rodney's account confirms the propriety of the attack proposed." If we do not finish on Wednesday I shall propose a meeting on Thursday morning, when we shall be less sleepy than after dinner. 2¼ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Sept. 26.—I am sorry there is a doubt about D'Estaign's arrival in Europe. It must be distressing to Sir H. Clinton to be left in such uncertainty. I shall think Jamaica in the utmost danger if D'Estaign is gone to St. Domingo. "I cannot understand why the merchants, &c., disagree with the Governor about the Mullatoe regiments. I should imagine he was the best judge of that proposal. It will be impossible for Lord Amherst to give all the recruits to the service of Jamaica whilst the regiments in the Leeward Islands and in North America want so many men to compleat them. The capitulation of St. Vincent's ought to be mention'd in the Gazette, with as little of the Governor's performances as may be."

Tobago must fall whenever the French please. "If Paul Jones escapes he is in luck, for the Admiralty have sent more than one squadron after him, and, as the wind has been, I do not see how he can avoid them, but our sea expeditions, except under Sir G. Collier, are not fortunate." 3 *pp.*

LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Oct. 4. Sandwell.—Mrs. Brown has been in correspondence with Lord G. Germain, but does not know whether she is to continue

to receive her husband's salary or part of it for her subsistence "during the pendency of the affair. . . . I can hardly persuade myself that the governor is to receive a temporary punishment before he is found to have deserved it." 1½ *pp.*

CAPT. THOS. HUTCHINS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Oct. 11.—Praying for an interview. 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Oct. 14.—Declaring that his confinement prevents his putting into practice his sincere wishes to promote the King's service, and begging Knox to obtain his enlargement. 1 *p.* *Seal of arms.*

R. ATKINSON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Oct. 28.—"Never was any absence more unfortunate than your's. What think you of Lord Amherst disavowing the directions given by Mr. Morse last Saturday concerning the recruits, and standing the whole fire of the Cabinet in persisting to refuse a man more than some trifling quantity under two hundred. The ships are all engaged, the provisions laid in, and the whole expence incurred; nothing will move him.

"He has also refused Campbell's rank, who, under the advice (I believe) of a friend of your's, has written him or was to write him to-day declining the battalion and giving his reasons. In short, the devil has set in (*sic*) foot in everything since you left us, and in spite of my having devoted myself day and night to this object, I see it will end probably in our having one of the worst men in the whole world sent instead of one of the best, and instead of the West India interest being conciliated by the measure adopted, this disappointment will occasion a clamour that will be not only unpleasant, but really pernicious.

"Since writing what precedes I have (near midnight) received Lord Amherst's letter in answer to one we wrote him to-day as a last effort, in which he maintains his character, and all the recruits we are to get are a hundred and twenty-five. A thought strikes me by which I think the shame of this transaction may be hid. I will see Lord North upon it in the morning if he is not gone (as Lord George is) into the country. In the meantime I wish you would commit to writing what you recollect of the declarations on which the orders to the Admiralty were grounded, and favour me with any other hints that occur to you. The Canada victuallers are returned to Cork. The *Howe* is arrived there. A failure of their crop of corn, and the price almost as high as ever. No publick news that I hear of, but this infernal blunder has prevented my having time to look into Day's returns farther than in general to see that they are eating at a great rate." 3 *pp.*

LORD HILLSBOROUGH to [WILLIAM KNOX ?].

1779, Oct. 29. Hillsborough.—I have every hour been expecting a summons to your side of the water, but have yet no direct infor-

mation that the measure of making me secretary is resolved on. I cannot enter into the affairs of this distracted country, "but I cannot refrain from saying that our ministers are mad if they do not instantly seriously go into our measure." 1 *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Nov. 24. Pall Mall.—"Surely you must have dealings with the d——, or how could you be so positive that Lord Hillsborough would not have the seals this day. It is put off, as they say, for a few days. I am told Wedderburn will not consent, tho' he was yesterday with the King, and all then was good humour." ½ *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, Nov. 28.—". . . I have a thousand letters from the Havannah, all in Spanish. What am I to do with them? They contain, as Arbuthnot writes and Stuart says, the plan of D'Estaign's campaign. The Admiral fears the *Experiment* is taken. It is sea news, and Capt. Chinnery says the man who brought it varied in his story." 1 *p.*

LORD DARTMOUTH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1779, Dec. 7. Sandwell.—". . . Things certainly look well in some quarters of the globe. There are two spots, however, in which they don't appear with quite so good an aspect; I mean the West Indies and the House of Commons. If a squadron of French ships of the line should be got thither, which I hope is not true, they will have time to frighten our planters a good deal before they can be checked. In the House of Commons I read of nothing but very unjust attacks upon Lord George Germain and those who act with him from the men who have had the most respect and attention paid to them. Such, alas, is human nature.

"I have had less of my nervous sensations since I returned from Bath, but intend to indulge myself until after Christmas. Then, well or ill, I must launch out into the troubled sea, and take my share of the storm." 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Jan. 1.—Your letter to Vaughan is very right. I hope it will be ready for signing before twelve o'clock to-night, as I set out at seven to-morrow morning.

"Dalling's drafts I suppose must be accepted, but the island should be required to find funds for repaying, or if the provisions are not issued the governor will sell them and account for the profit. This is my opinion. If you have a better I am ready to subscribe to it. . . ." 2½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1779–80 (*sic*), Jan. 8. Drayton.—". . . I cannot imagine that Jamaica is in danger at present, nor will it be till Spain prefers the conquest of that island to the attack of Gibraltar or the defence of its possessions in South America.

"The Dutch Admiral has behaved with proper discretion, and the States General are put under no difficulties by his conduct; if they wish war we have given them sufficient cause for declaring it, and so indeed has every other power concerned in the present contest; they must soon determine whether they will be governed by France or make common cause with us, for I think they will soon be driven out of an impracticable neutrality. . . .

"I wish Lord Hillsborough would not strive so hard for popularity. What business had he to write to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, as if His Majesty's Lieutenant could not have more properly notifyed that event thro' his own secretary? How my Lord Buckingham feels upon that slight I know not; had I been in his place the King would have been troubled with very loud complaints." 3 *pp.*

William Knox to Lord North.

1780, Feb. 8.—Stating that his long intimacy with the Grosvenor family gives him the opportunity of knowing their wishes and dispositions, and that he lamented to find that Lord G[rosvenor] felt himself slighted by not being made lieutenant for Cheshire, and so had held back from supporting Lord North's government, although his chagrin did not lead him to take part with Opposition, "for the family principles are too strongly monarchical to allow of a combination with republicans; and, besides, his lordship does not forget, as some others have done, that he owes his peerage to the grace of his present Majesty." His lordship has lately come up to town, and states that L[ord] C[holmondeley] has been stirring up mischief in Cheshire, which he withstood upon principle, but he feels awkward in opposing a Lord Lieutenant in what has the appearance of being for the good of the people. He candidly avows that the lieutenancy is his great object, and (if Lord North feels that he has made a wrong choice and thinks of removing the present man) "should consider the appointment as a band of reconciliation and friendship." Knox is aware of Lord Grosvenor's inattention and neglect, but ventures to say that "both him and Mr. Grosvenor and all their connexion will feel exceedingly obliged by the appointment, and the public cannot think the change unwise." *Copy.* 2 *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1780, Feb. 24. Pall Mall.—Stating that nothing had been said in the House the day before about Boyd, but that all were surprised to hear Mr. Pulteney arraign ministers for their timidity in not employing Sir H. Palliser. "By the cry of the House" it was perceived that he had many friends. The King gave an audience of an hour to the Margrave of Anspach. 1 *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1780, March 12.—"The Cabinet in general inclined to Halifax, but, as Lord Sandwich was so strongly of a contrary opinion they

would not give any directions about it till he was present. When that will be I know not. I wrote to him last night to show him the distress his absence occasioned." ½ *p.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, March 20. Stoneland Lodge.—Thinks Lord Sandwich might have empowered Rodney to have ordered Walsingham to return to him from Jamaica, as he does not believe M. de Guychen will attack any of the British islands unless he fights and beats Rodney. 1 *p.*

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

1780, March 24.—I have had much conversation with Lord Sandwich on the state of the Leeward Island squadron. He had given Stephens directions to write the strongest letter he could draw to Admiral Rhodney not to dismantle the three ships of the line, but to send them home if unfit for service; and on my suggesting that, upon the arrival of the *Intripid* with such part of the regiments as have kept with her, Vaughan would be able to spare some troops to assist in manning the squadron, his lordship wrote himself to Rodney, pressing him not to dismantle the three ships, but if he wanted men to apply to Vaughan or use some other means to procure them. He "thinks the troops cannot be trusted from the Leeward Islands to Jamaica with fewer than two ships of the line and a frigate; three of Walsingham's will therefore remain with Rhodney, and the other two go on to Jamaica."

He does not fear anything being sent out of Brest to intercept the fleet (for I hinted it might be prudent to order Graves to see him into the sea), and he imagines if De Guichen has blocked up Rodney he cannot detach force enough to overpower Walsingham. "The convoy will therefore probably arrive safe at Barbados, but if Rhodney be obliged to shelter himself in St. Lucie we may expect to hear of attacks on Tobago and Barbados, for I do not think De Guichen will venture to send a detachment to Leeward." 3 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, March 24. Pall Mall.—Your letter surprises me, as Lord Sandwich said nothing about the bad state of the Leeward Island fleet, and Capt. Byron assured me the squadron was complete. I know no remedy unless Arbuthnot joins, for Walsingham will arrive too late to prevent the effect of Guychen's superiority. It is a very serious business.

As to the Brest fleet, I have no doubt its destination is N. America; it is less forward than I imagined, "and it is impossible the French should fit out a squadron for the West Indies which cannot get thither before June, and they will hardly keep so great a naval force in those seas during the hurricane months." Our preventing them from quitting Brest is more to be wished than expected.

Lord Amherst wished to wait to settle the recruits for N. America

and the Leeward Islands till he saw more of the intentions of France, but I represented to him that unless we could now order the transports we should have no use of the troops this campaign. I understand he will have near 3,000 men. They cannot embark till France's intentions concerning invasion are known, but I see no inconvenience in making preparations. 4½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1780, March 29. Stoneland Lodge.—You have done all possible to prevent surprise in N. America, and I hope Arbuthnot will be able to withstand M. de Chaffaud. I am more uneasy about the Leeward Islands, for if the three ships of the line from St. Domingo have joined La Motte Piquet's squadron, we shall be very inferior indeed to the enemy there, and much stronger than necessary in Jamaica.

"The Spaniards may order 10,000 troops from Cadiz, but the transports cannot be soon prepared or victualled for such an expedition. The whole weight of the war will fall upon America and the West Indies. If nobody was wiser than I, four ships more would go with Walsingham and two with Greaves, for I think we have little to fear at home, but Lord Sandwich will not risk this country upon any account, so that I apprehend we shall have some misfortunes abroad . . . unless Rodney's abilities and good fortune save us." 3 *pp.*

John Robinson to William Knox.

1780, April 21, 7.20 a.m.—"I hear that we are to be very much attacked in the Committee on the extraordinaries upon the provincial corps, as a great job. The Secretary at War knows nothing about them, and cant answer any attacks; at the Treasury we are as ignorant, and can only say that all the stores and necessaries we send out are on the requisition of the Secretary of State." If Lord George wishes Lord North to be able to answer any questions, will you send us the necessary information. It you would add a short precis relative to Indian presents it would be useful. 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1780, May 3.—Thinks it better, in the letter to Knyphausen, to say nothing about his possible junction with Clinton, as it might perhaps "give jealousy to Clinton to enter into his future intentions with the Hessian general." 2 *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1780, May 27. Pall Mall.—I am glad to hear of your safe arrival in Dublin. I sincerely wish that the Mutiny Bill may be so changed as to make it admissible here, and that then we shall be wise enough to adopt it, and avoid a discussion which cannot end to our advantage.

"You will see what Rodney has done. What he might have

done is a melancholy consideration. About four of his captains are particularly mark'd. He writes me word that his success would have been decisive had his orders been obeyed. No news yet from Clinton. I begin to fear some misfortune. . . The French squadron from Brest and the Spanish squadron from Cadiz having sailed, and our fleet under Walsingham still at Torbay, leaves room for many apprehensions."

Our House of Commons business goes on prosperously. When you have settled Ireland pray return and take care of us. 4 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, July 13. Drayton.—"I am glad to hear everything remains quiet in London. Taylor's information about the threatenings of the mob gives me but little uneasiness,* and I believe neither Lord North or Lord Sandwich will attend to it. I am apt to believe that Mr. Grenville's information may be so far true as that we shall hear the Congress are removed from Philadelphia to Hertford, and that change of residence may be productive of much good. I wonder the Court of Spain had received no accounts from Pensacola. Had Sir G. Rodney commanded at Jamaica he would not only have saved the Floridas, but have made the expedition fatal to Spain. How miserably we have been served this war! . . . By your account Sir G. Rodney will look in vain for the Spanish fleet. I doubt much whether ten ships of the line will be sent to the Havannah, as they have so many other ports to attend to, but if the ships and transports are so ill-provided we may hope their forces will not be so formidable as we apprehended. . . . 'I am glad the poor Americans will be at last attended to. I hope the list will be revised, or many deserving sufferers will not be included." 3 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, July 15. Drayton.—I am glad to hear of Geary's success. I fear you need not have desired the Admiralty to delay the sailing of the recruits till his return. "I trusted to the natural sloath of sea operations . . . and all I pray is that your precaution may not be better attended to than you desired."

Taylor's intelligence about the state of Guychen's fleet is very comfortable, but if Tearny is to join him so soon, "he can only touch at N. America, land his troops, and then reach Martinico about the season the hurricanes prevail. The French commonly quit the Leeward Island station before that period, as they have no port of safety for a large fleet. However, if Mons. de Ternay does not remain in America I trust . . . that Graves will join Rodney, and give him such a force as may enable him to face and defeat his enemy." 2½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, July 30. Stoneland Lodge.—Thinks it must be left to the

* The Special Commission for trying the Gordon rioters had begun its sitting on July 10.

Board of Ordnance to judge whether the very large demands of New York and Charlestown shall be complied with. Wonders that such a quantity of artillery should be needed at the latter place, "after seeing in the *Gazette* how many were captured." 1¼ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1780, Aug. 7. Stoneland Lodge.—I hope there may be no need of sending General Haldimand's letter before I have shown the draft to the King. I think Mr. Haldimand's conduct so blameable that it would be improper to say less, "but as the reprimand must be so directly in his Majesty's name, it would be more satisfactory to me to have his approbation of it." That province will never be properly govern'd till Mr. Cramahé is recalled. The more I think of Oliver for governor of New Ireland the more I like it, but to find the proper system of government for that immense continent will be a difficult task. I wish you could come here for two or three days, that we might prepare some plan for the consideration of the Cabinet. "I dread nothing so much as the hurrying out of this war before we are prepared for peace." 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1780, Aug. 11.—Stating that the King "likes Oliver for governor, so it may be offer'd to him." He also approves of Leonard for Chief Justice. His Majesty comes to town again on Friday, and the Cabinet dinner will be on that day. 1 *p.*

Lord George Germain to [Mr. Irwine ? *].

1780, Aug. 19. Pall Mall.—"The King has not declared his intentions of appointing any person to the government of South Carolina, nor do I suppose his Majesty will do it till the province is more settled. If you desire to know my opinion with regard to your pretensions, I should imagine a military officer will more probably be appointed . . . than the Attorney-General of the province." 1 *p.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1780, Aug. 20. Brussels.—"A very particular friend of mine, first President of the Parliament of Aix, in Province, has written to me in the most pressing terms to engage my interest towards bringing about a speedy exchange of three persons taken on board a French St. Dominique ship by Admiral Geary's squadron." Having no interest at the Admiralty, I apply to you, hoping that the thing will not be difficult or very embarrassing to you. Mr. Cressener has also written to Lord Sandwich, but I must say I expect more effect from a few words of yours to Mr. Stephens. The parties are M. Michel, captain; M. Bassiley, second lieutenant, and M. Alari, secretary of *La Courière*, taken by the *Royal Sovereign*, and now at Oakhampton, upon their parole. As they have large families at Marseilles, where I spend so much of my life, it would be of great use to me, as well as

* See letter of Aug. 27, below.

an act of humanity in itself to obtain their liberty, and I pray you to employ your kind endeavours as soon as you can.

I left Spa in its full splendour. "The presence of the King of Sweden had brought a prodigious crowd there from all parts and of of all ranks. . . . But few English appeared there this season, and those single people of no great condition or distinction; but multitudes of French, who seemed to rule triumphantly. I had the tiresome and oppressive honour of being much distinguished by the great of all countries, but more particularly by his Majesty, who is one of the most amiable and captivating persons I ever met with. I had declined being presented to him, but some of my friends had raised his curiosity to be acquainted with me, and it then became unavoidable. Our first conference, for it seemed to be such, was before a hundred and fifty people of rank in the publick salle. A variety of topicks were then started and discussed; among others, the revolution in Sweden, with the circumstances of which I happened to be well acquainted, and, of course, took occasion to say some things which he seemed to like; others, that were rather too bold and plain for that audience. However, as I used a language apparently new to him, he was pleased with it. In mentioning the virtues and qualities of my own sovereign, one of the lords of his suit said, 'What, the King of England?' 'Yes,' said the King, 'I know what the Governor says is strictly true; he is a most worthy and well-informed Prince.' Our subsequent discourses he chose should be *tête-à-tête*.

"The evening before I left Spa I had a full hour of private conversation with him, wherein the subjects of war and peace, the northern confederacy, the accident which befell his frigate, the actual situation of affairs throughout the world, &c., &c., were seriously talk'd of, and I thought to his satisfaction. Our discourses ended by his saying, 'I have a great friendship for the King of England, and shall never forget *le bien qu'il m'a faite*, and I wish you would make this known to him when you go to England,' which I promised to do, and which I believe Mr. Cressener has done. . . . I am ignorant what good our court has done to the King of Sweden, but it seems to have made a deep impression on his mind. He was continually beset and watched by the French, and, if I mistake not, was impatient of it, from some words which escaped him. He seems to know much, and to have a strong passion to know more; is very mild, sensible and candid; very easy in his manners, which are simple and elegant, and absolutely destitute of all pretension or affec[ta]tion, as far as I could discern. . . . Upon the whole, he seemed pleased with the energy and firmness of the British nation, and said, 'I should like to be King of such a people,' which drew a compliment from me in return. . . ." 5½ *pp.*

Sir Grey Cooper to William Knox.

1780, Aug. 23. Worlington, near Newmarket.—I am at my cottage here for the recovery of my health, and have left all business behind, "but I carry with me all my anxiety for the present fearfull and wonderful situation of public affairs. We are fighting a good

fight, but we are sorely beset and surrounded on all sides. The old stag is standing at bay, and I hope will beat off the whole pack and be at last saved to be hunted another day." If you will send me the news, I will send you my thanks and some Suffolk partridges when the shooting begins. 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Aug. 27. Stoneland Lodge.—Explaining that the Mr. Irwine who solicited Knox about his office in Carolina is not the man Lord George took him for—a member of the Council at Boston in very affluent circumstances, who spells his name Erwing. 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, Sept. 3.—" I brought Vaughan's letter with me by mistake. I could not have believed our loss had been so very great. The fleet might well return to Cadiz with such a capture. Drummond's intelligence from Paris says that Ternay, on the 21st of July, was blocked up by Arbuthnot in Rhode Island. This is too good to be true, but the date makes it possible." 1 *p.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, Sept. 5 Stoneland Lodge.—" . . . I am fully persuaded that Knyphausen's march into the Jerseys was a right measure, tho' from accident it did not fully answer. Sir H. Clinton is of all men the most jealous, and when he has not the whole credit of a measure is apt to dislike the plan, however well concerted. In this case, he is not sorry to attribute the disappointment to the disaffection of the inhabitants, as an argument to support his opinion against civil government." I am not surprised at his silence concerning Ethan Allen, as " he is not apt to communicate reports, however favourable." I only kept your messenger till I could read and sign the despatches and kill the partridges for you. 2 *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Sept. 6. Brussels.—Concerning his health and the capture of the merchant ship. Does not dare to look across the Atlantic, in spite of the gleam of sunshine Knox throws upon it. Explains his financial position at length as a reason for not complying with Knox's request for a loan. His rents in Ireland are paid very ill, or not at all; it is three years since he received anything out of his offices in the West Indies, which were much in arrears when the French war began; his little pension from Government " is in the same state "; he has been obliged to give his brother Bob a thousand pounds to save him from ruin, has paid 960*l.* towards Major Ellis's commission, and Lord Bellamont and Mr. Montgomery owe him 8,000*l.* Conequently, although Knox's terms and security are perfectly satisfactory, he has not the money at command. 5½ *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Sept. 18. Stoneland Lodge.—I sincerely pity poor Cunningham, and hope the Assembly will never obtain the repeal of the 4½ per cent. duty which Lord North last year seemed to intend if possible. I hope the Treasury will help the poor Governor, and a rigorous exaction of the duty complained of may afford a revenue for him.

"I am sorry the New Ireland business is in so bad a train. Lord Stormont's expedient I should have no objection to adopt, if we were not to apply to Parliament for money, but as the House of Commons will certainly start the difficulty, we shall make but a poor figure in not having the support of the law servants of the Crown. Can we not take possession of it as a conquered country, and establish a government in it . . and leave the discussion of the rights of the charter to the final settlement of the Colonies or till we can legally annul it ? 3½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1780, Sept. 28. Pall Mall.—Stating that as the letters from America plainly show the disagreement between the Admiral and the General [Arbuthnot and Clinton], it is thought better not to print extracts, but merely to relate the facts which they contain. 1½ *pp.*

SIR GREY COOPER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Sept. 29. Worlingham Cottage.—"I fear the golden dreams we had after the taking of Charlestown are all over. There was a period of the French history under their Kings whom they called *Les Faineans*. The whole war in America has been conducted by such generals. What is all this mighty fleet riding for at Torbay. I trust Darby has orders to relieve Gibraltar and to support the Queen of Portugal. If not, Parliament will meet in thunder, lightning, and in rain. What does this emeûte in Chili amount to ? Our conduct with respect to our Colonies was perhaps founded in error, but that of the Spanish councils is absolute dementation. Swift says, how shou'd a man take advice when he will not take warning." Would that we could give General Lee his pardon, send him to head the Indians and steal a march through Paraguay, and so redeem the crime of one rebellion by the merit of another. I think Cumberland ought to be told to acquaint the Spanish ministry that it is contrary to the principles of the King's Government, as well as of the law of nations, to abet or aid rebellious subjects ; that we should never do so but in self-defence and case of absolute necessity ; that peace alone can prevent such necessity, " and that such peace ought to be cemented by the execution of Lord Rochford's admirable plan ; a treaty of mutual guaranty of colonies against all the world." 4 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Oct. 3. Stoneland Lodge.—Stating that if the Ministers have no better place to dine on Thursday, his house is at their

service. Considers Mr. Lawrence's papers a most valuable prize, and hopes there will be no difficulty in committing him for high treason in America, to prevent his being admitted to bail. The Amsterdam project for a treaty of commerce may be of infinite service. Trusts that they have negotiated the affair without the knowledge of the Prince of Orange or the other provinces. 2 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1780, Oct. 8. Stoneland Lodge.—Thanking Mrs. Knox for her goodness "in permitting the girls to wait upon her to the ball," and enclosing "the answer of a ready acceptance on their part." 1½ *pp.*

Viscount Townshend to William Knox.

1780, Oct. 11. Rainham.—"I was just ordering some game to be pack'd up for you, for the late Charles Town success, when your *Gazette* from Lord Cornwallis arrived, and hath filled us all with joy. The very masterly, decided, and persevering conduct of my noble relation has made this family compleatly happy. Would to God it did everyone in this country. We should no longer contend about preservation or loss of territory we can never abandon without being perfectly insignificant.

"Accept, dear Sir, my usual small tribute whenever favorable events occur, and allow them to contribute to a chearful glass to our worthy friend in Carolina. Lady Townshend joins me in sincere congratulations and wishes."

P.S.—4 brace of pheasants, 1 brace of hares, by the Fakenham coach, will arrive at the Green Dragon, Bishop Gate Street. 1½ *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1780, Oct. 28.—General Clarke is still at Cork. Lord Amherst says it is to be left to him whether he waits there till spring, comes to London, or takes passage to New York, by which last plan however, he would probably not reach Quebec much the sooner. 1 *p.* *Seal of arms.*

The Same to the Same.

1780, Dec. 17. Pall Mall.—I wish you could call here before dinner, as the Dutch business presses. There will be another Cabinet to-morrow if the Chancellor can attend. "The mediation from Russia is not absolutely offered, but held out in a manner that the not accepting of it would be an affront." 1 *p.*

James Robertson to William Knox.

1780, Dec. 19. New York.—Has consulted Chief Justice Smith and Superintendent Elliot about the propriety and practicability of collecting the usual duty, formerly payable at the Custom House, on goods imported, meaning, when he gets their report, to lay a clear statement before Sir H. Clinton and learn his pleasure. The only alteration he has made about letters of mark is to drop a great

part of the fees, which were complained of as too high. Mr. Tryon paid a clerk out of this fund, but that is not now possible. If the campaign has ended with less eclat than was hoped, he trusts Lord Amherst will not blame him, as he "proposed and took every measure to make it active, of importance here and popular at home." 1½ *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Dec. 29. Pall Mall.—I suppose you will publish in the *Gazette* on Saturday our accounts from Barbadoes. Cuninghame wishes the address of the Council to the King to be taken notice of; probably he is the more anxious as it ends with a compliment to himself. Dalrymple may perhaps throw some fresh light on Clinton's intentions, but I expect little exertion from that quarter. I feel more disappointed and less sanguine about the success of the war in America than I have ever yet done. I must beg you to correct with attention what I wrote hurriedly last night to enforce the establishing a port in the Chesapeak. "When we are to act with such a man as Clinton we must be cautious not to give him an opportunity of doing a rash action under the sanction of what he may call a positive order. We can only state our wishes and our expectations in the strongest light for carrying so favourite an object into execution when the other services he is engaged in will render it practicable." 2½ *pp.*

Enclosing :—

Rough draft of letter to GENERAL CLINTON.

I cannot sufficiently lament the loss of Col. Ferguson and the detachment under his command, especially as it obliges Lord Cornwallis to retreat and to recall General Leslie from the Chesapeak. It is very unfortunate that Portsmouth should be abandoned after being possessed a second time, as a port established there would be of the utmost consequence, "by annoying the trade of the enemy, securing a safe port for our ships, and by giving the friends of Government an opportunity of effectually exerting themselves for the restoring his Majesty's authority. . . . I am much concerned that you could not spare any detachment from New York for so important an object, as Mr. Washington's army must be diminished considerably by the discharge of the three months' men in October, and of those of six months whose time of service expires in January. . . . Whenever the service will permit it, his Majesty trusts that you will take the earliest opportunity of establishing a permanent port in the Chesapeak, that the people may see that effectual protection will be held out to them"; but it is not to be wondered at if they are backward in declaring themselves when they see ports abandoned, and loyalists left to the resentment of the enemy. 3 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Jan. 1. Drayton.—Those who read the correspondence with Clinton must see that we have never altered our opinion as

to a settlement on the Chesapeak. "He has always adopted the idea, has promised to execute the plan, but is never steady when the most favourable circumstances invite him to pursue it. I should think he will feel hurt at seeing his conduct set in its true light, and that, if the jealousy of Lord Cornwallis does not outweigh, he will take the opportunity of quitting his command. . . . What Haldimand says about his force is very fair. I wish we could reinforce him with 3,000 men. . . . I fear Lord Amherst will not be prepared for complying with his demand, but the sooner his lordship receives extracts of his letters upon that subject the better. I believe the old Swisse is not now governed by Cramhé, for he has not taken the least notice of him since they differed in Council about fixing the price of corn. One of the judges, whose name I forget, has his chief confidence. . . ." 4 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1781, Jan. 4. Drayton.—I am much concerned at the dismal accounts from Jamaica, and fear that the *Thunderer* and the other missing ship are lost. Capt. Walsingham's family must feel greatly distressed by the letter of Sir P. Parker, published in the *Gazette*. The dispatch from Haldimand is very satisfactory, but "I doubt whether it might not be better to leave out of the returns the particulars of the houses, mills, barns, &c., that were destroyed. The returns would stand very well without them, and there are only three or four short sentences in the letter which relate to the burning and the plundering. What he says of the Indians will please everybody, as that force might be most usefully employed if any degree of discipline could be established among them, and Major Carleton seems to have succeeded in a point which others have represented as impracticable. . . ." 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1781, April 16. Stoneland Lodge.—I am more in hopes that the Spaniards mean to engage our fleet than I was. While such an event is depending we can only pray for success; but "I will not suppose such a fleet as Darby's can be defeated by the navy of Spain.

"The accounts of Lord Cornwallis' progress are most promising as he drives the enemy before him. . . . I dare say Arnold knows that his detachment can safely join Lord Cornwallis, and his sending it is a fresh proof of his zeal and activity. . . . If Arbuthnot is ignorant of the destination of the Rhode Island fleet, and has not attempted to destroy the ships in the Chesapeak which have taken the *Romulus*, he will have afforded sufficient matter of triumph to those who state him as unequal to his command. . . .

"The extract of Rodney's letter to Mr. Stephens should be communicated to the Council Office before the Committee takes the London and Bristol petitions into consideration. You will see by Lord Lisburne's letter that we shall probably have disagreeable disputes between the navy and army. I do not think that we can

as yet do more than has been done from my office, relative to the distribution of the prizes. I do not like Ramsay's letters, as I fear, if half what he says be true, that the love of plunder has too much engrossed the attention of the army." 4 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, April 17. Stoneland Lodge.—Thinks the news from the East Indies less alarming than he expected, and hopes Sir Eyre Coote will collect such a force at Madras as will set things right again. Cannot conceive "what Rumbold can say for leaving his Government in such a state, for he must have known of the war that was impending." 2 *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, May 10. Spa.—"Whilst I continued in the enemies country, it would have been equally useless and improper to have written to an English Under-Secretary of State; extremely improper for my own security, and certainly useless, as I could neither impart, or receive, any interesting intelligence. As soon, however, as I arrived at this friendly asylum, one of my first thoughts was to make a direct enquiry about you and your's. . . . Placed as I have been for six months past, at the southern extremity of France, I was not in the way of acquiring the knowledge of any important secrets, much less of transmitting them. It was with difficulty, even, that I could know with tolerable accuracy any particular event that happened, or the shadow of any political truth, disreputable to the character, or prejudicial to the interests of a people warmly attached to their Prince and to the honor of their country; and amongst whom faction dares not shew its head a moment. All that I could discover was that our conduct embarrassed and astonished them; and that, altho' the effects of the war were generally and pretty severely felt, yet there was no appearance of discontent, or hardly any open murmuring abroad. The state of the French Finances, published by Mr. Neckar, produced a very great sensation at first, not only in France, but in other parts of Europe, and gave a high idea of the resources of that Kingdom, and of the candour and ability of its Minister. But the sentiments of the publick in these respects are mightily changed since it has been known that he prohibited the publication of a review of his performance, after having appealed to those in office to confirm or refute it. A very enlightened friend of mine, who was in the Bureau of Monsieur de Turgot, has assured me that he could point out above 160 millions of debt, in one shape or other, concealed from the publick.

"If you are not already possessed of M. Neckar's paper, and desire to have it, I can easily procure and convey it to you. I have had frequent occasions of late to hear the British Nation spoken of with respect, and even admiration, for its firmness and magnanimity, as well as its ministers, who, in every country but their own, are regarded as wise, active and able statesmen. Foreigners were particularly

struck with the boldness and good policy of resenting the conduct of the Dutch ; and a gentleman of much consideration and veracity, who passed the last winter at Vienna, told me that before that measure took place, the Emperor often expressed his surprize that we did not attack them, adding, that Mr. Pitt would not have had so long patience ; and that when the Declaration of Hostility appeared, the marks of satisfaction he shew'd and the things he said upon the occasion, were almost beyond the bounds of decency and prudence. . . ." 4 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, June 7. Drayton.—On behalf of a "poor woman"* who wishes to remain in England. "What Lord Dunmore could mean by ordering her to Virginia in the present circumstances of that province," Lord George cannot conceive. 1¼ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1781, June 9. Drayton.—"Governor Martin must naturally despond when he is disappointed in his expectations of immediate assistance from the inhabitants of N. Carolina. Those poor people have suffered sufficiently from the cruelty of the rebels, and those who have been induced to declare in our favour have not been protected, so that I cannot suppose many will expose themselves to be murdered till they see the King's troops able to drive Mr. Greene out of their province, and proceed to punishment and not to proclamations of pardon in consequence of victory." If Martin sees the case desperate, he is right to inform the King's ministers, but I hope he will not proclaim it to the public. If his health is the cause of his resigning, it may lead him to see things in an unfavourable light. Lord Sandwich was very averse from sending any of his fleet to meet the Jamaica trade. I thought he risked much by withstanding the merchants, but I conclude he is alarmed by some fresh intelligence or fears the clamour which would follow a second capture.

I rely little upon Mr. Jenkinson's Virginia intelligence, unless we knew how the person was able to find out the sentiments of so many people ; the prisoners in general being confined on parole within very narrow limits, and quartered where the inhabitants were not friends to our Government. But I am not sorry for Lord Dunmore to delay his departure, as we may be able to enquire further about his influence in the back settlements.

"I hope Rodney will not remain too long at St. Eustatius. His stay there may be fatal, for I suppose Le Grass's squadron will arrive at Martinico before the end of May, and I should be sorry indeed if he trusted an engagement of such consequence to any other admiral. Sir George Rodney and Vaughan certainly judged wrong in not attacking Curasoa at the same time they took Eustatius.

* Probably the Mrs. Thornton mentioned in Lord George's letter of July 22, below.

. . . They gave more credit to the false intelligence about the French fleet than it deserved, for Sir S. Hood, in a letter I saw from him, doubted much of its authenticity." 5½ *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, June 17. Spa.—". . . Our company is not much augmented, since my last, by any persons of consequence, if I except the Prince and Princess Leichtenstein, whom, as you know, are the greatest subjects of his Imperial Majesty; and the most amiable persons in the world. They expect to meet their Master here; are much attached to the English, whom they distinguish on all occasions by marked preferences. I have the honor to be the first favourite with them. . . . With these great people, we have some of high rank in the Republick of Letters, the most remarkable of whom is the expatrioted, ingenious, and most imprudent Abbé Raynall. I have much connection and many discussions with him, in which he frequently is candid enough to avow that an unjustifiable partiality for the Americans has led him into many errors. He lived at Lord Shelburne's house whilst he was in England, and from that factious chief and his satellites imbibed those American doctrines which he has so injuriously employed against us; and those dangerous principles which threaten a general subversion of every system, religious or civil, hitherto respected by mankind. He confesses he fell into bad hands, and attributes to their reasonings the wrong he has done, and the misfortunes that menace him. I am persuaded if he writes, and which he certainly will do very soon, he will endeavour to disabuse mankind in reference to the charges he directed against us.

" You see the fate of M. Necker; the circumstances which produced his disgrace I suppose you are not ignorant of, otherwise I might, in few words, suggest them to you; the principal, indeed, were his designs against the Parliaments and the Intendents of the Provinces, whom he looked upon as in the way to obstruct the operation of his new system of Finance; and his ambition to force himself into the Council."

Your letter gave me great pleasure. You are the most interesting, instructive and encouraging of all my correspondents; and though the events you predict do not always happen, the expectation of them is no less agreeable. 4 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, July 7. Pall Mall.—Lord Stormont will lay Comte Byland's application before the King. Had the Comte applied only for himself there would have been little difficulty, but he desires the same indulgence for so many others that there may be objections raised to sending such a number of officers home upon parole. 1½ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1781, July 13. Pall Mall.—Is not pleased with the dispatches, and wishes to talk them over with Knox before seeing the King or

any of the ministers. Has not been feeling well, and these dispatches have done him no good ; therefore he dares not trust himself at a turtle feast, and hopes there will be time to supply his place with some one more worthy of a good dinner. 1½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1781, July 22. Stoneland Lodge.—You will see by Lord Bathurst's letter that Mrs. Thornton's request has not been complied with. "I wish you would speak to the Treasury about it, for it certainly was not the intention of Lord North to strike from the list any persons who could not be of the least use in Virginia, or who could not have a chance of living upon their property ; at least I did not understand the order I issued to extend to that length." I have written to his lordship as civilly as I could, and hope the poor woman may not be distressed. 2 *pp.*

General Robert Cuningham to William Knox.

1781, Aug. 23. Mount Kennedy.—Is anxious about his brother, who seems to have been intemperate and injudicious at setting out, but, since he began to recollect himself, has done better. Is thankful to hear that none of his actions are censurable, and prays Knox to prompt Lord North on his behalf, as he must be distressed for money. 2 *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1781, Sept. 21. Pall Mall.—"Rodney is arrived at Plymouth in the *Gibraltar*. Sir S. Hood had not sailed for America when he left Eustatius ; he waited for the return of the six ships sent with Drake off Martinico by a false intelligence of Sir Thos. Rich. As soon as they join him, he steers for the Chesapeak, where he will arrive too late, unless De Grasse convoys the trade from the Cape till they are in safety."

The merchants say the Dutch fleet is sailed, but the Admiralty have a letter saying they were still in Texel on the 12th. "Ireland is all zeal and loyalty, and the volunteers are ready to fight and obey the King's Generals. The embarkation is going on at Brest, the destination only guessed at. The letters from New York all complain of the inactivity of our army ; the refugees are now supported and are doing real service." Lord Sandwich is still ill. 3¼ *pp.*

Sir Grey Cooper to William Knox.

1781, Oct. 16. Worlington.—"I received your budget with very great pleasure. . . . It made me sleep better and sigh seldomer, but still I cannot sleep well, and still I ingeminate the sigh of Falkland. It cannot, however, be said that the providence of God fights against us by the operation of second causes. The King may have the line of Claudian quoted for him as appositely as King William or Queen Elizabeth : 'Oh nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat

æther.' . . . The 4th of September did as much for us as any day in the autumn of 1588 did for Elizabeth."

We have a formidable league against us, "but the conduct of those powers who planned the ruin of the State of Venice was great and magnificent . . . in comparison to the paltry ambition and impotent exertions of the Family Compact, and the Dutch faction grafted on the original stock of American rebellion, and yet it has well nigh ruined Great Britain and the Colonies by the mere wear and tear of an indecisive war. . . . Nevertheless, I am inclined to hope we shall get through the plunge though half drowned, and a proper object for the care of the Humane Society. . . . Shall we ever have another victory on that element where we used to command?" 5 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Nov. 1. Drayton.—". . . It is in vain to argue upon the operations or destinations of fleets when it is impossible to know the true situation of our naval force. If Lord Sandwich proposes or fully approves of any plan, we seldom want resources; on the other hand, if he does not heartily adopt what other ministers think right, official difficulties occur, and the state of our fleet is such that no new measure can be pursued. . . . We cannot possibly save Jamaica or the Leeward Islands unless eight ships are immediately dispatched to re-inforce our squadron in those seas, and if we cannot have ten or twelve ships cruising in the bay, we must fairly declare we are unable to continue the war. . . . I will write a few lines to Lord Stormont, tho' my opinion or his will signify little if the Admiralty do not seriously adopt it.

"Many thanks for your congratulations. We have every reason to be pleased, and I trust that this marriage will be productive of all possible happiness to Mr. Herbert and my daughter." 4 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1781, Nov. 4. Drayton.—Your news is indeed very alarming. "Lord Cornwallis's situation is most critical; but I should not fear so much for him if there was a prospect of his being relieved by the fleet; but I confess, after Mr. Greaves' ill-success, I cannot be over sanguine about his forcing his way into the Chesapeak against so superior a force. . . . If our fleet should be repulsed, Lord Cornwallis will then have no resource but attempting, at all events, to retreat into Carolina, in which I cannot conceive he will succeed. . . . I cannot say what ought to be in the *Gazette*. As little as possible should be published. The preparations making for the sailing of the fleet and the sending a re-inforcement by it of troops ought, in my opinion, to be mentioned, as Washington is marching to Virginia." 4 *pp.*

GENERAL JAMES CUNINGHAM to WILLIAM KNOX.

1781, Nov. 17. Barbados.—"You will see by the answer of the Assembly to my speech, that they afforded me, at the close of it, an opportunity of making the proposition to commute the fees for the

full salary, which, they declining, I now send you home my defence to the charges exhibited by the Assembly and Mr. Estwick against me." When you and Lord Geo. Germain have read it, you will send it to the Board of Trade. Our Assembly has at last brought in a bill for distributing the Parliamentary donation, but possibly our Council may amend or reject it. I wish a part of the money could have been applied to the fortifications of the island. The *Fortune*, Capt. Christian, is arrived from New York, having taken three prizes on his way. "He informs me that upon Admiral Digby's joining our fleet they had determined to proceed, on the 15th October, with Sir Henry Clinton and 6,500 on board the ships of war, to attack the French fleet in the Chesapeak and relieve Lord Cornwallis. We expect daily an account of this important event, upon which the safety of these islands so much depends." 3 *pp.*

The Duke of Northumberland to William Knox.

1781, Nov. 23. Northumberland House.—Informing Knox that he has been placed on the New Commission of the Peace for Middlesex. ½ *p.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1782, Jan. 10. Drayton.—If the French fleet should be effectually dispersed, the whole plan of the campaign may be changed. I have no apprehensions for Charlestown; but Georgia will be exposed to inroads if Green's army should be re-inforced from Virginia.

"We go on here with our usual amusements, as if all were peace and quiet. Lord North perhaps is doing the same at Bushey; but if he intends to make any change among us, it is almost time to let us into the secret." 1 *p.*

George III.

1782, Jan. 14.—The covering sheet of a draft, endorsed with the note in Knox's hand: "Lord Sandwich having shown Mr. Knox the minute of Cabinet of the 10th inst., he prepared a letter in consequence and sent it down to Lord George Germain, who has returned it signed, with orders to send it to the Admiralty if your Majesty approves of the draft." *Underneath, the King has written:*— "Approved, 10 aft. 8 a.m., 15th."

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1782, Jan. 27 —"You will see Lord Sandwich wishes to keep clear of ordering an inquiry or a Court Martial upon Admiral Graves. You will be so good as to prepare what materials we have, and send them to the Admiralty, but I shall certainly not signify the King's pleasure upon this subject until the papers have been considered by the Cabinet." 1 *p.*

Enclosing:—

1. *Lord Sandwich to Lord Geo. Germain.*

"Upon considering the subject of our conversation yesterday, and

looking into the papers we have in our possession at this office, it is clear to me that we have not any materials that can serve as a sufficient ground for ordering a Court Martial to enquire into Admiral Grave's conduct. We have his letter containing his own account of the action off the Chesapeak, but I do not think there is anything in its contents that conveys any idea of criminality on his part; for want of success I can never allow to come under that description.

"We have another letter from him after his return from New York, an extract of which I enclose; it is all that he says about the Council of War, of which he does not send us a copy.

"I cannot, therefore, see how we can proceed to order an enquiry without materials and directions from your lordship's office, and I think we should not only have the Council of War sent to us, but Sir Henry Clinton's letters, or any others you may have received from America, complaining or a dilatoriness on the part of the Admiral in the equipment of his fleet; and that at the same time you should signify the King's pleasure that an enquiry should be ordered with as little delay as possible.

"Your lordship will observe that in affairs of magnitude, the King's pleasure has been usually so signified. Mr. Matthews and his officers were ordered to be tried in consequence of his Majesty's pleasure signified to the Admiralty by the Secretary of State; there was the same proceeding with regard to Admiral Byng, and, in the latter case, there was no Parliamentary interposition; that, therefore, is a case exactly in point, and, indeed, I think the other is so likewise, for it appears that the order to this Board came directly from the Crown. . . ." Admiralty, Jan. 27, 1782. 3½ *pp.*

2. *Rear Admiral Graves to Philip Stephens.*

Stating that it had been decided at a council of flag and general officers that, as it seemed impossible to relieve Lord Cornwallis by land, the ships of war should take on board what provisions they could, embark Sir H. Clinton and 6,000 men, if possible, and make an attempt to force their way. Three fire ships were to be added, every exertion was being made, and it was hoped that in ten days all would be ready. Sandy Hook, Sept. 26, 1781. *Extract.* 1 *p.*

[William Knox ?] to Governor Robertson.

1782, Feb. 6.—You have now the power in your own hands of restoring the province to peace, and I earnestly recommend you to call an Assembly at once "to consult upon what terms they will unite with Great Britain; holding out pardons and safe conduct to all who should come duly elected. I would propose only one thing to them to deliberate upon, which is, whether they chuse to continue connected with Great Britain as members of the same Empire, or chuse to renounce all the privileges and advantages of Britons, all protection and benefits, and so become aliens. If they chuse the former, then I would only say to them: 'It is your

interest as well as that of Britain never again to quarrel; consider therefore what will best serve to cement the union, I will consent to whatever has that tendency, and I will propose or desire nothing from you that has it not'; and so leave them to themselves. If any of them resolve to have no connection with Britain: 'You who are of that opinion, go to your homes in peace. I will not consider you as enemies, but you must not expect to be treated as countrymen. Ye are aliens; live upon your lands in peace; none of our laws shall go among you, you can have no trade with us, nor come into our country with any of your commodities. Take care you do us no injury, for if we find you doing mischief, we shall punish you according to our laws.' This is the experiment I would try. Keep the law in your own hands." *Extract, in Knox's handwriting.* 3½ *pp.*

Lord George Germain to William Knox.

1782, Feb. 7, Pall Mall.—" . . . The King thinks what you propose about the pension very reasonable, and approves much of your continuing your assistance to Mr. Ellis. The House of Lords have been attacking me, but without great success. 1 *p.*

Dated, Jan. 7; but endorsed correctly. The attack in the Lords was on Feb. 7.

Viscount Sackville* to William Knox.

1782, March 2. Pall Mall.—These letters were brought by Capt. Skinner, and I find them to be official; I therefore send them to you. This officer says that when he sailed from Charlestown, on Jan. 25, Leslie was encamped about four and a half miles from the town. There were a thousand reports of a French and Spanish army being expected by the rebels. St. John's Island was not in their hands. 1 *p.*

William Knox to Lord Shelburne.

1782, April 23.—" When your lordship was pleased yesterday to inform me that the resolution was taken to suppress the American department entirely, and so obliging as to assure me that attention would be shown to my services and situation, your lordship could not then spare the time to hear me fully upon the subject. I, therefore, now take the liberty to give your lordship a more particular relation of my office, history and present situation." When Lord Hillsborough brought me into office as one of his Under-Secretaries, I had an estate in Georgia of from 1,500*l.* to 2,000*l.* a year, and also a large property in Dominica, purchased at the public sale. Mr. Pownall took all the fees, and there remained for me only the salary of 500*l.* a year, but Lord Hillsborough promised me the first office that fell. The grant of the Ohio Laws obliging his lordship to resign the seals about two years after, and nothing

* Lord Geo. Germain ceased to be Secretary and was raised to the peerage in February, 1782.

having fallen, he got for me the reversion of the secretary's office of New York, and the then Patentee being advanced in years, I purchased his interest for 3,000*l.* in the year 1774, and let it to a deputy for 1,000*l.* per annum.

"But the fatal revolt of New York and Georgia deprived me in the next year of my whole income. My office was abolished and my deputy, with the records, carried up into the county of New York, and my estate in Georgia was sequestered, and the produce applied to the purposes of the Congress." I applied to Lord North but could obtain nothing until I presented a memorial to the King, who was graciously pleased to order that my income as secretary of New York should be made good to me until I was restored to it; and then I obtained a warrant for a pension of 1,200*l.* When Lord Sackville was about to retire, he professed himself much obliged to me for the assistance I had given him, and (it being probable that both New York and Georgia would be lost to the King and Dominica retained by the French) he obtained for me a promise from the King that my pension should be distributed between my wife and three daughters, as a provision in case of my death. Lord North, however, objected to this distribution, and ordered the sum to be divided between myself and my wife. I offered to resign my half if appointed to either of the Boards of Customs or Excise, but, Sir Stanier Porten having a prior promise, that arrangement could not take place. Your lordship will see by this, that no part of the Royal bounty was intended as a compensation for my going out of office, but I am too sensible of the King's great goodness to me in my misfortunes to think of requesting any further allowance on account of the suppression of the office, and shall be content "with the continuance of my salary until I am otherways provided for which, as there is no Under-Secretary to succeed me, will be no burthen upon the public. . . . I must entreat your lordship to inform his Majesty of my grateful sentiments, and how far I have manifested them by my conduct since your lordship came into office; and, as it will be the great comfort of my life that my conduct is known to have been approved by his Majesty, I would beg your lordship to lay my humble request at his Majesty's feet, that he will be graciously pleased to honor my dismission by a mark of his royal favour." *Draft.* 10¼ *pp.*

Sir Archibald Campbell to William Knox.

1782, May 3. Spanish Town.—"You will have learnt ere now the fortunate turn of affairs in this quarter of the globe, by Rodney's defeat of the Count de Grasse to windward. The most of the enemy's shattered fleet have got into Cape Francoise, and by one of my spyes, who left Cuba the 19th of the last month, Solano's fleet had also reached the same port; by which means the Spaniards have twelve sail of the Line and twelve thousand regulars at the rendevouze, where I hope Sir Geo. B. Rodney will detain them until they have expended their provisions and health in the service.

"Should Don Galvez take this occasion to push for Augustine, it

is my opinion that Sir George will knock up Solano's fleet, as well as that of the Count de Grasse. I have a thousand pick'd men to co-operate with him in that event.

"I am much obliged to his Majesty's Ministers of State for their favourable opinion of my exertions. Indeed, Sir, they have far exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The Militia were few in numbers, but have made such a rapid progress in discipline that astonished the most dejected subjects amongst us.

"Our Artillery from twelve pieces only fit for service, I increased in the course of six weeks to sixty-four pieces in excellent order for service; and had the pleasure to make the Count de Grasse and his officers gape when they entered the squares in which they were arranged.

"As Sir George must quit those seas about the hurricane months, I shall always take it for granted, if the enemy do not disperse by that time, they will certainly visit us whenever the bad weather is over; and I mean to take my precautions accordingly. But I would hope that this blow to the French fleet will put an end to their views upon Jamaica for this war. However, as it would be bad policy to trust to events so precarious, let me advise the sending out of regulars to compleat us to three thousand, and I will venture to insure this valuable Island to his Majesty at the risk of my head." 2 *pp.*

Viscount Sackville to William Knox.

1782, July 9. Stoneland Lodge.—"If Lord Shelburne really intends to act the part of a faithfull and honest servant of the Crown and the country, I have no doubt of his being chearfully and earnestly supported by Lord North, and all those who acted with him upon principle. What still puzzles me is to account for the conduct of Mr. Fox; as he means granting independance to America, and to have the lead and direction in Government, why does he resign without waiting for some measure being proposed which might justify his leaving the King's service, and at the same time secure his popularity, for he cannot imagine to create a clamour against the King because he will not permit the shatter'd remains of the Rockingham party to nominate the first Lord of the Treasury. If Lord Shelburne would publickly avow and repeat what he has frequently declared to be his sentiments about maintaining the sovereignty of this country over America, I do flatter myself that he would find his ground popular, and meet with a support from the most respectable characters in Parliament, as he might offer terms to the Colonies, which, if they refused, no sensible man could justify their conduct. I should be glad, indeed, if you were employed in carrying into execution any plan similar to that we have so often convers'd upon; I am persuaded it would tend to the happiness of both countries, particularly to that of America. If Mr. Pitt should accept of office and take the lead in the House of Commons, Mr. Fox will have little chance of being again a minister; and you will see him act as a desperate opposer of the new Administration.

I trust Lord Keppel will be too wise to follow such a leader; his resignation, I should think, would be only acceptable to Lord Howe. The Duke of Portland, I conclude, will not remain in Ireland after the Session there is closed, and I hope great care will be taken in appointing a proper successor to him. That country must not be neglected, as its new constitution has not yet taken root. I wish it was in my power to contribute in any shape to the forwarding or supporting such measures as the King would approve; my best wishes will ever attend him, and I shall sincerely rejoice when I see him releas'd from those fetters which he has lately been obliged to wear." 3½ *pp.*

Viscount Sackville to William Knox.

1782, July 13. Stoneland Lodge.—Congratulations on the birth of a son.

"If I can believe newspapers, Mr. Fox and Lord Shelburne must settle their disputes in Hyde Park, for I never heard such language given by one gentleman to another, as Mr. Fox used in the last minutes of this Session.

"Lord Shelburne's plan for America is mere speculation, for I am persuaded the Congress will not make Independance the basis of a Treaty, and if my accounts from New Yorke are true, Washington is in motion with his army, with a view to attack Sir Guy Carleton. Then we shall see what construction Sir Guy puts upon the resolution of the House of Commons; I am apt to think he is too good an officer to remain within his lines when the rebells divide their force for the different attacks they may intend.

"If Lord Temple prefers the Blue Ribbon to the Lieutenancy of Ireland he is, in my opinion, a wise man. Surely General Burgoyne will return that he may support his friend Mr. Fox; and, if he does, the command will probably be offered to Lord Cornwallis. What a curious explanation of his creed Lord Shelburne made in the House of Lords; it is almost as intelligible as the King's speech. But, however, I am glad the Session is at an end, and if the D. of Richmond and Conway resign in the course of this summer, I shall hope Providence has not deem'd (*sic*) this country to total destruction.

"Lord Howe's fleet, I hear, is sail'd many ships short in number from what I expected. Had he had thirty under his command, I should have wished him to have met the enemy; as it is, I conclude, it will be a campaign of manœuvre. His lordship will have great advantage by having to do with a combined fleet, which can not move or act together unless his lordship will be as complaisant to them as Admiral Parker was to the Dutch. I see no Paymaster appointed in the place of Mr. Burke, the Advocate [Dundas] I suppose is settling his terms, for a man ought to be pay'd before he accepts of 4,000*l.* a year. . . ."

P.S.—"I have now seen Lord Walsingham; he tells me Barré is Paymaster; the Advocate if he pleases Treasurer of the Navy, and that Lord Temple certainly goes to Ireland." 3½ *pp.*

LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, July 14. Hagley Park.—Some of the appointments made since Mr. Fox's resignation are, perhaps, best accounted for from the difficulties Lord Shelbourne must have found in making his arrangements. His taking the lead did not surprise me, "and I am glad to see the powers of government placed in his lordship's hands rather than in those of any other man who was in opposition to Lord North, for I have allways had a very high opinion of Lord Shelburne's talents, and had for many years a very friendly connexion with his lordship, which grew weaker as our politicial sentiments were widely different, and in Parliament I attached myself to Lord North." Lady Westcote, my daughter, and Mrs. Fitzmaurice join me in congratulations on the birth of your stout boy. 2 *pp.*

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, July 29. Stoneland Lodge.—"The Advocate has done fairly by Lord North and wisely for himself. Lord Shelburne, I dare say, will have no objection to have it known that Lord North approves of the Advocate's taking part in the present arrangement.

"Lord Howe is certainly strong enough to attack the combined fleet, for which reason I conclude they will avoid an action. . . . Lord Temple's appointment of his youngest brother [W. Wyndham Grenville] to be secretary in Ireland may be a wise measure; he is a young man of great parts; it is pity he has not had a little experience in business before he enters upon an office of such importance." 1¼ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, Aug. 1. Stoneland Lodge.—Will gladly stand godfather to Knox's son.

"Lord Shelburne may negotiate with Franklin as long as he pleases, but he will not succeed till France is satisfied; for I am persuaded both Washington and the Congress are in the pay of France. . . . I do not see the policy of evacuating Savannah and Charlestown. The Congress will then have but one army to maintain, and when their force is united, New York will not resist it." 2½ *pp.*

LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Sept. 7. Hagley Park.—". . . Poor Sir James Wright I hear, is come home, and I hope he has done travelling for the rest of his life, and will have a competent allowance from Government to make him live comfortably. If you have sent your negros to New York, I presume it will only be in their way to one of the few West India islands left to us, where you may dispose of them to advantage.

"When I left London in June to come hither, I flattered myself that peace would be concluded before the winter set in, because I believed the ministry of that day were resolved to make

it at almost any price, but now I am afraid no conjecture can be formed when we shall have one. . . .

"It seems to be the universal opinion of all I converse with that the line of battle, as now formed, cannot stand their ground; that some changes will be made, and some allies taken in." My eldest son and my sister Fitzmaurice are here with me. I join my wife at Cheltenham next week. 3 *pp.*

Sir Archibald Campbell to William Knox.

1782, Sept. 15. Spanish Town.—I thank you for your kind attention to my interests, especially in relation to the salary of this Government. Without his Majesty's favourable decision, my private fortune must have been sacrificed in the service, "for, as Governor Dalling had unfortunately lost the confidence of the people, it became necessary in me, by acts of address and liberality, to regain for Government what his inattentions and abstractedness had lost; the good effects of which were conspicuous during the last martial law by the unanimity and cheerful spirit which diffused itself thro' the community at large."

As to the fate of Georgia, ignorant as I am of the causes which led us to withdraw our handful of troops, I cannot judge of its necessity, but its effects must be injurious "to a degree beyond what the speculative politicians have calculated. If it is true that the evacuation of St. Augustine and Charlestown is to follow that of the Savannah, our curtain over America will drop," and we must expect serious losses in our homeward bound fleets from Jamaica during the continuance of the war. Hearing that some of your and Sir James Wright's negroes had arrived in this island. I have done all in my power "towards employing them in a way useful to their owners and agreeable to themselves." Don Galvez and his army are still at Hispaniola, the combined forces being about 15,000 men. So long as they remain there I shall think Jamaica exposed to an attack. 3 *pp.*

Lord Hillsborough to William Knox.

1782, Oct. 9. Hillsborough.—When I look at the date of your letter, I am covered with shame, "and the worst of it is that I have no excuse to offer in my favour but that which is really none; that much company and dissipation are productive of idleness, forgetfullness and want of attention. I flatter myself, however, that long friendship and connexion will secure me your belief that my esteem and regard for you are as warm and sincere as ever."

I thank you for securing me so good a substitute at the christening as Lord Welles, and hope you were so good as to make the proper presents to the nurses on my behalf.

"I am truly concerned that your private fortune is too likely to suffer very much by the disgracefull and afflicting end of the American War; but I trust our Governors will not allow private possessions to be taken away without compensation. . . . I know as little upon Irish affairs as I do upon English; in general I

hear the Lord Lieutenant well spoken of, and I trust he will restore a little vigour to Government." 2 *pp.*

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1782, Oct. 31. Drayton.—Prays God that the next news may be of a battle and a victory. No man can have a fairer opportunity of gaining honour than Lord Howe now has, and if the enemy's loss by the storm is what it is said to be, the inequality of numbers is not alarming. 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, Nov. 11. Drayton.—"These are anxious times indeed. I see it is impossible the present ministers can stand the Session of Parliament; but I agree with you that no changes will be made till after the meeting, as the Earl of Shelburne will tread cautiously and not enter into engagements till he sees he can derive effectual support from them. If Lord North should be prevailed upon to risk himself again in office, I hope it will be in support of some important national measure. . . . No good can happen to this country whilst the Duke of Richmond and General Conway make a part of the Cabinet. When they are swept out I shall not despair of better measures being adopted, but it is not possible that Lord Shelburne can act with men who professedly distrust him. I only hope that some one man will have the decided lead, as unanimity in Council is now more than ever necessary.

"The different reports I hear about the negotiations for peace confound and distract me. Something must be settled before the meeting of Parliament. If peace is now to be obtained, it must be too humiliating to meet with the general approbation, and if the giving up Gibraltar should be one of the articles, I am certain Mr. Fox will make his stand in opposing that measure, as I believe he kept clear of that subject, tho' he shew'd the most yielding disposition upon every other."

I hear General Gray is to succeed Carleton. I fear little attention will be shown to the Loyalists' interests. I hope you have accepted Lord North's invitation to Bushy, that he may at least have one man about him that will give him honest and true information.

"If Mr. Dundas negotiates, I shall not flattter myself that measures will be the chief object; if his taking the seals himself will promote harmony and good humour in Council, I wish him success." 1½ *pp.*

LORD HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, Jan. 16. Hillsborough.—Asking him to put into the hands of the gentlemen appointed for the business of American Loyalists, a petition from Mr. Haddon Smith, rector of Savannah in Georgia, who was driven thence by the rebels, and has lost not only his living of 300*l.* a year, but everything else that he was possessed of. 1¼ *pp.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1783, Jan. 22. Marseilles.—Condoling with him on the loss of his brother. Hopes his health has not been affected "by the late astonishing ministerial and political changes, nor by the atrocious proceedings which have brought them about." Hears a variety of incredible rumours with regard to the "expected and singular blessing of peace."*

Postscript.—Desires to know how the vindictive act of the Jesuit Earl [Shelburne] will affect the patentees of employments abroad. 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1783, March 10. Marseilles.—Concerning their losses. Had made up his mind to meet the worst with firmness and resignation, being confident of saving as much out of the wreck as will secure him from indigence. Is extremely glad to hear that this is Knox's case also, but greatly regrets that, at his age and with his talents, he is retiring from public affairs. Believes Lord Shelburne had an eye to him [Ellis] in his West Indian reform, in which he has failed, but he may have succeeded better in his list of pensions. Thanks God, however, that he is as much above the reach of a minister as he ought to be below his vengeance. Hopes the King's protection will save Knox from the enemies whom (in spite of his inoffensive and beneficent behaviour in office) he made by his uprightness. Rejoices in the peace, but is surprised and indignant by some parts of the American treaty, "which is so notoriously marked by ignorance and negligence, as well as by injustice and ingratitude." 4 *pp.*

Col. George Augustus North to William Knox.

[1783, May], Tuesday. Whitehall.—Requesting him, on Lord North's behalf, to prepare the draft of an Act "for regulating the commerce between our remaining British Colonies, our West India Islands, and the United States, as well as any other acts it may be necessary to pass this Session" with regard to the intercourse between England and America. 1½ *pp. Dated by Knox, as above.*

Underwritten:—

Memo. by Knox, that Parliament having empowered the King in Council to make regulations, there was no need for an Act, and he therefore prepared Orders in Council instead.

John Scott to William Knox.

1783, May 17. Harcourt Street, Dublin.—Hearing that Knox has resolved to return to the Secretary's office, he hastens to express his sincere pleasure. Cordially loves and respects Lord North, knows of what value Knox will be to him, and wishes them "a long tenure of each other." Offers good wishes on Knox's second marriage. 1 *p.*

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* The preliminaries had been signed in Paris two days before.

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, June 21. Stoneland Lodge.—"I little expected that there could have been any chance of a change in administration till after the signing of the Treaty of peace. I am glad, however, that everything remains quiet, particularly as it is owing to the proper behaviour of the Prince of Wales. I conclude the King will incline to do what is right, but I never saw any good consequence arising from any branch of the Royal Family being made independant of the Crown. What a dressing Mr. Pitt gave Lord North about whipcord, &c.! . . .

"Lord Temple's visit to the Queen's House must have created some alarm and much speculation, and I am greatly mistaken, if the ministers do not behave with a degree of decency and respect, that their reign will be of short duration." 2½ *pp.*

LORD SHEFFIELD to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, July 3. Sheffield Place.—Is sincerely pleased that the order in Council has passed exactly as Knox drew it. The country had nearly suffered the greatest mischief, but its carrying trade, and consequently the foundation of its navy, is now safe. The pamphlet about which Knox kindly asks will be out next week. The subject proved so prolific that the work was doubled. An appendix has been added, containing "some curious accounts of imports, exports, &c." Urges Knox to visit him when he is at Stoneland. 3 *pp.*

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, July 4. Stoneland Lodge.—"I am happy in hearing that your plan is adopted, and that the trade between the Islands and the States is put upon the best footing for this country that the present circumstances would admit. . . . I did not expect that the Cabinet would have proceeded with so much firmness and vigor in preferring the interest of Great Britain to that of America, supported by the West India planters." I am persuaded they would not have known how to proceed had you not lent them your assistance. What you propose for Canada strikes me as right.

"Lord Shelburne plainly intended it should be given up, or he could not have permitted Mr. Oswald to have settled such a boundary. The grants to the Loyalists in Nova Scotia and St. John's are really beyond my expectations. . . . Lord Walsingham sent me some account of the debate upon Mr. Pitt's bill, and I perceive he has at last ventured to vote in opposition. I am glad he takes any decided part; it was too unbecoming in him to be suing to every minister, without attachment to any individual or to any settled system. I think he cannot do wrong if he is admitted into Lord Thurlow's train, for Lord Temple and his lordship will probably form the next administration. Lord Loughborough's conduct appears very able, and if this ministry stands it will be owing to his support in the House of Lords." 3 *pp.*

VISCOUNT SACKVILLE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, Aug. 12. Pall Mall.—There are so few people in town that he hears no news, and cannot find out what stops the signing of the Treaty of peace, "tho' they give out there are no alarming objections to it." 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, Aug. 16. Drayton.—I am happy that your reception at St. James' proves that justice has been done to your endeavours, and hope you will be called upon, in a manner you cannot refuse, to continue your assistance, although, while I urge you to the undertaking, I doubt if I should have either temper or perseverance to execute it myself.

"The Americans begin as I expected they would, and I am persuaded Washington, by the part he is taking, will be called forth again to settle something like a government among these wild and absurd leaders of the different States. He may, perhaps, know them too well to trust himself again amongst them. I suppose the definitive treaty will not be delayed much longer. . . . It is ridiculous to keep all the powers in Europe in suspense till thirteen provinces can agree upon what form of government they will adopt." 3 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1783, Sept. 20. Drayton.—My son George was so ill here that I sent him up to town. I have to-day a very alarming letter from Sir J. Elliot about him, but am thankful he is in such good hands.

"It is some merit in Lord North in adopting part of the good advice you gave him. I wish the islands may adopt a plan which appears to me so unexceptionable, but I fear there is little attachment to this country or to this Government to be found among them, and if America once flourishes as an independent state, our islands will seek the first opportunity of belonging to them." 2 *pp.*

JOHN SCOTT to WILLIAM KNOX.

1783, Oct. 29. Harcourt Street.—Suggesting that he should try to obtain the office formerly held by Wilmot, and, since, given to Jenkinson and Weston. Allan, the Commissioner, looked towards it in Lord North's administration, but is probably now too rich, too old, and too fond of ease to care for it. 1 *p.*

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD NORTH.

1783, Nov. 8.—Stating that at the time of the suppression of his office, in 1782, his circumstances had not permitted his soliciting the honour of a baronetage (sometimes conferred on retiring Under-Secretaries after a less term of service than his own), but that he had requested Lord Shelburne to mention him to the King as a candidate for that honour at some future time. Has had the good fortune to save his negroes, and Parliament holds out good hopes

of compensation for his property, in consequence of which he has purchased an estate of 1,000*l.* per annum, and believes himself to be in a position to support the dignity. Hearing that several baronets are speedily to be created, he prays that the name of William Knox of Lanstinan in the county of Pembroke, may be inserted in the list carried to the King. *Copy.* 4 *pp.*

LORD AMHERST to WILLIAM KNOX.

1784, Nov. 5. Whitehall.—Thanking Knox for his kind thought of him in his correspondence with Mr. Samuel Bayard concerning the Archbishop of York's lands; mentioning the fresh military appointments, and stating that the Dutch Minister is this day arrived; that the Emperor has ordered his troops to march from Upper Germany, and is coming in person to Brussels; and that the Dutch are making great preparations for war, but may probably "stop the march of the Imperialists. and not by force." 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to THE KING.

1785, July 6.—Reminds his Majesty of his efforts on behalf of Irish affairs, which, however, he fears have created a prejudice against him; "for he has the misfortune to find his name as an American sufferer placed in the class of neutrals, or such as rendered no service to your Majesty during the war; and thus is he deprived of any share in the late grant of compensation on account of his confiscated estate in Georgia, which yielded him in England full 2,000*l.* a year. . . . He most earnestly and humbly implores your Majesty to rescue him from the most ignominious stigma that is now fixed upon him, by deeming him neutral in the cause of your Majesty at a time when he was exerting his utmost endeavours to promote it." Prays to be removed into the class of those allowed to have rendered service to his Majesty, although he does not desire any of this year's grant, seeing that the distress of others is greater than his own. *Copy.* 2½ *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, June 25–July 9.—Copies of certificates from Lords Sackville, Dartmouth and Hillsborough, testifying to William Knox's satisfactory conduct as Under-Secretary of State. 1 *p.*

LORD HILLSBOROUGH to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, July 9. Hillsborough.—"I am much concerned you meet with any harsh treatment from Administration, and I am certain it is very underservedly. I send you with all my heart and from my heart the certificate you desire." ½ *p.*

JOHN FISHER to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, Sept. 1. Savile Row.—"You will have felt (*sic*), from what you have seen in the public papers, the irreparable loss we who

loved *him* have sustained. . . . The chasm, my dear friend, his death has left, alas, who shall fill? You will be glad, tho' not surprised, to hear that he was greater and more sublime in his death if possible than in his life. We who knew his heart knew its firmness and its principle. The prejudiced world seem now disposed to do him justice, and I believe no man, at least in my time, has been more universally lamented upon public ground. As to his friends and connections in private life, Heaven knows they pay in abundance the genuine tears of gratitude and affection. He was otherwise happy in his death, for he suffered little and retained his clear senses to the last. He was convinced of his dissolution from the moment of his relapse, and had his children and servants about him, talking and settling his affairs and wishes with them all in a state of coolness and composure that was the admiration of all about him. . . . Adieu, dear Knox! Let us mingle our tears for the greatest of men and the best of friends, for our loss is irreparable." 3 *pp.*

Endorsed:—"Upon Lord Sackville's death."

LORD WESTCOTE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, Oct. 14. Hagley.—Concerning the death of his daughter* and her infant boy, at Stourhead. Addresses his letter to Slebech [co. Pembroke], where he hopes Knox is more and more pleased with his purchase. Trusts also that he is included in the intended distribution of the 150,000*l.* granted for the American loyalists. 1½ *pp.*

WILLIAM EDEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1785, Dec. 27. Parliament Street.—"Tho' you are to certain intents and purposes a county gentleman, as you describe yourself, I utterly deny that a man of your talents and information has a right in this country to consider himself as withdrawn from the public interests," and, while thanking you cordially for your kind and friendly expressions respecting the situation which I have recently accepted, "I solicit you to state in confidence and *currente calamo*, what you would propose if you sat as arbitrator between France and England in a new settlement of commercial arrangements, upon the principle of a fair interchange of reciprocal facilities and advantages in trade and manufactures. In doing this, you will, of course, keep a filial eye upon Ireland, and the attentions of a statesman to Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Russia; but let me entreat you to turn the subject in your mind, and speak and spare not. . . . I am anxious neither to raise mischievous alarms, nor to create unreasonable speculations, but I am also anxious to gain all usefull information, and in that view I now leave you." 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to WILLIAM EDEN.

1786, Jan. 7. Slebech.—You honour my communications too much by calling them obligations. I have always been happy to

* Hester, wife of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, F.R.S.

promote the public advantage by putting ideas or information into hands capable of using them. "I never had a political attachment to any minister but to George Grenville, nor do I feel obligations to any of them, for it is to the King's goodness alone that I am indebted for the comforts I enjoy." It is not probable that I shall ever take office again, for though not too far advanced in years, I have bodily infirmities which prevent intense application, my anxiety, mortifications, and misfortunes, in consequence of the war, having so strongly affected my nervous system that my hearing and eyesight are much impaired, and I can seldom sleep without an opiate. This being so, "the field of discussion you have opened to me is much too large for me to travel over," and I can only offer you my sentiments upon the general view of it. [The rest of the letter is a treatise upon international trade, in answer to Mr. Eden's letter of Dec 27.] *Copy.* 15 *pp.* [*The letter actually sent to Eden is at the British Museum. Add. MS.* 34,420, *f.* 351.]

William Knox to The King.

1786, Feb. 26. London.—Laying before his Majesty a paper "which an application from Mr. Eden gave him the occasion of writing," and praying him to believe that his motive for complying with the request was not attachment to Mr. Eden, but pure duty and gratitude to his Majesty. The paper was written before the opening of Parliament, consequently none of its ideas can possibly have been taken from the speeches of the first day of the session, though the similarity of some of the sentiments makes it probable that Mr. Eden had communicated the letter to some of his friends. 2¼ *pp.*

Lord Rodney to William Knox.

1786, March 11. Kensington Gore.—Praying Mr. Knox to call upon him, as he is confined to the house by a cold, and wishes to converse on business of very great importance. ½ *p.*

The Same to the Same.

1786, July 1. Kensington Gore.—Stating that as "the affair of Statia" [St. Eustatius] will be agitated in the House of Lords next Wednesday, he will have to move on Monday that Mr. Knox may be ordered to attend, to prove the delivery of papers into the office during Lord Sackville's administration, and to show when and by whose order they were afterwards delivered out. 1 *p.*

Order of the House of Lords.

1786, July 3.—Order that Mr. Knox shall attend on Wednesday next. Signed, Ashley Cowper, *Cler. Parl.* 1 *p.*

Lord Westcote to William Knox.

1786, Oct. 15. Hagley Park, near Birmingham.—"How does the High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire do? I will not, dear Knox,

let the year pass without making some enquiries concerning that worthy gentleman, and expressing my regret that my early departure from London disabled me from learning what progress was made in the furtherance of his just claims." I hear that Parliament will meet before Christmas. "The convention with Spain and the commercial arrangements with France and Portugal will afford matter enough for those who delight to make long speeches, but all I will say upon them here is, that if we get good wine cheaper than we used to do, I shall be glad to bury in a bumper of it all thoughts of politics with old friends." 1 *p.*

Lord Westcote to William Knox.

1787, Jan. 10. Hagley Park.—What you told me last year gave me but little reason to think the Treasury would be favourable to your claims, nor do I suppose that an application to Parliament would prove successful, but an exchange of your pension for an office may very probably be effected, and I heartily wish it may. You do wisely to try to dispose of your mansion house and part of the estate; and though I regret that such a change in your affairs should bring you and your family to London, it will be a pleasure to have you there. I am sorry that you are likely to be again interrogated by the Lords. "It seems to be an ugly business to the two lords principally concerned, and how they will extricate themselves will be matter worthy of observation. It was very lucky for you that you were High Sheriff last year, as the address you drew and presented did you so much honour." 2 *pp.*

Mr. Knox's Case.

1787, May 5.—Was Under-Secretary of State in the American Department from 1770 to the suppression of the office in 1782, and not only discharged his duty satisfactorily (as appears by the annexed certificates), but maintained the rights of Great Britain by several publications, for which he was hung in effigy at Boston. As soon as Independence was declared, the State of Georgia passed an Act for the sole purpose of confiscating his estate and attainting his person, setting forth as their reason "that he had always shown himself inimical to the liberties of America, and was then, as Under-Secretary of State, counselling and advising the King of Great Britain in his arbitrary and tyrannical designs."

After Georgia was recovered, in 1779, by General Campbell, and the loyal inhabitants required to return, Mr. Knox re-established his plantations at considerable expense, and, by the beginning of 1783, his attorneys promised him that the produce of the year would pay him 2,000*l.*; but before the crops were ripe, orders came to evacuate the province, and his plantations were abandoned. He gave in his claim for compensation, as one who had rendered services both officially and individually, and the more especially as his property had been given up by order of government, notwithstanding the solemn assurances given in the royal proclamation in 1779. He is most truly thankful for the pension given him by his Majesty

in consideration of the loss of his office of Secretary of New York; but, notwithstanding the express terms of this grant, it was charged to him in 1782 as compensation for his office of Under-Secretary, and, although every clerk in that office had their full salaries allowed them, he was dismissed after twelve years' faithful service without any compensation at all. Moreover, although the Commissioners reported in his favour as to his claims for losses, he has been laid aside by the Treasury as a neutral person, and has received nothing whatever. Prays for a place in the list of such Loyalists as have rendered service in opposing the Rebellion, and that he may be allowed "the like proportion of the sum reported by the Commissioners to be due o him, as others of that class have received." 7 *pp.*

Endorsed :—"Marquis of Stafford and Lord Chancellor."

MEMORIAL from WILLIAM KNOX to the KING.

[1787, May ?]—Has written the pamphlet which he humbly presents to his Majesty, to prepare the public for the propositions he intends to make in the House of Commons if he obtains a seat there, "with the view to restore the royal influence, and to oppose that democratic system which threatens the depression of the Monarchy." He has already felt the effects of the ministerial enmity excited by his avowed attachment to his Majesty alone, and expects further marks of ill-will; but trusts that what he has done to promote his Majesty's service since his removal from office has given his Majesty as much satisfaction as he had the happiness to experience when Under-Secretary of State. The pension granted to him (and afterwards divided between Mrs. Knox and himself) has been perverted into a means of oppressing him, for it has not only been made the reason of refusing him any compensation for his office, but is also set up against his claim "as an American sufferer for compensation for his patent offices," as will be seen by the printed case herewith humbly submitted. And, what is still more extraordinary, his offer to resign the whole of his Majesty's bounty to him "on condition of being allowed the same justice as every American waggoner, or even deserter from the rebel cause, has experienced, has been refused, because his pension disqualifies him from sitting in the House of Commons;" and ministers do not choose to see him there, well knowing his attachment to his Majesty. Nevertheless, he is resolved to resign his pension if he can procure himself to be elected. "He has seen three Under-Secretaries raised to the Peerage, and two more of his colleagues appointed Commissioners of the Customs and retaining all their patent offices and pensions, and the Secretary of the Board of Trade, who was suppressed along with him, allowed his full salary," while he, who served much longer than any of them, is denied common justice for no reason but because he has dared to avow himself attached to his Majesty and not to his ministers. *Draft.* 3 *pp.*

WILLIAM EDEN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1787, June 7. Seve, near Paris.—I return you many thanks for your letter and the copies of "Helps to a right decision." I had

already (not knowing it to be yours) lent it to some friends here who like to read our best publications.

" I was very sanguine as to the success of this great measure, and if I had not been so, I should not have had the courage to accept the negociation; but tho' I consider'd it, with you, as possibly fraught with infinite blessings, both to the two great nations immediately concern'd in it and to mankind in general, I confess to you that I never expected it to pass thro' the British and Irish Parliaments without many adverse petitions. That there was not one petition against it, notwithstanding the impression of old prejudices and the pains taken to revive them, is a curious proof of the good sense and general information of the times in which we live. I have now remain'd here to see this great and complicated operation carried into compleat and regular execution, and this has been done, and is doing, with perfect good faith, and with no material difficulties, notwithstanding the various changes which have taken place in every department of the French Government." 2 *pp.*

William Knox to Lord Walsingham.

1787, Aug. 20.—" I am not going to request any favour of your lordship upon the foot of old friendship, for I was too long in office not to know that those who are obliged to the minister for their own situations are of all men the least fit to be applied to to solicit for others," but as the matter which I have to mention might occasion an open breach between the administration and one of its occasional supports, I hope I may be able to give you the means of showing them a civility while doing me a kindness. " Ever since I was called upon to give evidence at the Bar of the House of Lords respecting the St. Eustatia papers, I have felt very unpleasant under the imputation of having acted offensively to administration . . . though I think it extremely hard that offence should be taken at my uttering of any truth when I am sworn to declare the whole." But as I certainly know things of others which it would not be for their advantage to have told, I think my further examination should be prevented, if this can be done with propriety on the part of administration. My absence from the kingdom appears to me the only proper expedient. Mr. Ord's ill-health affords a fair opportunity of sending me to Ireland to carry through the business of the next session in his stead, as was intended to have been done " when Sir Richard Heron took fright at the view of the business, Lord Sackville consenting to spare me for so long; but Sir Richard feeling bold again, ventured to remain." This intention, however caused me to obtain the consent of the ministers to all the measures for extending the trade of Ireland which I was the sole mover of, and afterwards carried into execution in 1778. These circumstances and my perfect knowledge of the country give me advantages beyond any other, and Lord Sackville was so sensible of this that he made my going with him an indispensible condition of accepting the Lord Lieutenancy if it should be offered to him. I think, therefore that I am doing a service to administration by offering to go, nor will a refusal be any mortification to me. In this last case I

shall expect to stand excused, whatever the ill-effects of my examination may be.

At the great change of 1782 I was the only person connected with the old administration who continued in place without appointment under the new, "merely for the purpose of giving information and assistance to those who succeeded, and Lord Shelburne expressed himself under the greatest obligations to me on that account, and assured me, at parting, with his hand upon his left breast (I am afraid his heart lay on t'other side), that my behaviour had made so strong an impression on his mind that he should always remember it, and that, when compensation came to be made for the suppressed offices, I might depend upon being properly considered. I am, however, the only person who has not been compensated. When Lord North became Secretary of State I made all the arrangements for America without office and without allowance, and the Order of Council of July 2, 1783, was of my suggesting and preparing, and I carried it thro' against the opposition of Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, and thereby saved the navigation and maritime importance of this country and strangled in the birth that of the United States, and your lordship knows the share I had in supporting that measure before the Committee of the Privy Council the next year, by which I lost Atkinson's friendship and probably a legacy. I transmitted to Mr. Pitt, thro' Lord Temple, my ideas of a plan for the reduction of the National debt soon after he came into office, and when I saw by the newspapers that propositions for opening the trade between Great Britain and Ireland were under his consideration, I immediately sent up from Pembrokeshire to Mr. Rose the copies of my correspondence with Sir Richard Heron in the year 1778, when I obtained for Ireland the liberty of trading freely with the colonies, and your lordship, who has read them, can judge whether they were capable of giving any information upon the subject.

"Mr. Eden, at the time of his appointment to negotiate the treaty of commerce with France, applied to me for my sentiments. I freely gave them to him in a letter of fourteen folio pages, which he has acknowledged was very useful to him, and has since given me the pleasure to know that my subsequent pamphlet, intitled *Helps &c., in defence of the Treaty*, had given great satisfaction to the French ministers* . . . . I trouble your lordship with this detail to show you how unjustly I have been deemed hostile to the present administration, and to enable you to remove any prejudice that may have been entertained against me on that account." 10½ *pp.*

Underwritten :—

List of letters stated to be enclosed.

John Nutt to William Knox.

1787, Sept. 16. Grainge.—"A thousand thanks to you for one of the most interesting, informing letters I ever saw. . . . It appears to me that France is at present in a distressed, trobled situation; but what is that to us. We have trade and country

* *See pp.* 194, 197 *above.*

enough, let us mind and cultivate both. . . . As to the lubbers on the continent we have had enough of them in former times, and I should think Pitt mad if he attempted to involve us in their disputes. Let them fight it out." I see by the papers that the Prussian minister at the Hague has presented a further memorial. Surely the King is not going to play the Emperor's game, talk much and do nothing. It appears singular that his army has not yet begun to move. 3 *pp.*

William Knox to the King.

1787, Oct. 5.—Although he still meets with neglect from ministers, his zeal for his Majesty's service is not abated, and he has much satisfaction in learning from Mr. Eden that his little pamphlet stifled all opposition to the treaty of commerce with France, and has done much good there, having been translated into the French language.

"The same motives actuated him to communicate to Mr. Pitt his plan for establishing the Church of England in the colonies, when he understood the appointment of a bishop for Nova Scotia was in contemplation," and, on application from Lord Walsingham, he has formed a complete system for improved packet correspondence with America.

The only attention shown him has been the offer of knighthood when he came up with the address from Pembrokeshire, but this he declined, as having already submitted to his Majesty, by the Earl of Shelburne, his humble request for a baronetcy. *Draft.* 3 *pp.*

William Knox to W. W. Grenville.

1788, March 22.—As the passage over the Pyrenees will soon become practicable, and I presume Mr. Eden will then proceed on his embassy to the Court of Spain, I venture to communicate to you my ideas of the advantage he might derive from "the authentic information of the sentiments of the Spanish Court respecting the Americans which my former situation put into my hands," but which is no longer in the Secretary of State's office, Lord Lansdowne having returned Mr. Lawrence all his papers. Among the interesting papers taken with that gentleman were copies of the correspondence of the American Commissioners at Paris, which gave an account of their negotiations with the Court of France and with the Spanish Minister there during the time he [Laurens] was President of the Congress. From these it appeared that Spain was so jealous of the future designs of the Americans, who contended for the free navigation of the Missisippi in the same manner as it had been allowed to Great Britain, that they held back from the treaty France was then entering into. The emigrations of the Americans towards the Missisippi and the Gulph of Florida have since then been so prodigious that no great address would be necessary to alarm the Spanish Court for the safety of their possessions, "and as some Americans have already ascended the Missouri as high up as the first Spanish guards, which are stationed to prevent the approach

on that side to the silver mines of New Mexico, the danger of that valuable country might also be easily pointed out. The inability of Spain to defend these possessions against the Americans must be evident to her ministers, and it would not be difficult to show them that the nature of the assistance she requires is such as France cannot give her, nor can she derive it but from Great Britain alone." *Copy.* 2¼ *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD WALSINGHAM.

1788, May 25.—"I was too early in my declaration that I could do no good out of office, for I have this day found I can do a great deal, not, indeed, for the credit of Administration, as I wished to do; but, however, my object will be obtained as the public will be benefited. Your lordship has probably heard of a middle party that has sprung up from the inattention and partiality of Mr. Pitt in disposing of offices. He avows an inattention to men, and reliance upon measures. I applauded the principle, and would have walked barefoot from Pembrokeshire to have given it support, but how has he adhered to this principle? Inattention to influence and connexions he has indeed shewn with a vengeance, but if his disregard of men had any meaning, it ought to have been that he would chuse such as were fittest, without consideration of other circumstances. Look then into the offices, and say how are they filled? is the common exclamation of the gentlemen I allude to. Behold two Secretaries of State who cannot write a sentence of English, Commissioners of the Treasury who do not understand arithmetic, and Commissioners of the Admiralty who do not know larboard from starboard! Since the Heptarchy, we do not believe the offices were so ill-filled. His two substitutes for Secretaries of State, Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Dundas, are certainly able, but they are both much disliked, and one of them at least suspected of want of sincerity. The circumstances under which he (Mr. Pitt) took up Government, abundantly excuse his availing himself of such men as offered to serve under him, and, perhaps, it was wise in so young a man to decline the assistance of the experienced; but he has now established himself with the nation, his ability is beyond all comparison, his integrity is above suspicion. The reasons which excused his acceptance of inefficient men for his offices have now lost their force, and he is highly culpable for pursuing the same plan. He has it in his power to fill his offices in a manner that will give satisfaction to the public, and restore the expiring confidence of Parliament; but if he continues to play at Tom with the great officers of Government, he will sink in character, and be driven from Ministry. Such is the language I hear. I shall greatly regret his fall, for though he has used me ill, I admire his talents and pray for his continuance, but I owe a superior duty to the King and the country, and as he will not avail himself of my experience and judgement, I must carry them where they may be rendered usefull. I want not the paltry salary of office, but I expect civility and attention. The party I have already mentioned have applied to me for information. They disavow factious opposition, and profess attachment to the King's authority. In these points we perfectly agree; the King's

servant is my minister, be he who he may. I have, therefore, consented to direct them, and give them creditable business to transact. I will do no mischief, but I will stimulate the Minister to do good; and as he does not chuse to avail himself of my knowledge, he cannot expect the credit of the measures I suggest. There is no individual whose service he wants so much as mine, nor is there any candidate for power I would so willingly serve as him, and yet it is highly probable we shall never meet, and that I may become a principal instrument in his overthrow, through the mere desire of doing good, for if all good measures are proposed by others, and he is to have only the secondary merit of consenting to them or the odium of opposing them, he must decline in character, and in the present constitution of the House of Commons, the loss of character must be attended with the loss of power. I write thus freely and confidentially to your lordship to justify my own conduct. . . .

"I should have addressed this letter to Mr. Pitt himself if I did not apprehend that he would throw it into the fire without reading it upon seeing my name at the end of it, for I am an enemy to all concealment or simulation of any kind. Perhaps to-morrow will furnish an occasion of judging, in one instance, of the probable effects of my direction. I shall save the African trade, though I bring censure upon the Bishops; but as they deserve it, I have no compunction in so doing. A much more important consideration will be opened in a few days, and if Administration have the wisdom to pursue the plan which will be suggested, the Constitution of Quebec may be saved.

"Your lordship did not tell me whether Mr. Pitt had accepted the volume of my Tracts I requested the favour of your lordship to present to him. I am sure he never read the one which defended the Quebec Act, or he would not have suffered the ignorance and falsehood uttered against it to pass without detection. If the volume be still in your possession I should be much obliged to your lordship for it, as I cannot find another copy of that pamphlet, and I intend to reprint it before the next Session, with additions applicable to the present state of the province." 5 *pp.*

Lord Walsingham to William Knox.

1788, May 29. Upper Harley Street.—"I thank you for the communication you so obligingly make to me of your designs. Though I don't at all doubt the purity of your motives, I question much how far you will contribute to the prosperity of the country in a moral or political point of view, by lending your talents to men who may not be able to substitute so good an administration as that which it is their object to subvert. How far such a system will meet his Majesty's approbation you best know.

"If you wish for your own volume of Tracts, they are at your service; but I hope I shall have either this volume returned or a new edition of them, as I value them much, from the esteem I bear to the author and from the information they contain."

P.S.—"Is it your wish I should tell Mr. Pitt of your letter to me or not? For some of the sentences are not expressed in phrases that I will put into his hands." 1½ *pp*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1789, Jan. 7. Lewisham.—Thanking him for his two last publications, and especially for the honourable mention, in the *Extra Official State Papers*, of an old friend and fellow labourer who loves and esteems him "in the true and genuine spirit of friendship and affection." 1 *p.*

William Knox to the Lord Chancellor [Thurlow].

1789, May 26. Soho Square.—Sending him his last books, and a volume containing one or two of the tracts referred to in the others, the *Review of the American Controversy*, in which the late Mr. Grenville assisted him, and the *Defence of the Quebec Act*, which silenced all clamour against that judicious measure, to which his lordship lent such powerful support. Has also added to the *Observations on the Liturgy*, three little tracts drawn up twenty years ago at the desire of Archbishop Secker. "Had proper attention been shown to what they recommend respecting the treatment of the negroes in the Colonies, much of the present outcry against the slave-trade would have been prevented, and it is a little extraordinary that the present Bishop of London [Porteous] was then one of Archbishop Secker's chaplains, and consenting to that letter to Benezett from the Society, which was drawn up by the Archbishop himself." As a former owner of negro slaves, Knox is well-informed respecting the whole business, and believes he could point out a method of getting rid of the present difficulty. 2½ *pp.*

Lord Thurlow to William Knox.

1789, May 26.—Thanking him for his valuable present, and stating that the subject of the slave trade has now become of such great importance that he shall take the first opportunity which his engagements admit to be more particularly acquainted with Mr. Knox's ideas concerning its management. 1 *p.*

[Francis] Lord Rawdon to William Knox.

1789, Nov. 18. Donington.—Thanks him for his news, but does not intend to come up to town until the meeting of Parliament. Knows well that in the formation of an administration, a man's presence often advances a claim which is more effectual than sounder pretensions, but the nature of his connexions does not allow the seizure of an opportunity which would secure but a solitary advantage for himself. 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1789, Dec. 19. Donington.—"That the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt are upon bad terms does not at all surprise me; I believe it impossible to serve with the latter upon other terms than so complete a waver of one's own judgement, and of all the attentions due to one's rank in society as can never be long reconcileable to any man who

has an honest feeling of what is due to him in these respects. The Chancellor is sensible of it, but rather late. When I first estranged myself from Mr. Pitt my object was to maintain with the Chancellor, by every testimony of personal attachment, that connection which had subsisted between us, not only from motives of unfeigned regard, but in the view also of political junction when that disunion should happen between him and Pitt, which required little foresight to predict. This purpose Lord Thurlow intentionally defeated, for he took the tone of replying to me on every occasion with a peculiar virulence of manner; adopted, on the one hand, to discourage me from contest, on the other to convince Pitt of his entire devotion by such a sacrifice of the connection which I professed to seek. Lord Thurlow knew me very imperfectly when he imagined I was to be so kept down, or that the licence he assumed would pass unchecked beyond that point to which the sense of private obligation dictated forbearance. In the other view, whether he acted spontaneously or upon remonstrance from Pitt, there was a littleness which could only be equalled by the impolicy of the measure. He deprived himself of other support to throw himself on the gratitude of Pitt; a security which he should have known could last in that quarter no longer than it corresponded with convenience. With this opinion of the Chancellor's conduct towards me, you must comprehend that my personal inclination to any league with him cannot be strong. Indeed none such can take place but at the desire of the Prince of Wales. I say this, because the proposal of an explanation to the King of our political sentiments is obviously to open communications which may lead to such a league. I can never give my consent that such an explanation should be made to his Majesty, altho' your assertion of the principle on which we have been acting was strictly just. The line which we took respecting the Regency had been determined by us without any intercourse, direct or indirect, with the Prince, or with any other set of men. We adopted it as most consonant to the Constitution, without looking to favor for the decision; and it was not till late in the business that we came into concert with the Duke of Portland. I felt at the time personally grateful to the King for my peerage, a favor which he has since been pleased to balance by a wand to Lord Huntingdon; but, as gratitude is not with me mere matter of declamation, no views of party could ever have prevailed on me to countenance a plan injurious to the interests of the King, unless indeed a case could be conceived in which those interests could be imagined opposite to the primary duty of citizen. I did believe that I consulted those interests no less than the public welfare by endeavoring to preserve to the Royal function in his son those powers which if, dispensed with at one period may be held equally unnecessary at any other; powers, however, which could not have been contested, had they not militated against the rapacious views of individuals. It was the utmost impudence of dark design to advance an opposition of interest between the father and son in that respect. The creed took a fashionable currency, as mountebank pretences generally do, but to no man who thinks for himself can it ever appear other than an artifice of party, and, in my mind, an

illicit one. The arrangement which took place between our set and the Duke of Portland's friends was upon written stipulations, not one of which included a private object. The first was, that the utmost facility should be secured for the King's re-assumption of the government, whensoever it should please God to restore his health; this showed our object. The second was that our set must not be considered as melted into the Duke of Portland's party, but that we would hold our separate consultations as long as we thought fit to act in alliance with that party; this showed the terms on which we supported our object. In consequence of this condition, I can have no claim upon Mr. Fox; he can have none upon me. But, as to myself, I will tell you what goes much beyond engagement between us, I should say on my part, for I know not his sentiments. The extraordinary liberality and manly frankness which I found on that occasion in Mr. Fox and his friends have bound me more to them than any articled compact could have done. For, as I should hold a league of indiscriminate support very profligate, no engagement would have implied farther contract than for so long as I should approve the general measures of the party; and to this extent I am, as I now stand, called to assist them by a common objection to the present administration; but with this additional incitement, the remembrance of a generous confidence reposed in me by those men at the very moment in which I asserted a separate interest from them. It is, however, to the Prince that my attachment immediately directs itself. The magnanimity of his character has impressed me with a sincere respect for him, but his kindness towards me has bound me to him by a much warmer sentiment. I am rejoiced that the King takes his R. Highness more into his confidence. Designing men have forged an opposition of interest between the Prince and the King, that they might claim a merit with the latter for supporting him against the fictitious antagonist; and, as things are circumstanced, were that to go on, the King would be only the member of a party, not even the leader of it. I should ever strongly remonstrate with our friends against countenancing any administration that fomented so mischievous a dissension; much more against forming a part of one which should ground itself on so unworthy a practise; and I well know that our friends would revolt at the idea. As for myself, I never will take office but at the desire of the Prince. . . ." 8½ *pp.*

Endorsed with note by Knox.—"This letter was an answer to what I had told him of a conversation I had with Lord Thurlow while he was Chancellor."

Lord Rawdon to William Knox.

1789, Dec. 29. Donington.—"I received safely, and have perused carefully, the pamphlet which you were so obliging as to send to me. As it is not yet published or circulated, I will obey your desire in expressing my opinion upon it without reservation or disguise. Your object, as you have sketched it in the prefatory letter, represents you in the true spirit of a citizen anxious to benefit the community by the dissemination of useful observations. I am convinced it is

not ostentation but reality of purpose that induces you to step forward; you would therefore wish your performance to make impression as extensively as possible. With this view it surely is not politic to engage the passions of a considerable number against the reception of your reasoning, yet this you cannot fail to do if you let your argument go forth in its present garb. Men will readily confess past errors of judgement, when no immediate interest counsels their adherence to them; but it must be on the fair pretext that considerations have been sub-minister'd to them which they may be supposed at the moment of action to have overlooked. Now you make it essential to those who composed the administration of 1782, and to all their supporters, to abide by their principle, because it is a point which you do not argue with them, but upon which you condemn them with an asperity that must blacken them were they to admit its justice. You must be aware, also, that the hostility of your language cannot but be considered as an attack which must make you personally obnoxious to the leaders of that party. Indeed, if you decide to retain that tone in your publication, I must entreat you not to do me the honor of addressing it to me and my friends, lest it should be supposed that you announced our sentiments. It is not that we should not agree with you perfectly upon your principle, for it has been often distinctly discussed by us, but the nature of this country does not countenance permanent enmities upon mere political differences. In a government where the prosecution of a private interest that is to run parallel with the service of the State is to a certain degree avowed, it is difficult to prescribe what shall be the precise boundary of efforts, for, in despite of any possible regulation, men would understand one another and would by mutual support advance their joint fortunes. Hence a sort of indulgence has established itself respecting excesses, both in measures and in the comments on those measures; that is to say, as long as they stop short on the one hand, of deliberate violation of the constitution, on the other of personal malignity. In the hour of contest, therefore, you are supposed to combat the measure with little reference to the man; for whom the extenuation is always admitted that he does not see all the mischief of his project as clearly as you do. But this reciprocal allowance, which is grounded on the warmth of action, cannot be understood in the case of a cool attack made in print upon an after-day. To its possible operation with regard to yourself you would probably be indifferent; but regarding it as an inevitable obstacle to that conciliation of sentiment which is your aim, you may be induced to give it further reflection. To us the imputation of joining in any sarcasms must be injurious, since we have the opportunity to make our animadversions where the parties concerned may answer, and it would thence be unhandsome in us to seek another field. Again, I say that it is to the mode of illustrating your principle, not to the principle itself, that my objection lies. I do not consider the constitution of this country as a phantom that is to be twisted and turned just as may suit the convenience of public representation. It is a defined compact, for the maintenance of which every individual is bound to his fellows, and neither the interests of a party, nor personal attach-

ment to the Sovereign, can justify the playing loose with it. I believe every man of our set opposed the India Bill, because we thought it an attempt to shackle the due powers of the Crown. We similarly opposed the Regency Bill, because we conceived it a plan to embody upon stipend such a party as must have outweighed the legal influence of the chief magistrate. And I repeat what I said in a former letter, this determination was taken and acted upon without any communication having taken place with His Royal Highness, or with any other individual, or with any set of men. I know not to whom the saying is ascribed 'that he hoped to see the King have no more power than the Doge of Venice,' but I know that an attempt to insinuate such a principle into practice would be as violent an invasion of the Constitution as the most direct effort to extend the Royal Prerogative beyond its marked boundaries. The general compact has lodged certain powers with the Sovereign of the country, as being in those hands most expediently deposited for the public good; and the effective exercise of those powers cannot be usurped by Parliament or party under any color that will not leave it a direct infringement of the Constitution. The powers to which I have alluded allot to the Sovereign all appointments, &c. On the other hand, the subject cannot be forced to execute Ministerial Office, and, under the authorised plea that he cannot depend upon the public conduct of a particular minister, he may always indulge his personal dislike to political connection with that individual. This latitude being admitted (and it cannot be prevented) it will be impossible to preclude the private engagement of two or more men that they will not serve but in company. If thro' any consideration the Sovereign forms his ministry of persons avowedly so leagued, it must be supposed he takes them assenting to that league. Then observe upon how nice a shade of representation the discrimination must stand between their claim to dispose of the Household Offices, and the implied engagement of the Sovereign to support them as his ministers. For the language of every administration must, unfortunately, be nearly the same: 'Sir, you know but too well how debauched all public principle is in this country. By nominating us your ministers we have to suppose that your Majesty would wish that we may be able to carry forward the business of your Government. We, therefore, trust that you will give us the means of bestowing upon those who will support this administration those favours without which no administration will meet support.' If you say that this is a shameful vice in the times, I will agree with you; but it is the vice of the times, and the imputation of it to one set of men exclusively may irritate them against you, but will do nothing towards correction. I have long considered it, as you do, a grievous error to enable any minister to marshal a party which must hold the Sovereign in a kind of bondage; and when I resisted your wish that the sentiment of our set should be made known, it was not on account of this immediate position, but because any communication of that kind to the Chancellor would certainly have borne the appearance of an overture, tho' nothing of the kind could be in our contemplation.

"I hope, my dear sir, I have not taken too much freedom in these

remarks. If I have erred in that respect, I have been betrayed into it by conceiving that sort of confidence due to the attention with which you have honored me. I was well aware that it would have been less tender ground to have simply entreated, under some pretext of advertence to the possible feelings of some of the other gentlemen, that you would forbear addressing the performance to me. But, concurring with you clearly in the principle, I thought it would be a failure towards you did I not state an objection to the mode of argument, which, by standing in another point of view, I was enabled to perceive tho' you had overlooked it. Reasoning it upon general principles, you will do it as forcibly, and you will not close minds against conviction. To this too tedious detail I must still add a word upon the qualification by which you have designated our Dinner Set at Parsloe's. We do hope that we shall act up to the spirit of what you ascribe to us, but we have never had the vanity to assume that honesty of principle exclusively, by professing any association for the preservation of the Constitution. We have been christened the Armed Neutrality ; by what godfathers I know not. It is, however, a title to which we make no pretension, for our object has not been to hold an ideal balance between parties, but to give a consequence and effect to interference upon points of public importance which, as individuals, without such concert we could not have carried.

"I am so tired, and you will probably be so too, that I must answer you very shortly about Leicester. Macnamara has not a thought of standing again, having been assured that he should be opposed. He could not influence any one there, and at this moment the attempt to introduce any one not of the neighbourhood (upon any interest) would give the certainty of a contest, which, with 6,000 voters, is desperately serious. I have no doubt that I could carry it, but it would be at enormous expense ; I therefore wait in patient observation of it." 12 *pp.*

William Knox to Lord Hawkesbury.

1790, February.—A long letter on the fisheries question, pointing out the danger of its decline in consequence of the "mischievous" concessions made to the United States by the treaty of 1783, and offering suggestions for its preservation. Feels the better qualified to speak on the subject as he has lately added the practical experience of a fisherman to the knowledge acquired officially. The Americans, by overstocking their markets, have so brought down the price of fish that it is impossible now to sell at a profit. The great houses engaged in the trade, to indemnify themselves for this, encourage the shallop (*i.e.*, coast) fishers to settle in Newfoundland, and then oblige them to take their payment in goods, on which they charge a most enormous profit, and so purchase the fish at half or even a third of the nominal price ; while those who carry out their fishermen from Great Britain and Ireland, by paying them in cash, give the full value for their fish, and consequently are considerable losers by the sale. The advantages these monopolisers have over the British adventurers was clearly proved during the previous

season, for, although the writer's "bankers" caught more fish than any others, and he got the best price for it, his sales only amounted to 70 per cent. of his expenses, whereas the monopolizers made a considerable profit.

If more of the fishermen are encouraged to settle in Newfoundland it will soon become a colony, and not a British fishery at all. Proposes that a bounty should be paid to the "shallop fishermen" upon their return to Europe, on their showing that they went out within two years preceding. Some men must be left on the island to cure the last cargoes of fish, which cannot be cured in time for that season's markets, also to provide fuel and do other winter work, but these shoremen should be converted into seamen or fishermen the next season, and the green men left in their places. The residents, however, are all so much in debt to the monopolizers that if they attempted to leave the island they would be arrested. To strike at the root of this abominable and crying evil, the governor should fix a tariff of prices at which European or West India goods should be sold to the fishermen, and an Act of Parliament should prevent any person from recovering a debt against a fisherman contracted in Newfoundland above twelve months ago. 12 *pp.*

William Knox to George Rose.

1790, April 23. Soho Square.—Sending a copy of the petition which is to be presented to the House of Commons on Monday next, and of the paper of reasons to support it, both of which he prays may be put into Mr. Pitt's hands. Mr. Welbore Ellis (the last principal Secretary under whom Knox served) has promised to present the petition, and both he and Lord North are authorized to say that if full compensation be allowed for his patent offices, Knox is willing, if required, to resign the whole of his pensions. *Copy.* 1 *p.*

Underwritten:—"Mr. Rose having recommended to me the course of presenting a petition I prepared one accordingly, and when it was presented Mr. Rose moved its rejection."

George Rose to William Knox.

1790, May 22. Old Palace Yard.—Informing him that the pensions of 600*l.* a year each, granted to him and Mrs. Knox during pleasure, have, as he wished, been changed into grants for their respective lives, the King having signed the warrants presented to him by Mr. Pitt to this effect. 1 *p.*

William Knox to Mr. Pitt.

1790, May 30. Soho Square.—Enclosing papers containing "the grounds and motives of an expedition which, though it failed in the execution through the avarice and presumption of the then Governor of Jamaica in making the attack that he might share in the plunder, when he was only ordered to make the preparations," might perhaps be renewed in case of a war with Spain. And as no military officer

would, he believes, find the indemnity for disobedience of orders under Mr. Pitt's administration that they universally experienced under that of his predecessor, there could be no doubt of success. *Copy.* 1 *p.*

Underwritten :—" Papers enclosed. Capt. Sheer's plan. Lieut. Carden's memorial. Mr. Hodgson's plan."

Lord Rawdon to William Knox.

[1790, June ?], Monday. St. James' Place.—" . . . We had flattered ourselves that we had secured the writ for Lincoln, where my brother stands. Just as I was setting out for Soho Square, I received intelligence that Hobart had not only gotten the writ, but was gone down to hurry the election, so as to prevent our principal force, the out-voters, from arriving in time. At the same moment I was informed the qualification I had given my brother was invalid ; therefore lawyers, agents, coachmen, and all the *etceteras* of such an undertaking were to be summoned instantly, the bare mention of which company will fully suggest the occupation in which they have kept me." The Prince has been out of town, but I sent your letter to Capt. Payne, as I wish his Royal Highness to see that mark of your attention. 3 *pp.*

William Knox to William Pitt.

1790, Oct. 4.—Stating that he knows authentically " that the King of Sweden has sent over full powers to Baron Nolkin [Noleken] to enter into a subsidiary treat with his Majesty, but restrained him from making any overtures until he has reason to think they will be well received. *Draft.* ¾ *p.*

William Knox to Sir John Parnell.

1791, Oct. 30. Bath.—On his projects for improving the trade and promoting the prosperity of Ireland, illustrated by his proceedings in Georgia. When he went there not a man had credit to import goods from England, or to procure a cargo of negroes. He formed the plan of a public loan office, and passed an Act empowering Commissioners to issue paper bills to a certain amount, which were to be taken in payment for all taxes, &c. These bills were lent to the planters upon mortgage of their lands and negroes at a rate below the legal interest, which was kept high to encourage lenders, and to indemnify the traders for the risk of trusting the new settlers, who, as they got their lands for nothing, could well afford to pay a high interest for the means of improving them. The interest paid by the borrowers of these bills (for they carried no interest themselves, but were to pass as money, and called the provincial currency) he appropriated to the construction of churches and other places of worship, salaries to schoolmasters and clergymen throughout the province, provision of boats and pilots for the principal harbour, and

the erection of a beacon or lighthouse at its entrance. He "was tender of issuing at first, and did not let more out than the produce of the taxes would amount to for the first year, so that every man was sure the bills would not lay upon his hands if he took them," but they soon became current, and as he "gave all the bills which were drawn by the Governor upon the treasury for the pay of the troops and civil officers in exchange for the paper currency in preference to silver and gold, its credit rose so high that negroes could be purchased with it in the next province." Emboldened by success, he undertook to raise a fort for defence of the principal harbour with another species of paper bills, called certificates, to sink which he laid a small duty upon the trade, "and as that duty came in, the certificates were to be taken up, but to give them currency, the Treasurer was obliged to take them in all payments to him, and he might reissue such as were not to be paid off. In both instances the Legislature was not only bound in honour to make the bills good, as having authorised the issuing them, but actually compelled to do so, by their being receivable for all taxes. . . . And as no one was obliged to take them in payment from the Treasurer, they would, in case of their depreciation, remain with him instead of money, and all the public services would be defeated and the public creditors unpaid. The Assembly, therefore, was under an indispensable necessity to keep up the credit of the bills, and when that was known to be the case, no one refused taking the bills, and they were considered as money, and the province virtually enriched by their amount."

Does not propose an exactly similar plan in Ireland, the circumstances of the two countries being widely different, and the credit of Ireland higher than that of any state in Europe, but proposes the issue of Exchequer bills, with part of which Government might buy "the very large tracts of unimproved lands which are too great for the proprietors to manage" and lay them out in townships, giving each a local magistracy by Act of Parliament, as is done in America, and granting lots to settlers at something higher a rent than the rate at which they were purchased; the rent to cease upon repayment of the purchase money, and to diminish on part repayment, and all profit above four per cent. interest on the Exchequer bills to be laid out in improvements. "This is taken from Pen's management in Pensylvania, but he was not content with the quit rent and stipulated purchase money, but he reserved lots in every township to sell when the lands surrounding them were improved. His astonishing success, however, is a good reason for following the other parts of his plan." From the surplus, Government might give grants for making roads, building bridges, erecting piers and wharfs, &c., and as the tenants would be eager to become proprietors of their lots, Government would speedily be re-imbursed the purchase money, and with it pay off the Exchequer bills.

Offers suggestions for reducing the nominal value of money to the English currency, and the nomination of a House in London to give specie for Irish notes (as is done for Bristol and other bank notes, payable in London a few days after sight), with explanations of the advantages which would result to Irish trade. *Draft.* 15 *pp*

Elections in Wales.

[1791 ?].—Notes concerning Pembrokeshire. The present members are Lord Milford for the county, Lord Kensington for Haverfordwest, and Mr. Owen (now Barlow) for Pembroke. Lord Milford has no heir; Lord Kensington is above fourscore, and has one son about 14 years old; Mr. Barlow has no child, and is a widower, the present heir of the Owen estate being a child of eight years. "Lord Milford is of no use to Government; Mr. Barlow is in opposition; and Lord Kensington is only valuable as a sure vote."

If Lord Milford were gratified with an English peerage, Lord Kensington would then come in for the county, and Mr. Knox would be chosen for Haverfordwest, being sure of his election from his services to the county and his possession of the public good opinion there. Mr. Barlow's connexion is with Lord North, and he is anxious to secure the county for the young Sir Hugh Owen when he comes of age. Mr. Knox can effect this for him, and is pretty confident that he could prevail with him to adopt the same line of conduct Mr. Knox himself proposes to hold—*i.e.*, that of a supporter of the King's measures and of the monarchical authority, and being with the present Administration, although not attached to it. The only person likely to obstruct the plan is Mr. Campbell, of Stackpoole Court. His connexion with Lord Carlisle will probably lead him to take a strong part with Opposition, and to attempt county Pembroke. He cannot succeed against the present connexion, but as neither Lord Kensington or Mr. Knox can afford to stand a contest, it would be prudent to wait until after the General Election, when Mr. Campbell will be chosen for Cardigan and, consequently, could not offer himself for the county when Lord Milford made the vacancy. 3 *pp.*

William Knox to Lord Macartney.

1792, July 30.—In answer to his lordship's request for his ideas concerning the great national objects of his embassy. With a view to promote an extensive trade with China, his lordship will no doubt make every possible enquiry into the nature and state of their commerce, what they produce and what they import, and, as some treaty with them may be necessary, will inform himself of the civil policy of the state, and its military force and resources. An accurate knowledge of their religion and domestic economy will serve to improve our science, correct our errors, open our minds and enlarge our conception of the Divine Benevolence. Does not believe in the immense antiquity claimed by the Chinese for their civilization, and considers that the state of mankind is exactly conformable to what might be expected "upon the supposition that four men and four women were landed out of a great ship four thousand years ago in the plains of Armenia." Hopes his lordship will be able to investigate fully the causes leading to the present state of China, in which his former residence at Madras, and acquaintance with Hindoo customs, will give him advantages beyond those of any other person. 7 *pp.*

J. Pownall to William Knox.

1793, Nov. 9. Great George Street.—As it was through your polite attention that I was nominated of the Committee of Magistrates for revising the rules and orders of Friendly Societies, I return to the Committee, through you, the papers sent me by the Clerk of the Peace. Some appear to be nothing more than the rules of Ale House Clubs, instituted before the passing of the Act of last session, "and with regard to the Female Society, a committee of their own sex will be the best judges of their rules and orders, for I am afraid I could not comment upon them without indecent laughter. Whether these societies do or do not fall within the intention and meaning of that most extraordinary Act must be left to the determination of those who know what its intention was, and can construe its meaning into common sense, for it is far beyond the scope of my understanding." With these sentiments, I must beg you to withdraw my name from the Committee, and fill my seat there with a magistrate of more ability and discernment. 1¼ *pp.*

Lord Westcote to William Knox.

1793, Dec. 10. Hagley Park.—Is reading a work called *Letters on the Subject of the Concert of Princes*, with a motto *Facilis descensus Averni*. The writer appears to be a dissenter, and his object is very different from Knox's own, but he shows a great extent of political information, and the book is worth perusal. 2 *pp.* *Seal of arms.*

William Knox to the New Brunswick Committee.

1795, Nov. 4. Soho Square.—Advises them not to make any application to the Treasury which would bring the circumstances of their estimates under consideration, as he has known, in other instances, "considerable reductions made in the grant of Parliament from such like discussions as that which the dispute with Mr. Odell would give occasion for." The warrant under which Mr. Odell holds the office of Clerk of the Council certainly gives him a right to attend the Council, in whatever capacity they act; his right to the office necessarily includes personal performance of the duty, and "as the salary is given for the duty, it must be understood to extend to the whole office," but Mr. Odell is not thereby obliged to furnish the stationery or make fair copies of his minutes. In the money bills of every colony there is a provision for defraying the expense of the Assembly, in which these things are included. Offers suggestions concerning the preparing a bill in relation to Courts of Justice, for which, if passed, he will "solicit the Royal allowance," and which, if rejected, he can lay before the King's ministers as a specific proposition, and ask for their opinion and instructions to the Governor. This temperate mode of proceeding will prevent the exciting of personal animosities, which distract and divide a colony, injuring its credit and obstructing its settlement and cultivation. Prays the committee to pardon this freedom "in one who feels himself less interested in the prosperity and happiness of New Brunswick

as the Provincial Agent than as its earliest friend and most zealous well-wisher." The ratification of the Treaty with the United States has arrived. 6½ *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to HENRY DUNDAS.

1795, Dec. 14.—Although Mr. Dundas has declined to have any conversation with him on the subject of East India affairs he has so long been in the habit of serving Government without the patronage of Ministers that he ventures to submit some propositions which he conceives it would be more for the honour of the Board of Control to adopt of themselves than to have them originate in the Court of Proprietors. The rest of the letter is an attack upon the financial system of the company, the result of which is, he states, "that while every other individual in the nation is the better for the vast extension of the East India trade," the proprietors of the stock derive no benefit from it. 6 *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1796, March 18. Pisa.—Complaining of the extraordinary delays and irregularities of the posts, some of his letters from England having taken five and six months to reach him, while others have come "with regularity and expedition" in less than a month. As Knox's political opinions "so nearly quadrate" with his own, he has little to say except to express his approbation of them, especially as regards the impolicy of multiplying foreign possessions, and the injudicious conduct of the West India expedition. Is very glad to learn that Knox is interested in East India affairs and connected with those who govern them, having always blamed the present ministers for not availing themselves of his judgment, talents and experience. Notes that Knox's letter, written Nov. 25, and received March 17, has "*via* Dublin" in the corner, and "Lisbon" printed in red letters on the back. 3½ *pp.*

LORD LYTTELTON* to WILLIAM KNOX.

[1799, Nov. 22], Friday. Hagley Park.—When in town, called several times at Knox's house, but always missed him, and therefore writes, not to obtain political information, but as an old friend to learn how he and his family "do." As to public matters, the political atmosphere over Europe is much clouded, and he fears the new revolution in France will not tend to clear it, but, on the contrary, will produce more storms. 1¼ *pp. Seal of arms.* [*Date given by Lyttelton on cover.*]

Petition of WILLIAM KNOX to the KING.

1799, Nov. 28. Soho Square.—On the erection of the Province of New Brunswick in 1784, his Majesty authorized the Governor and Council there to make grants of vacant lands to American loyalists and other industrious subjects, in pursuance of which authority, the

* Lord Westcote was created Baron Lyttelton of Frankley, co. Worcester (the title which had expired at his nephew's death in 1779) in August, 1794.

said Governor and Council have set out allotments and made grants of lands to many faithful subjects who have applied for the same, "most of whom zealously engaged in the settlement and cultivation of their respective lands, tho' many of their allotments were situated in the bosom of immense forests, without any roads of communication and at a distance from navigation," in the confident belief that they would speedily be helped in the labour of opening such communications by the influx of industrious settlers. But these expectations have been severely disappointed, and progress to prosperity fatally impeded, by the Additional Instruction of 1789, prohibiting further grants until his Majesty's further pleasure should be signified; which restraint still continues in force, although no complaint has ever been made of any abuse by the Governor and Council of the authority vested in them. By a late determination of the boundary between the province and the territories of the United States, a considerable tract of valuable land has been awarded to the province, into which many industrious persons in the neighbouring states, impatient of the rule of their present Governors and anxious to return to his Majesty's benign rule, would remove, but for the restraining Instruction of 1789, which petitioner, as agent for the province, now humbly prays his Majesty to be pleased to withdraw. 3 *pp.*

COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

1800, Jan. 31.—Resolution, on reference of Mr. Knox's petition for the withdrawal of the Additional Instruction of March 5, 1790, that it is not adviseable to submit any opinion thereupon until the boundaries of the province are "definitively settled," and, also, that as in the Additional Instruction it is stated "that great advantage will arise by the introduction of some further regulations to be observed in the disposal of the said lands," inquiry be made at the Secretary's office for the Home Department with respect to these further regulations, "and what the same were intended to be." *Present*—The Duke of Portland, Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Greville, Sir Joseph Banks. 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to the CLERK OF THE COUNCIL.

1801, Jan. 26.—With whatever neglect or contempt his Majesty's servants may continue to treat the remonstrances made by him as agent for the province of New Brunswick, he must incessantly repeat them in the hope that their truth and justice will prevail. The prevention of the improvement and development of the province is not the only injury which the "cruel and impolitic Instruction" may bring about, for the desertion of the country by the few inhabitants who have been seduced into it may be seriously apprehended. A late American newspaper contains the following paragraph:—

"'*Congress on the 3rd December appointed a committee to regulate the grants of land appropriated for the refugees from the British Provinces of Nova Scotia and Canada,*' from which it appears that the American Ministers are sufficiently enlightened statesmen to be

able to discern that the increase of industrious inhabitants constitute the strength and riches of the State," and that they hold out an invitation which probably many of the loyal but suffering inhabitants of New Brunswick will accept, "worn out as they are by the long and unaccountable continuance of a restraint which they cannot now hope is ever intended to be removed, as they have too high a respect for ministers to suppose that the great talents of three successive Secretaries of State, with their well-informed assistants, which have filled the Home Department during its continuance, were not able to devise any of those *important regulations* which were said to be in contemplation eleven years ago, and were then stated as the ground of the fatal suspension." 4 *pp.*

GOVERNOR EDMUND FANNING to WILLIAM KNOX.

1801, Sept. 25. Prince Edward* Island.—Sending him the journals of their House of Assembly appointing Knox and his son as agents for the island. "Although no salary is annexed to the appointment, *fifty or sixty pounds per annum*, it is said, *will certainly be given*, perhaps more." In process of time, Fanning hopes, it will increase and become something more than honorary, and he will use his best endeavours to make it so. *Extract.* 1 *p. Numbered* 3. [*See Fanning's letter of May* 22, 1804, *below.*]

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

1802, Nov. 3. Assembly Room.—Resolutions of the House of Assembly:—That the best thanks of the House be given to William Knox, colony agent, for his eminent services: That Mr. Knox be requested to sit for his portrait to some eminent artist in London, at the expense of the House, and that the portrait shall be sent out and placed in the first public building hereafter to be erected in the colony: And that Sir Robert Chalmers, Bart., Thomas Cochran, Robert Shuttleworth, John Stewart and William Townshend, Esquires, or any two of them, be requested to wait on Mr. Knox to communicate the foregoing resolution, and to fix on a painter, and settle the mode of payment when the portrait shall be finished and framed.

With note, dated Nov. 13, that his Majesty's Council [in the colony] concur in the above resolutions. *Certified copy. Signed,* Peter Dagowan, C. Stewart. 2½ *pp.*

LORD LYTTELTON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1803, April 12. Tuesday. Hagley Park.—"How do you do, dear Knox? . . . I write these few lines to request a little information of your state, and that of your family. My own has escaped the influenza; even my daughter has, though in town at her aunt, Mrs. Fraser's, and going to balls and routs. The distemper has been very prevalent at Birmingham and other towns

* Formerly St. John's Island.

of this neighbourhood, and has been in this village, but the high ground on which my house stands has been clear of it.

"I am in mourning for my very old cousin, Lady Chatham, who survived all her brothers many years. It is no personal loss to me, for she lived at so great a distance from me that I have had no society with her for a long time past." 1 *p.* *Seal with initial and coronet.*

The Same to the Same.

1803, April 18. Hagley Park.—"I am heartily sorry, my worthy good friend, that you have suffered so much from that cruel distemper the gout. . . . Considering what a temperate life you have led, I suppose the malady has come to you from your forefathers. I have sometimes made free with wine, and never have had a touch of gout, which, as far as is known, did never infest my progenitors for many generations, and I have not been intemperate enough to acquire it myself. Since I wrote the letter you have answered so kindly, I have had a slight attack of the influenza, but am now recovered. I thank you for your *Speculations*, which perfectly coincide with and confirm my own. Upon the whole I will only say 'Give peace in the remaining part of my time, O Lord,' for had the war with its income tax continued, my affairs would have been much deranged." 1½ *pp.*

William Knox to the Committee of Correspondence, Prince Edward Island.

1803, June 1. Soho Square.—I beg you will thank both houses for their very flattering testimony of their approbation of my services, and assure them, that I shall not cease my endeavours to render Prince Edward Island a favourite object of government. The gentlemen you appointed have fixed on the Baroness de Tott to execute my portrait, and I have already sat twice for it. I have written to Lord Hobart in relation to your letter of Jan. 5, but unfortunately the rupture with France has called his attention to the military division of his office, and no steps have been taken except to press Mr Stewart's departure, "and to refer him to the intimation contained in the Treasury letter to him for the appropriation of 3,000*l.* of the money he is expected to receive, to re-instate that sum to the credit of the colony, and to apply it as was originally intended." The gentlemen you appointed to call on me tell me that you have a decent church at Charlotte Town, but neither State House nor prison. The former, with Council Chamber, Assembly room, and offices for the Clerk of the Council, the Secretary and Register, and the Surveyor-General, they suppose might be constructed for about 1,500*l.*, and a prison, with separate wards for debtors and criminals, and a house for the keeper, may be fitted up for less than 500*l.* more. As the Courts of Law will probably not have occasion to sit when the Assembly is convened, the same room may, for the present, do for both. This leaves 1,000*l.* for erecting two more churches and three parsonage houses, for I understand there are two situations where churches are wanted,

and, indeed, nothing can more contribute to the population of the island. "I have no doubt of obtaining an addition to the annual estimate of 70*l.* to each and 50*l.* each from the Society, and also an allowance of 15*l.* per annum to a schoolmaster in each parish, as the vestry room of the church will serve for a schoolhouse. I wish much to interest Lord Hobart in the prosperity of the island as its patron, and it would be a pleasing compliment to him if you called the seat of one of the new churches Hobartstown, and if you called the other Addington, I would take care it should be considered as a compliment to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Your Act contains no parochial regulations, which will become necessary when you have churches, as they must be kept in repair, and wine must be provided for the communion table." As the war will put a stop to emigration from Europe, you ought to exert your powers in doing what will hereafter be wanted, and so encourage respectable settlers to come to you when peace returns, which I trust will be before long. Enquiries concerning the escheated land have been made by very respectable persons in Scotland, and government had under consideration a plan for re-granting it when the renewal of hostilities called off their attention. "I will not however, suffer the island to be forgot, even among the din of arms, and it will be for its own legislature to raise its character and keep up the public opinion of its advantages by just and beneficial laws and regulations." 5¼ *pp.*

William Knox to General Fanning.

1804, March 7.—Has not yet received the 50 guineas to pay for his picture. The frame will cost ten more. When appointed agent, in 1801, he was told by his Excellency that, though no salary was appointed in the Act, it was intended to grant 60*l.* a year, but he has never heard anything of it. As he will have been the colony's agent three years next July, it is certainly time he knew whether he was to have a salary or not, and he cannot help fearing that the picture is meant to stand in lieu of a year of it, which would not be very handsome.

In a search in the Office of Trade he has found several un-approved Acts of the island, of all of which he ought to have had copies. Had he known of one of them, "passed in the year 1786, confirming titles to portions of lands proposed to be given by certain proprietors to Loyalists," he would have been able "to remove all blame from the legislature of the island for the want of measures for settling the island, and to have laid it on the heads of the administration who advised the dis-approbation of that Act." *Extract.* 1 *p.* (No. 2.)

Governor Edmund Fanning to the Committee of Correspondence, Prince Edward Island.

1804, April 17. Charlotte Town.—Sending them an extract from Mr. Knox's letter of March 7. "The zeal and ability which Mr. Knox has displayed, and the success which has attended his unremitted endeavours for the public interest and reputation of this

island has been so meritorious and distinguished" that he is certainly entitled not only to the immediate payment of his arrears of salary, but to the best gratitude and liberal consideration of the legislature of the island. 2 *pp.* (No. 1.)

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE to his Excellency, LIEUT.-GENERAL FANNING.

1804, April 19. Charlotte Town.—Acknowledging his letter. Will at all times be ready to acknowledge with gratitude the zeal and ability which Mr. Knox has manifested in promoting the settlement and prosperity of the island, and although, as a Committee of the House of Assembly, they do not conceive it to be within the scope of their instructions to interfere in regard to the subject matter of his Excellency's letter, as individuals they are clearly of opinion that Mr. Knox ought to be immediately paid the arrears of salary due to him. *Signed*, C. Stewart, Peter Dagowan, Rob. Hodgson, David Ross, Robert Lee. 1½ *pp.* (No. 4.)

COUNCIL OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

1804, May 10.—Minute that the Lieut.-Governor having laid before the Board the letters, &c. in relation to Mr. Knox's salary, a warrant was ordered to be made out immediately "for three years' salary, at 60*l.* per annum, to be paid as soon as provision shall be made by the House of Assembly for defraying such arrearages due to Mr. Knox for his meritorious services. *True copy, signed by Robert Lee, deputy Clerk of the Council.* (No. 5.)

GOVERNOR FANNING to WILLIAM KNOX

1804, May 22. Prince Edward Island.—By the enclosed papers, numbered 1–5, you will see that I have not been inattentive to your just claims, and have not stopped until I had signed a warrant for your three years' agency. "Between ourselves, and *in friendly confidence*, the Assembly are sometimes strangely wrong-headed, and I am confident it was not intended that you should receive any other acknowledgement for your agency than the picture, and I was glad to receive your letter signifying to me the contrary. But you will observe that I have fixed the whole three years' salary, and *the amount shall be paid you.*" Your kind and friendly attention to my private affairs gives you the strongest claim upon me. [The rest of the letter relates to Fanning's private financial affairs.] 3 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD CAMDEN

1804, June 9. Soho Square.—The West India planters and merchants having applied for an Act permitting the importation in American ships of lumber, cornflour and other articles, taking away in payment the produce of those islands, it becomes his duty, as agent of New Brunswick and of Prince Edward Island (while not denying that such permission is necessary at present), to pray

that it may not be continued "beyond the existence of the necessity which calls for it, but that whenever the North American [British] Colonies shall manifest ability to supply the several articles wanted by their fellow-subjects in the West Indies, the permission to import them from the United States may be discontinued." He begs further to represent that an article in the treaty with the United States limited the burden of their vessels allowed to trade with the West Indies to 70 tons, but this article the States refused to ratify, and it must be acknowledged that such vessels are too small to receive the beams of timber needed in the islands, as also that the expense of navigation cannot be defrayed by the freight of such timber as they can store. But it is supposed that if the limitation was extended to 130 tons the objection would be obviated, and yet a sufficient guard provided against the abuse which an unlimited tonnage might give occasion to. While the American Colonies are so liberal in their dispositions to their fellow-subjects in the West Indies, it is surely not unreasonable to expect a return of good-will, yet Knox is informed "that in the islands of Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts and Jamaica a stranger duty of 2½ per cent. or more is levied upon all imports from the British N. American Colonies (and in the island of St. Vincent it is 3 per cent.) from which the imports from the United States are exempt." It is humbly hoped that through his lordship's powerful recommendation, the legislatures of those islands will be induced to relieve the British Colonies from these strangers' duties. *Draft.* 5½ *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to the CLERK OF THE COUNCIL.

1804, July 5. Ealing.—Suggesting means by which the British possessions in North America may be improved, "in order to render them as beneficial to the commerce and navigation of the Empire as possible." Upper Canada is more fitted for the production of grain and flesh than any other colony, but its only channel for export and import is the St. Lawrence, which for several months in the year is not navigable, and which is commanded by the forts on the American side. It "can no longer be expected to remain a British Colony than the United States continue in friendship with Great Britain," and by their entire command of the Missisippi and its tributaries, it is to be feared that the States "will share with Great Britain in its commerce, and thus by extending our settlements in that country, we may be promoting the prosperity of the United States and preparing a valuable acquisition for their ambition." In Lower Canada, the St. Lawrence is closed for a much shorter time, and "as New Brunswick runs back to meet its frontier," it is much less exposed to be seized by the United States, or to have its trade diverted into their channel; on the contrary, much of their produce comes to Quebec, and is exported thence as British Colony produce, and paid for with British goods. Lower Canada, therefore, connected as it is with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, may be considered as a permanent possession of the Crown. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are open to the Atlantic, and therefore only for a short time in the year inaccessible to shipping. The bay of Fundy

abounds with fish, which is to be found also along the whole east coast, &c., and the interior of both colonies abounds with timber. Many ships have been built there, but were of such "short duration" that Knox learnt at Lloyd's Coffee House that the underwriters refused to insure them for a second voyage. On enquiry, he found that they were built hastily and of green wood, owing to the legislature offering a premium if a certain number were built in a given time. The evil has now been cured, and the ships of those colonies are of good reputation. Their inexhaustible timber and abundance of fish make them very valuable, although their soil is not fertile enough for them ever to be great exporters of p ovisions. A part of New Brunswick, on the Gulf of St. Laurence, is admirably adapted for the growth of hemp.

Prince Edward Island is the most fertile of the colonies. Of its 1,300,000 acres not a thousand are unfit for cultivation, and its freedom from the fogs which infest the sea coast of Nova Scotia make it fit for corn. Its pastures are well adapted for sheep and cattle, hemp will thrive there luxuriantly, fish abounds on its coast, plenty of timber for small vessels can be got from Labrador; nothing is wanting but inhabitants and a wise government to make it a most valuable colony.

Soon after Cape Breton was ceded to Great Britain, in 1763, it was discovered that the whole island was a rock of coal. Mr. Charles Townshend, then first Lord of Trade, asked Knox what was best to be done with it. He told him that the then British provinces possessed iron ore which they smelted with charcoal and sent to Ireland and Scotland, where it was manufactured into implements and tools, and so sent back to America. If then, the coal mines of Cape Breton were worked, the Americans would supply themselves thence, work up their own pigs, and Great Britain would lose the trade. This determined him to shut up the colliery, and "he added the consideration of the probability that the collieries of this country might fail, and that Cape Breton would then be a useful source to apply to." This island is well situated for the fishery, and has an excellent harbour, but is not fit for cultivation.

As to the utility of these colonies, "all ideas of extracting a revenue from them must be totally abandoned. They have no money, nor ever can have any, nor ever ought to possess any; the whole of their commercial transactions must consist in barter—the exchange of their labour and its produce for our manufactures." The exaction of a high quit rent or purchase for the lands would prevent their settlement, from which alone advantage to this country must arise, and yet so little has this been understood by those who have had the conduct of the colonies, that since the defection of the States the quit rents in most of those that remained have been doubled, although every consideration of policy, justice and humanity demanded measures for drawing the loyal inhabitants out of the revolted provinces, and so strengthening the colonies which still adhered to the Crown. The King's governors were restrained from making grants of land, not only to new comers, but even to the grown-up sons of the inhabitants, who therefore were obliged to settle in the revolted States, where they were gladly

received, free grants given to them, and some aid in tools and provisions as well. The restraint has lately been taken off, but the quit rents are raised from 2*s.* to 4*s.* 2*d.* per hundred acres, with a premium of two dollars as well, while Upper Canada has no quit rents at all, as if the intention were to draw the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick thither. The governors very wisely tried to counteract the mischief by giving warrants of location to the settlers, with promise of grants when the restraint should be taken off, but its long continuance destroyed confidence and stopped the ingress of settlers ; and some ships bringing settlers from Europe chose to go on to the United States rather than remain on such assurances. Common justice, as well as good policy, requires that the grants should be made on the terms originally proposed, and it would be no more than equitable to place the settlers on the same footing with those in Upper Canada, and relieve them from the payment of quit rent, which would encourage them very much. Prince Edward Island has been lately the object of much discussion, and as the measures adopted for its improvement have not yet had effect, there can only be recommended the exercise of great temper, judgment and impartiality. If these colonies are properly encouraged they will soon be in a condition to supply the West Indies with fish and lumber.

At the upper end of the Bay of Fundy there is a vast mine of gypsum, or plaster of Paris, which the farmers in the United States make great use of as manure, employing the craft of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to bring it to the islands in Passamaquoddy (which have been allowed to remain in their possession, although the right of Great Britain to them has been fully proved), whence their own vessels carry it to the States. As it is material that our shipping should have the whole transport of this manure, such orders should be given as would compel the Americans to employ our large vessels to carry it the whole distance. *Draft.* 14 *pp.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1804, July. Naples.—Sympathising with him on the death of his son, and thanking him for his "literary productions." The *State Papers* were first conveyed to the Political Inquisators appointed to examine all foreign publications, but happily they found nothing to object to. Sees with concern Mr. Wilberforce's success in the House of Commons respecting the African trade, but hopes he will be disappointed in the Lords.

The French Ambassador is this instant passing in pomp to the Palace "to present his Imperial credentials" to the King, who will probably, from good policy, receive him respectfully. 3 *pp.*

[*The covering page of this letter has* 5 *postmarks and three Foreign Office stamps upon it, of date from Sept.* 10 *to Sept.* 13.]

The Same to the Same.

[1804], Nov. 27. Naples.—After a long interruption of the posts from England, a courier is just now arrived from the north, who brings me your kind and instructive favour of September, which

afforded me the highest satisfaction, both as regarded yourself and public affairs. "We remain here pretty much in the same state as when I last wrote to you, though under the greatest anxiety to know what measures the French will force this Court to adopt upon the present occasion. The King ardently desires to remain neutral, which, in case of a war with Spain, I am afraid he will not be permitted to do. Meanwhile, we are totally uncertain what is to be the event of our disputes in case of a war with that power, for we learn nothing here upon this subject authentic or to be depended upon. . . . As to the part I shall be obliged to take hereafter, in consequence of the French power and influence here, I am as yet perfectly ignorant. 2½ *pp.*

English post-mark, "Jan. 28, 1805."

Lord Lyttelton to William Knox.

[1805]. Hagley Park. Tuesday.—I am very glad to hear that you think of visiting us. "Since you were here my much lamented friend Champion has, by a legacy, added his library to mine. We have also a card table allmost every night to amuse those who had rather look into the Devil's books, as some people have call'd cards, than either the Bible or the Koran." 1 *p.*

Henry Ellis to William Knox.

1805, Sept. 16. Naples.—Will gladly, if possible, accede to Knox's request to borrow 5,000*l.* upon the security mentioned. Has 28,000*l.* in the house of Sarjent, Chambers & Co., with whom he has dealt as bankers for fifty years, but of late he has had some hints that their circumstances are doubtful, and he will, as soon as possible, draw out of their hands what Knox needs. On the 26th of July, there was a violent earthquake at Naples, and every moment they expected to be buried in the ruins of the city, but though "every house bears the strongest marks of immediate destruction, yet few have suffered, and not many of the inhabitants. In the provinces great numbers of lives were lost, and multitudes of buildings destroyed, however all is tranquil now. Vesuvius gives the evil some vent, and continues to pour out torrents of flaming lava." He himself had a very violent fall, and soon after an attack of a paralytic nature, but is, thank God, pretty well recovered from both. 3 *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1805, Nov. 5. Naples.—The English post is stopped in Germany and in Italy, so that they can neither send nor receive letters by that way. A merchant has promised to send this by way of Hambro'. "It is said our Government means, in time, to establish a packet between Trieste and Malta, in which case correspondence will be open again." [In relation to the loan alluded to in the previous letter.] 2 *pp.*

HENRY ELLIS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1805, Dec. 15. Naples.—Has just received a letter from Sarjent's house in response to his notice that he wished to withdraw 5,000*l*., praying him to draw upon them for half the sum at six months and the other half at nine months. Fears the house is on the point of failing, which will be a terrible loss to him; he cannot help it, however, so must submit.

P.S.—"A body of English and Russian troops are arrived here, which will force this King into a war again with the French in a month's time, and, of course, in all probability oblige me to retire again to Palermo." 3 *pp.*

THOMAS J. STIKEMAN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1806, Jan. 28. Naples.—Informing him of the death of Governor Henry Ellis, on January 21. Mr. Knox, Samuel Marshall, Esq., of Sergeants' Inn, and Mr. Francis Ellis (nephew of the deceased) are appointed executors. Sends a copy of Governor Ellis' will, authenticated by Mr. Scott, the British Vice-Consul, and has placed another copy, signed and sealed by the late governor, in the hands of Mr. Christian Heigelin, Danish Consul, an old friend of the deceased. The original he keeps in his own hands, being authorised by Gov. Ellis, to whom he was secretary, to take charge of his papers and effects. 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to the CLERK OF THE COUNCIL.

1806, June 16. Ealing.—Has great pleasure in furnishing the Lords of the Committee [for Trade and Plantations] with his ideas of the best modes of disposing of the crown lands in New Brunswick. Three classes have to be considered—present inhabitants, emigrants from the United States and emigrants from Europe. The present inhabitants are mostly loyalists or descendants of loyalists, and have strong claims on Government. The grants of land so long withheld from them should be immediately expedited, quit rent suspended for ten years, and all arrears of quit rent remitted. Thus their confidence and good humour will be restored and they will communicate their satisfaction to their friends in the United States, and induce emigration. Lands in many of the States have risen in value, and it is a characteristic of Americans to have no local attachment. "They play at leap-frog with their lands; so soon as they have cultivated a spot that any new comer likes they sell it and remove higher up in the country . . . I have known them remove four times in the space of a few years." Therefore there can be no doubt that many will remove into New Brunswick, and, although some may be republicans, the superior respect in which the King's governor and servants are held, compared with the Republican governors and officers, and provincial rivalries and jealousies, will soon counteract their sentiments. The emigrants from Europe come out either with money to seat themselves on vacant lands or as indented servants brought over by the masters of the ships, who dispose of the indentures to the residents, and so

repay themselves for the expence of bringing the men over. These indented servants are not entitled to lands until their apprenticeship expires, but, as they are a valuable acquisition to the country, the purchasers [of the indentures] should be allowed to claim lands on their account, with assurance to the servants of receiving them when their time expires.

The province should be divided into counties and sub-divided into parishes and townships; the surveys to be made at Government's expense, and accurate maps returned into the Surveyor's Office for inspection by new comers. Each township should be on or near a river or creek navigable for boats and canoes, and they should be connected by roads with each other and the seat of Government; these roads, in the first instance, to be made merely by blazing trees into lines about 12 feet from each other and cutting away the brush, &c., between. Bridges to be made by logs of trees pinned together with cross pieces, and covered with brush and earth, and the same method to be taken for roads across swamps; both roads and bridges to be made at the public expence under the direction of Commissioners and an Act to be passed by the Legislature for their maintenance. As the country becomes settled better roads and bridges will be made.

There are three methods of granting lands:—(1) By the King's warrant or *mandamus;* (2) on the claim of a settler in proportion to the number of his family; (3) by "the grant of an additional quantity in proportion to his ability by purchase." The 1st plan has always been a job, and has greatly impeded the settlement of the colonies; the 2nd is the wisest, as it operates as a premium to persons with families, and children born or brought up in the colony will become its best defenders. The settled proportion is a hundred acres for the master, 50 for the wife, and 50 more for each child or indented servant. The additions made by purchase must be regulated by the discretion of the Governor and Council.

It has been the disgrace of all administrations, since the first settlement of colonies in America, that no legal provision has ever been made for the ministers of the Established Church, or any care taken by Government for the religious instruction of the inhabitants. Begs to refer them to two letters (Appendices 4 and 5 of his *Extra Official State Papers*) drawn up by him for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This Society is now in very affluent circumstances and, with the assistance of their funds, Government might find means to make a permanent establishment for the ministers of the Church of England in the British provinces at very small expense to the public. *Draft.* 8 *pp.*

William Knox to Lord Auckland.

1806, July 22. — Prince Edward Island was originally divided into lots of about 20,000 acres each, and granted to as many proprietors as there were lots, who were to provide a fund for the support of the Governor, civil officers and clergy by a large quit rent. Many of the proprietors never paid their quit rents, the officers were left without salaries, and the island was likely to be abandoned,

when the Crown took up the officers' case, and made a scanty provision for them; the public, by way of indemnity, taking the quit rents into their own hands. Little was got from the proprietors, however, and the arrears mounted up to 60,000*l*., more than double the price the island would sell for. When I was appointed agent I submitted a mode of inducing proprietors to dispose of their lands in small portions to actual settlers and so reduce the arrears to 7,000*l*., which, I calculated, would pay off the arrears of salaries and reimburse the grant of 2 000*l*. meant for a church, State house, and gaol, but which the governor and officers had taken to themselves for their maintenance. I also suggested the remission of arrears of quit rent to small holders "beyond the due proportion of the liquidated sum charged upon the whole lot." Lord Hobart, however, thought it improper to reduce the amount of the arrears lower than 22,000*l*., and continued the quit rent at its old rate, and an Act has been passed by the Legislature of the island enforcing the payment of arrears. I would suggest that the late Lieut.-Governor Fanning (now living at 57 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square), Mr. Stewart, and myself should attend your Lordship with maps and papers, and I make no doubt you would collect sufficient information to form a plan which would render the island beneficial to the public. Orders should be given for the admission of ships from foreign parts to land their passengers in the British possessions, as otherwise the Dutch and Germans will still go to the United States, as they have done during the continuance of the suspending Instruction. I have made several attempts to engage the Society for Propagation of the Gospel to assist in providing a religious establishment for the island, but Dr. Morrice, their Secretary, objects on the ground that it is private property, and that none of the proprietors are subscribers to the funds of the Society.

Your Lordship must, therefore, speak with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other of the Bishops on the subject. There is only one poor minister of the Church of England in the island, with a salary of 70*l*. a year from the estimates; he has a large family, whom he supports "by labouring in a check shirt six days in the week, but on Sundays he attends his duty in the church very regularly." Glebes are reserved in every parish, but there is neither church nor minister except at Charlotte town. If the quit rents were made a fund for the support of the Church of England ministers, and some help given from the Society, an establishment for ministers and school-masters would soon be made: and if the same plan were carried into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, "the want of attention to the affairs of religion in the colonies will be no longer a reproach to the British administration." 8 *pp.*

Lord Lyttelton to William Knox.

1807, Jan. 4. Hagley Park.—". . . I will not omit to tell you, my very worthy old friend, that I am this day completely eighty-two years old, and shall give and partake of a chearfull dinner with some of my neighbours. What a pleasure would it be to me if I could add you to their number! Yet I will not propose a

journey to you in the winter; I believe I shall outlive it, and shall be happy in your company if you will favour me with a visit in any one of the next summer months.

"I have here my grandson, young Henry Hoare, but William, my son, is engaged in the House of Commons, where, as you say very rightly, he has gained a very honourable seat, but time alone must shew whether it will produce beneficial effects to him and advance his fortune." 1¼ *pp.* [*Written in a clear, firm hand.*]

LORD AUCKLAND to WILLIAM KNOX.

1807, Feb. 21. Palace Yard.—*Private.* "I have reason to believe that it would be a concession highly beneficial to the colony of New Brunswick, and in some degree to Nova Scotia, if it could be made practicable to allow the vessels of the United States of a certain description, and British vessels, to carry from some specified port or place to the United States the gypsum or plaister of Paris. Will you have the goodness to give to me a little of your strong sense and information on this subject, so as to facilitate such a measure in the least exceptionable shape. I have reason to believe that the United States would annually purchase an immense quantity of the article for the cultivation of lands, and the furnishing of it would be highly advantageous to New Brunswick." 1 *p.*

E. COOKE (secretary to Lord Castlereagh) to WILLIAM KNOX.

1807, May 13. Downing Street.—Requesting him to furnish Lord Castlereagh with a copy of the communication from Lord Auckland which he sent to Prince Edward Island, as Governor Desbarres mentions it, but gives no particulars. 1 *p.*

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD CASTLEREAGH.

1807, Oct. 15. Ealing.—In consequence of the hostile appearances in the United States of America, he begs to draw his lordship's attention to the unprotected state of New Brunswick; its extended frontier and the thinness of its inhabitants (owing to the fatal continuance of the Instruction preventing grants of land) holding out an invitation to the Americans to attempt its conquest in case of war, and their possession of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy affording shelter for their cruisers and enabling them to intercept British trading vessels, and in a great measure to destroy the valuable fishery in the bay. There is not a military man in New Brunswick, nor any of his Majesty's vessels stationed there, and, though it is too late in the season for an arrival from Europe, he prays his lordship to advise his Majesty to direct some naval and military force to be sent from Halifax and Quebec as soon as war with the United States becomes inevitable. *Copy.* 2 *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to E. COOKE

1808, Jan. 27. Ealing.—On the importance, in case of war with America, of taking possession of Penobscott, thus obtaining an

excellent station for the British cruisers, and at the same time covering the Bay of Funday and Nova Scotia from attack by sea. Also the Americans would never think of attacking New Brunswick by land if British troops were in possession of the Penobscott River, which they must cross and leave in their rear. Even Lower Canada would be protected by a force there, as it was by going up the Sagadahock River that Arnold made an irruption into Canada and had nearly taken Quebec, and Sagadahock Bay being very near Penobscott Bay and the two rivers nearly parallel, nothing could be done on the one without being known and probably frustrated by the force on the other. "These were the reasons which induced the attack upon Penobscott by Sir George Collier in the American war, and it was the determined purpose of Lord George Germain and the whole administration to have retained possession of the country and to have erected it into a province, under the name of New Ireland, had not Mr. Wedderburne, then Attorney-General, in resentment of not being made a peer at the same time with Lord Thurlow, refused to give his fiat to the Commission; and Lord Shelburne, from ignorance of its importance, ceded it to the Americans."

The Americans, holding Lake Champlain, will undoubtedly attack Montreal by that route, as Montgomery did in the American war. Does not know if the British have any fort on the Sorel. The French had one, but too small to hold troops enough for any use, so that Carleton abandoned it to Montgomery, calling the garrison to him at Montreal, which place, however, he had not sufficient force to defend, and so made his escape from it in a canoe to Quebec. Fears Montreal cannot be defended, as the Americans can come down from Oswego as well as from Lake Champlain, and if Montreal is lost the whole of Upper Canada must fall into the enemy's hands. Some armed vessels on Lake Ontario might prevent the attack from Oswego, but, as the Americans could bring in an overwhelming army by Lake Champlain, and could soon construct armed vessels at Oswego and Niagara, this would only delay, not prevent, their conquest of Upper Canada.

If hostilities be determined upon, it would be best to send troops out directly to Penobscott, as the Americans are not prepared for such an attack, and, as before said, troops stationed there would better cover the British possessions than if sent to Nova Scotia or New Brunswick.

Sends a printed copy of the plan of Sir George Collier's attack, in case that in the office cannot be found. "It is most unfortunate that General Carleton is prevented from going out, as the Governor is quite imbecile." 3 *pp.*

William Knox to the Clerk of the Council.

1808, Feb. 11. Ealing.—In answer to the inquiry of the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, begs to state that he has received instructions from New Brunswick to oppose any attempt to procure his Majesty's disallowance of the Act mentioned, *passed in that province in the last year, intitled An Act to ascertain the*

*rights of Fishery.** Will attend their lordships at any time, but prays first to be furnished with a copy of the petition from the Corporation of St. John's against the said Act, as he is ignorant of the nature and grounds of their objections to it. *Draft.* 1½ *pp.*

WILLIAM KNOX to the COMMITTEE OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

1808, April 6. Ealing.—The Lords of Trade have had under consideration the Act of their Assembly concerning the rights of Fishery. The agent for St. John's stated his objections to the Act; Knox answered, "to the apparent satisfaction of the Lords," who expressed much impatience in hearing his antagonist's reply; but the Act was disallowed, partly because an Act of Assembly cannot repeal an Act of Parliament or alter the Common Law of England, and, also, because Ministers are doing everything to conciliate the United States, and the Act would deprive their fishing vessels of the stipulations made in their favour in the Treaty of 1783. It is not yet known whether it is to be Peace or War with the States, but meanwhile, their embargo must be of great benefit to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and, perhaps "the accounts Congress will receive of the treatment their ships meet with from the French and other allies will indispose them to go to war" with England. *Copy.* 2¼ *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1808, Sept. 7. Ealing.—All negotiation between England and the United States being suspended, it appears a fit time to consider the business of their province. The question of the intercourse between the United States and the British West Indies must be comprised in the general measures adopted for the good of the nation, but there must be no relaxation of watchfulness and nothing should be left undone to enforce the importance of the Colony. Mr. Nathaniel Acheson's most valuable book is not entirely favourable, and Knox wishes to do away with disagreeable inferences to be drawn from it. General Carleton stated, in his evidence before the Committee on West Indian Commerce, that when he left New Brunswick there were five ships employed in bringing home masts and spars, but Mr. Idle, before the same Committee, said that he has a contract to furnish masts, &c., for the Navy from Canada *solely*, they being very far superior to those of New Brunswick or the United States; and Mr. Venner stated that the American fishermen come to the New Brunswick lines, catch the fish on their banks, and carry them to their own adjacent islands for sale. This is a severe charge against the industry and skill of the New Brunswick fishermen, and the other statement is highly injurious to the character of the timber of the country. In the same volume is a judgment by Mr. Botsford, Judge of the New Brunswick Vice-Admiralty Court, clearly laying down the boundary line of the province as passing between Deer Island, Campo Bello, and Marvel on the British side, and Moose, Dudley and Frederick Islands on the American side; and after this peremptory decision by a very able judge appointed

* The words in italics are cancelled.

by the Crown, it would be difficult to support any claim to the last three islands, but they might be obtained by treaty. Hopes that the termination of the present war will enable Great Britain to grant America equivalents for a much greater concession. "The happy expulsion of the French from Spain and Portugal, to which Great Britain has so greatly contributed," must dispose both those nations to gratitude, and it may be possible to obtain East Florida for the United States as an equivalent for their ceding to Great Britain the country up to the Penobscott, or the Kennebiche. At all events, the favourable termination of the war would put it in England's power to amend the unfortunate treaty of 1783, so as to insure the future safety and prosperity of British North America. Hopes to have a reduced copy of the great map of New Brunswick at the Board of Trade engraved ready to send to Germany, to encourage emigrants, as soon as peace is declared. 5 *pp.*

William Knox to Dr. Herschel.

1809, Oct. 9. Great Ealing.—Stating that as "the contemplation of a future state leads to astronomical disquisitions," he begs to ask Dr. Herschel for some information concerning the rotatory movements of the planets on their own axis, concerning which neither Sir Isaac Newton, nor any of his successors, seem ever even to have hazarded a conjecture. Gives the data of the times, &c., of the revolutions of the Earth, Mars and Jupiter, stating (*inter alia*) that, as Dr. Herschel well knows, the Earth is computed to be 81 millions of miles from the Sun, and its rotation on its axis about a thousand miles an hour; Mars 120 millions of miles from the Sun, rotating at 500 miles an hour; Jupiter five times the Earth's distance from the Sun, rotating at nearly 26,000 miles an hour. Does not pretend to accuracy in his numbers, "as small differences are nothing in such extensive calculations," and has not made these statements to inform Dr. Herschel of the facts, as he knows them better than anyone alive, but as the ground for his enquiries. Begs, in the first place, to know "if there has been any use discovered for placing so vast a body of some sort of matter in the situation of Jupiter in our solar system. . . . That a great body should move with greater velocity than a small one in making its revolution, is so contrary to all mechanical rule" that he cannot conceive what the law is which governs the case, and he prays Dr. Herschel, as the most likely of all practical astronomers to make the discovery, to employ his great talents in the consideration of the subject, for he is apt to imagine that a nearer knowledge of the heavenly bodies will help in forming a juster knowledge of Heaven itself. Dr. Herschel has "supposed the whole created universe forms one great concave, and Milton has made Satan, after passing through Chaos, to land upon the convex or outside of that concave. If this be so, where shall we place the seat of bliss, or the place of the Assembly of the 10,000 times 10,000 angels, who we are told surround the throne of the Deity. We have local descriptions of Heaven and of Paradise; indeed we are told of three heavens . . . In what part of space are we to look for them?" In conclusion, assures the Doctor of the great

obligations which he, in common with all others, owes to him. *Copy.* 5 *pp.*

Dr. William Herschel to William Knox.

1809, Oct. 13. [Slou]gh, near Windsor.—" Dear Sir,—Among the astronomical particulars you have mentioned, although the purpose for which they are intended does not require great accuracy, there are some that should be corrected. For instance, the distance of the Earth from the Sun is not less than 95 millions of miles, that of Mars 144, and of Jupiter 494 millions. The diameter also of Jupiter being 91,714 miles, the velocity upon its equator arising from rotatory motion will be nearly 29 thousand miles per hour.

" The question about the cause of the rotatory motion of the planets has not entirely escaped the inquisitive minds of astronomers; it is probably connected with the projectile motion, as one could hardly be given without the other. You may see a quotation on this subject at the end of my paper printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1783, page 283, *On the Sun and Solar System.* The quotation is from Mr. De la Lande, as follows :—

" ' Une force quelconque imprimée à un corps et capable de le ' faire tourner autour de son centre, ne peut manquer aussi de ' déplacer le centre et l'on ne sauroit concevoir l'un sans l'autre. ' Il paroit donc très vraisemblable que le soleil a un mouvement ' réel dans l'espace absolu.'

" Now as in this paper, and two more published in 1805 and 1806, the solar motion in space has been proved, we are authorised to admit that the same cause which gave it that motion may possibly have also been the cause of its rotation.

" It is true that the heavens appear to us as one great concave, but this, we also know, to be a mere consequence of the principles of optics; the real extent or form of the universe is far beyond what we can have any conception of. An attempt to assign ' a space for the seat of bliss or the assembly of angels ' does not fall to the lot of astronomers, who keep always within the range of facts that may be ascertained. In hopes that what has been said will partly answer your expectation, I have the honour to remain, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, Wm. Herschel."

II.—LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO IRELAND.

The State of Ireland.

1767 —Paper on the state of Ireland, noted by Knox as " delivered to Lord Frederick Campbell when appointed Secretary to Ireland in 1767." *Draft.* 14 *pp.*

Sir Lucius O'Brien to William Knox.

1776, April 2. Dublin.—Sir John Blaquiere has communicated to me your letter relative to the possibility of attaching the southern whale fisheries to Ireland. I thought not a moment should be lost, and, though the Parliament is too near dissolution to introduce

a bill, I have laid some resolutions on the subject before the House of Commons, who have unanimously agreed to them.

The import and export duties on oil, whalebone and seal skins have been taken off by an Irish Act this session, and by these resolutions a bounty is promised similar to the Greenland bounty, but whereas this is to be reduced from next Christmas to 30*s*. per ton, ours will continue, for three years at least, at 40*s*. With regard to the premiums for erecting furnaces and boiling the oil, we have funds of our own proper for the purpose. As you have opportunities of communicating both with the London and American merchants, I pray you to perfect your work, and help to "prevent this body of industrious fishermen (many of whom are Irishmen) from transporting themselves and their art to France or Holland." 3½ *pp.*

Sir John Blaquiere to William Knox.

1776, May 14. Dublin Castle.—Assuring Knox that his ideas are carefully attended to, and likely to prosper for the good of Ireland. Is sorry he has not been able to enter into the correspondence as it deserved, but the cause has not suffered, as his friend, Sir Lucius O'Brien, has followed it up with his wonted diligence.

Hopes to be able to do Mr Smith a good turn, but, since Lord Harcourt's arrival, "priests have refused to die, the clergy have been, as they deserve to be, immortal; and engagements ecclesiastical, [made] upon his first landing, are some of them yet unaccomplished." 2 *pp.*

With note.—"This letter transmitted copy of a bill for the improvement of the Fisheries of Ireland; giving bounties to the Newfoundland ships."

Sir Lucius O'Brien to William Knox.

1776, July 7. Dublin.—"The infinite confusion into which I have been thrown by a very unfairly contested county election" is my only apology for leaving your letters so long unanswered.

"The times are certainly favourable in many respects for us, as England seems sufficiently apprised in general of the advantage that must result to herself from increasing the maritime strength of Ireland. . . . One matter formerly hinted at by you would, no doubt, be highly conducive to this. I mean a clause in some Act declaring Irish ships to be English to all legal intents—that is if duly registered and manned. You know how far the English laws go allready to this point, so that the clause would rather be declaratory than any new grace to Ireland."

With respect to our fisheries, I think our Parliament has done almost all that could be expected from them, and yet our merchants have none of them availed themselves of these encouragements. The cause you have pointed out—the want of capital in this poor country. You have also given the remedy—that the moneyed agents of London would furnish funds if the trade should appear profitable, yet I cannot hear of any of our merchants availing themselves of this supply. Without this they can do little, yet we are making some beginning. 3½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1776, Sept. 30. Dromoland.—As to the African trade, "the disabling Acts of 15 and 23 Charles II. I believe prohibit Ireland to trade to or from any *place or plantation* belonging to England in Africa, but, as to such parts of the trade as is carried on with countrys in which England has no dominion, I think there is no law which interferes with us, unless it be that one which directs the African trade to be carried on under the direction of a company, and that Act, I think, while it fixes the seats of direction in London, Liverpool and Bristol, yet leaves the trade open to all his Majesty's subjects."

Might not some encouragement be given to our fisheries and also to the captains of our men of war, if the Irish merchants were permitted to register prize ships as British ships for the Fisheries? 4 *pp.*

Irish Trade.

1776.—Paper endorsed by Knox himself as "delivered to Sir John Blaquiere; the ground of the first measure for opening the trade of Ireland in 1776." 4 *pp.*

1776.—Notes showing that the Irish are cut off from the Newfoundland fishing, since Irish ships may not enter its harbours, nor may fishing tackle or provisions be carried thither by ships belonging to Ireland. The same may be said respecting the whale and oil fishing in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, as, by the Navigation Act of 15 Charles II., all ships carrying commodities to the colonies must be "English built, or belonging to England, Wales or Berwick," and only by such ships may fish be brought home. *Imperfect.* 4 *pp.*

Sir Lucius O'Brien to William Knox.

1777, Aug. 5. Dromoland.—Your observation is striking "upon the profit which the New Englanders made of their molasses spirit, and on the probability there is that the Irish could afford a malt spirit at as cheap a rate. With a view to this very trade I obtained in the last session of our Parliament a drawback of all duties upon the exportation of Irish made spirits," but I think we shall need to have more liberty given to us, if we are to go extensively into the African trade.

With regard to importing West India goods directly into Ireland, you think we might succeed if a higher tax is laid on these than on such as come through England, and if we can prove risk and loss by the present circuitous route. As to the first, it is done already by the Irish Act of Customs, which subjects plantation goods coming by way of England to but half the duty charged in the Book of Rates.

And does not this difference in favour of importing from England prove the loss also? "For either the loss *must* exceed that sum, or else, even after permission given to import directly, men will prefer the present practice, and then no complaint can be made by anyone."

The rest of the letter is a discussion of one of the clauses in the Fishery Act. 8 *pp.*

SIR RICHARD HERON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, April 29. Dublin Castle.—Introducing Mr. Wetherell, a gentleman whom Sir Lucius O'Brien desired should attend the Committee. He is assistant examinator of the Customs, and of great knowledge in his branch, and brings with him the Books of the Customs for the last seven years. 2 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, May 10. Dublin Castle.—I last night received your letter, stating what had passed in your conference with the deputies of the iron and hemp manufacturers, and desiring an opinion from hence upon the proposition that Irish manufactures "shall carry out with them a duty equal to that which remains upon those of the same denomination exported from England." By the Lord Lieutenant's direction, I have informed the Speaker, Prime Serjeant, Attorney-General, and other important members of the House of Commons, of the import of your letter, and am to assure you that they have no apprehension that so reasonable a proposal can fail to be cheerfully adopted. Pray, therefore, have bills drawn in England, and send the drafts over, that we may see exactly what you expect from our Parliament.

The Lord Lieutenant desires me to thank you for your attention to him in this business. 3 *pp.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, May 22. Dublin Castle.—In my former letters I stated that there was no doubt but that the Parliament of Ireland would cheerfully concur in your proposition for equalizing duties, but, as it seems to be expected that the clause you send me should be inserted in the Act, I have conferred to-day with many of the principal gentlemen of our House, and, being persuaded that our Parliament would immediately lay such duties as this clause is calculated to obtain, they wish the bill to pass "without a clause which seems to express a doubt of the Parliament here doing what is right in this respect, and which is the less necessary as Ireland hopes for further benefits, and cannot be so impolitick as to forfeit her claim to them by an ill-use of what is now to be granted." But, whether the clause is insisted on or no, you are prayed to send a most exact account of how goods, &c., imported from Great Britain stand charged, that Parliament, in laying on the duty here may be sure they proceed correctly. I cannot conceal that the "long train of excepting" in this Bill, and the postponing the Import Bill to next session, were a great disappointment. 3½ *pp.*

With note by Knox.—"I procured the bill to be brought on again and passed."

The SAME to the SAME.

1778, May 24. Dublin Castle.—"*I am exceedingly obliged by your letter of the* 19*th acquainting me the Export Bill had gone thro' the Committee. . . . Now people's minds begin to cool, they are*

sensible of the advantages you have procured to this country; I mean all reasonable people, who will soon satisfye the rest how thankful they ought to be to England for their concessions, and to the friends of this country for having procured them; but the unanimity with which the Resolution passed had flattered Ireland everything would be granted, and being afterwards alarmed with the apprehension of losing everything, the minds of people of all ranks were strangely agitated, and the lower order feeling at the same time great distress from the scarcity of provisions and the want of work, it is certain the disappointment would have produced a violent convulsion in this Kingdom. The crisis of this fever is passed; that which will be produced by agitating questions respecting the Popery Laws, will, I see, be very violent, but does not seem of so dangerous a tendency as the other. The question is between the individuals of the same country, and the party which is beat will have only to lament its being the weaker. The other would have become a question, and an ugly one, as it should seem, between Nation and Nation. Mr. Gardiner will, I believe, move to-morrow for leave to bring in Heads of a Bill for Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholick Subjects of Ireland. He is not yet determined what to propose. There is a general idea of putting the Roman Catholicks of Ireland upon the same footing with the Roman Catholicks of England. Government will support the motion for leave to bring in Heads of a Bill. There will be a strong opposition against any alteration whatever and a violent one against repealing the gavelling clause, which the Roman Catholicks abhor, and their opposers, even moderate men, consider as the Paladium of Ireland. It will, therefore, be very difficult to get rid of this clause, but having done that, you will be supposed to have done everything, and may, in another Session, blot the word Papist out of their statutes. I conclude your Parliament will soon rise. When we shall be able to do the same one cannot even conjecture." 3¼ *pp.*

EDMUND PERY to WILLIAM KNOX.

1778, Oct. 23. Edmundsberry.—Sir Richard Heron assures me that he and the Lord Lieutenant have "used every argument they could think of to have the embargo upon small beef taken off, or, at least, relaxed, but in vain." He has promised to make another effort, but I fear the principles upon which it was first laid on still subsist, and will continue it, although I am certain "it has answered no other purpose but that of reducing to the utmost distress a people who have deserved better. You say there are two objects to be attended to; . . . the securing a sufficient supply for our own forces, and preventing the French ships and Colonies from being victualled. With respect to the first, I am confident that none of our beef which is fit for the English market ever goes to any other; the price of it, which no other country will, or perhaps can, pay, is the best security against that. With respect to the second, . . . I confess I cannot see what advantage it is to Great Britain that France should be obliged to take her provisions from other countries rather than from Ireland. It has, I know, been the policy of very

wise nations to supply their enemies, even in time of war, with what they wanted, and I believe they never had occasion to repent having done so. . . .

"I confess to you I have for some time judged it prudent to remain silent with respect to the affairs of this Kingdom, which, indeed, I think are in a most deplorable state. I found that what I said had no other effect but to offend, which I wished not to do. The time is certainly not far off when this country must be attended to, and very different measures adopted with respect to it. That time should be expected with patience." 3 *pp.*

Underwritten :—

Note by Knox.—"I succeeded in getting the embargo taken off in December following, in consequence of the representation annexed, but I left the merit of the measure to Administration, and said nothing of it in my correspondence to Ireland. How much did I save Ireland by both revaluations?" [*This note, and the last paragraph of Pery's letter, have been subsequently cancelled.*]

Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, to William Knox.

1778, Oct. 28.—Thanks him for his sensible, judicious, and truly patriotic letters. As regards the direct importation of sugars into Ireland, the Dean has himself laboured a good deal in Bristol. "The opposers of the Bill used to object 'that whatever quantity of sugars were imported from the West Indies directly into Ireland would prevent the like quantity being imported from England,' to which the Dean used to reply: 'Make the native Irish somewhat less miserable than they are, and then they will consume a greater quantity sent from England, and also a large quantity imported directly from the West Indies. For example, there are at present at least a million of poor Irish peasants who, one with another, do not consume a pound of brown sugar each in the year; whereas, were they in a little better circumstances, each would probably consume nine pounds . . . and so in proportion of every other commodity.

"In regard to the Bills for repealing the persecuting laws against the Roman Catholics, the Dean has this short remark to make. That when the Papists are reforming the very worst and most mischievous parts of their religion, by their open disavowal of persecution, some of us, who call ourselves Protestants, adopt those very principles which they are casting off." 1½ *pp.*

Sir Lucius O'Brien to William Knox.

1778, Dec. 17. Dublin.—Sir Richard Heron has gone over to you with many plans of improvement for Ireland. He has a delicate part to play, for, on the one hand, nothing should be attempted without the full concurrence of Administration, and especially of those two great friends of Ireland, Lord North and Lord George Germain; and, on the other, "opposition must be so managed as to prevent their raising a cry or attempting to render what may be

done for us unpopular." This, I think, might be easily effected, as there is nothing which should be asked for by Ireland that will not be for the benefit of the majority among you who are interested in the subject. "Whatever you do for us is much wanted, for I cannot see how it is possible to go on in the present train, or even to find subsistence for the army much longer. And yet the greater part of what is to be done must be done here, where, believe me, an extensive plan of regulation is essentially wanting, for the revenue, the encouragement of Trade, the adjustment of the establishments, the peace and order as well as the defence of the Kingdom." 3¼ *pp.*

IRISH TRADE.

1778, December.—Paper endorsed by Knox as being delivered to Lord Geo. Germain for the Cabinet, "which was the ground of taking off the embargo on Irish provisions to all parts of Europe." 4 *pp.*

1778.—Paper in Knox's hand, headed "1778. Reasons in support of the Bill for encouraging the Trade of Ireland." 21½ *pp.*

SIR RICHARD HERON to JOHN SCOTT.

1779, Sept. 28. Dublin Castle.—Wishes much that he could do something for Dr. Smith, as he knows Mr. Knox has his promotion at heart; but the Lord Lieutenant "is so circumstanced with regard to the arrangements on the vacancies of the sees of Cloyne and Waterford" that he cannot comply with Mr. Knox's recommendation; and so few vacancies have happened in the church during his government that he has many original applications yet unsatisfied. 1½ *pp.*

Endorsed with note from Scott to "Mr. Ford," regretting that "matters do not wear a better appearance for Mr. Smith or my friend, his patron."

WILLIAM KNOX to LORD [THURLOW ?].

1779, Nov. 14. Bath.—The Irish gentlemen here are told by their correspondents in Ireland "that a tax upon the estates of Absentees will make the most natural of the ways and means for paying off the arrears of the last two years. If a union be the measure it is determined to promote, such a tax will create it many advocates. The chief objection of the landed people to it who either are, or intend to become, absentees, which is that of its involving a land tax, will be removed, and they will be stimulated to forward it by a resentful desire of seeing others charged as well as themselves, and the hope of being less heavily burthened when the equal system of British taxation is wholly adopted. In this light, therefore, I cannot help wishing the tax success, for, in my poor opinion, it is by the means the people themselves offer that all great changes in a constitution should be exacted."

There are three principles, either of which I think the Parliament and people of Ireland might be led to adopt, "but they are all ex-

clusive of each other, and therefore one, and one only, can be pursued. The first is a complete and intire union or incorporation of the two islands, with the single exception of Ireland's retaining a local subordinate legislature, similar in authority to that of the Isle of Man. The second is to leave the Constitution of Ireland untouched, and to give it all advantages in its trade that England enjoys, but in a way that shall secure to the English Government the command of a considerable portion of the national wealth and population which those advantages shall produce. The third is to do everything for Ireland that shall have a tendency to promote its prosperity, without prejudice to England, and to leave it to the Government *there* to avail themselves of it; and, for that purpose, to make such alterations in the Constitution of Ireland as shall serve to strengthen the hands of the Irish Administration. . . . Whichever your Lordship shall think the most fit to be the foundation of a system, I will do my best to frame one upon it." 3½ *pp.*

IRISH TRADE.

1779, December.—Resolutions drawn up by William Knox for enabling Ireland "to participate with the inhabitants of Great Britain in all the advantages of foreign and domestic trade, under the like duties and regulations." 7 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, June 1. Pall Mall.—"The Lord Lieutenant has sent the articles you mention to Lord Hillsborough, or something like them, and desires fresh instructions. They will send him none, as they are of no consequence but to be read by his Excellency to twenty people, and an extract of them by Sir R. Heron in the House of Commons. The use made of official letters is rather new, and, in short, this last transaction makes such a puzzle that no good can arise out of it. I hope as unexceptionable a bill as possible will be transmitted, and if any alterations are necessary they must be made here, and then the Parliament will say whether they please to accept it or not. If they reject it, there is an end of the army; if we admit it in an improper form, there is an end of the constitution. . . . What concerns me greatly is to find my friend Lord Buckingham so unassisted in Parliament; no minister capable of directing, no leading men agreeing in support of the Castle; all professing, as we are told, to have no confidence in the Secretary, and every man, uncontradicted (except by the Attorney-General) declaring against the legislative authority of Great Britain."

You being on the spot will, I am sure, give Lord Buckingham the best advice in your power. "Nothing will be more improper, in my opinion, than to give a formal opposition to the bill in Council; only to shew he is obeying his instructions and to throw the odium upon administration here." 3 *pp.*

GENERAL R. CUNINGHAM to WILLIAM KNOX.

1780, Aug. 10. Dublin.—". . . The mutiny bill is not arrived, but the alteration is generally understood, and greatly allarms.

Our patriots have declared publickly in the House of Commons that if there should be a majority against them in rejecting a perpetual Mutiny Act they will secede from Parliament, appeal to the people, and publish an instrument setting forth their reasons for so doing. What I consider as the settled Opposition of this country seem united on this point, but I am confident Government has strength enough to carry the Bill through both Houses, if it is willing and knows how to exert it. It is more than probable we shall have a mob the day the subject is discussed, still I think we may pass the Bill, and, if we do, we shall soon get into smooth water. If there was any vigour left in Government it could not admit of a doubt, but, you must know from what you saw in Ireland, there is none. Is it not amazing that Grattan should have been permitted to talk of seceding in the manner I have stated, when the Speaker was in the chair, and the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant and the Attorney and Solicitor-General in the House, and yet not to be called to order? But so it is, and so it must be till there is a vigorous Government in this country to set its face against the specious doctrines of ill-designing men, and to contradict, or at least counteract, the vanity of Irish publications that poison the minds of the people."

The Sugar Bill will be the next thing, and when that is over I hope this country will have rest for twelve months. 3¼ *pp.*

Underwritten :—

Note by Knox.—"This was soon after my return from Ireland, where I had assisted Gen. Cuningham in the business of the Mutiny Bill, for a particular account of which see my letter to Lord Hillsborough, which his Lordship was so good as to let me have back."

William Eden to William Knox.

1781, March 11. Phœnix Park.—Your letters deserve the best acknowledgments both from me and my Principal. It has happened to many of our predecessors to be often the last and the worst informed at seasons of great events, but hitherto we have every reason to feel grateful to Lord Hillsborough and our private friends, and shall certainly use their kindness with all discretion.

The Attorney-General [Scott] and I live and act together most cordially, and I am as well pleased with my situation here as I expected, "but it is at best a most incessant teazing to the temper and faculties. The expence, too, from the general system of luxury and dissipation thro' the kingdom, is become enormous to the Secretary, who must not be undone (*sic*) by any man in the folly of a fine table, good carriages, horses, &c. . . ." 2½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1781, Nov. 28. Dublin Castle.—This messenger carries our money bills, which I hope will be returned without delay or alteration, as our House ought to adjourn very soon. Nothing can stand better than our Government does now, if we are only supported as we ought to be. Pray give me your sentiments on the subject of a

National Bank for Ireland. I have many ideas, when I can find time to digest them, and I see the importance of the present Government taking the lead in the measure. I dare not mention America! 1 *p.*

William Knox to William Eden.

1781, Dec. 6. Whitehall.—"I begin to fear for you from my faith in the literal denunciations of Scripture—'Woe to you when all men speak well of you.' If they expel you from Ireland, it will be upon the same principle Aristides was banished from Athens. . . . In truth, you have done admirably, and everybody here thinks so, and there is the most hearty disposition to give you full support. . . . You desire my thoughts upon a National Bank for Ireland. It is an ill-time for one who is just become a bankrupt in one part of the world to think of establishing a system of credit in another, but you shall have what occurs." [*The rest of the letter is on the subject of the Bank and is printed in Knox's "Extra Official State Papers."*]

William Eden to William Knox.

1782, Feb. 11. Dublin Castle.—"Whatever becomes of the American department I do not conceive that it can exist without you;" give me leave therefore to recommend Lieut.-Governor Hamilton to your kindest attention. If you can be of use to him, you will give much pleasure to the Lord Lieutenant, and confer a great favour on me. 1 *p.*

William Knox to Lord Temple.

1782, Nov. 2.—It gives me great pleasure if my papers have furnished your lordship with any useful information. "From the pure motive of doing good to both Kingdoms, I was led to take a considerable share in Irish affairs in the administrations of Lords Harcourt, Buckingham and Carlisle, without having any personal connexion or even acquaintance with any of their lordships, and I had the great satisfaction of seeing my endeavours attended with considerable success, and gratefully acknowledged by my countrymen." I lament that my present opportunities are not equal to those my then situation afforded, but I flatter myself that your Excellency will allow me to communicate anything which may possibly be useful.

A notice I saw lately in an Irish paper from Mr. Grenville to the merchants, respecting the contract for supplying the troops in America, has brought to my mind the inconveniences which, while I was in office, the contractors would have found from want of a speedy conveyance if I had not used the power I had of sending expresses on pressing occasions by way of Milford Haven. So frequent were these that "some persons found it their interest to station vessels for the purpose, but I am informed they are now discontinued, some of them having been captured by the enemy. What I would therefore suggest to your Excellency is . . . to

represent the necessity of establishing regular packet boats to sail three times a week, as the Dublin boats used formerly to do, between the most convenient port in Pembrokeshire and Waterford." Independent of their utility to the public service, the advantage to the commerce of the two kingdoms would infinitely overbalance the expense to the Post Office; indeed if, during the war, stout armed cutters were used instead of defenceless boats, great advantage and protection would accrue to trade. When Lord Hillsborough was a postmaster, he established the packet between Donaghadee and Port Patrick; and I procured the addition to the American packets of a boat direct to Charlestown. I trust your Excellency's administration will be the era of the establishment of the Waterford packet. I have not mentioned the matter to Lord Shelburne, as I wish the measure to be wholly yours. *Draft.* 7 *pp.*

William Knox to the Marquis of Buckingham.

1788, Feb. 27.—Reminding his Excellency of his efforts to promote the welfare of Ireland, and sending plans for improving the correspondence between England and North America, in which he has not failed to point out the manner in which Ireland might share the advantages proposed. As his present private situation gives him no official intercourse with ministers, he can only point out the method, and must leave the enforcing it to abler hands. Of these he knows none so able as his Excellency's, and hopes he may find it an object worthy of his interposition. Is happy to see his Excellency take the lead in a matter which his ever dear and honoured father [Geo. Grenville] considered very necessary to be adopted—viz., the reduction of legal interest—and will always be glad to give what little assistance he can to any measures for the welfare of Ireland. 3 *pp.*

Marquis of Buckingham to William Knox.

1788, March 4. Dublin Castle.—Acknowledging Mr. Knox's flattering expressions both as regards himself and one whose memory must ever be most dear. Cannot give an opinion on a plan so extensive, but will consider the subject maturely, that he may be prepared if the part in relation to Ireland is referred to him. He must, however, state that the people of Limerick have unanimously requested that the mails may be sent by way of Dublin, owing to the hazards and delays of the Waterford route, and that orders have been given accordingly. 2 *pp.*

Archdeacon Thos. Hastings to William Knox.

1789, Feb. 11. Dublin.—As soon as your two books came I put the *State Papers* into Mr. King's hands, to go to press at once, and by this time I suppose it is printed off. I saw the first sheet, which was very correct. The corrector of the press, a very intelligent person, promised occasionally to bring me a sheet, but has not done so. To furnish each member of the two Houses with one will require five

hundred copies. Mr. King thinks each copy will cost 3s. 6d. English. He proposes to print 1,500 copies, and supposes that the sale of a thousand will go near to paying the expence. This I doubt much, "for in this country, a work of the greatest merit, and of that class I esteem your book, will not have three hundred readers. . . . I thank you heartily for your remarks on our Liturgy. They exhibit a benevolent heart, and, indeed, a good head. I have, however, thought it imprudent *queta movere*. This you will say is the old cant . . . but I say these are subjects for the discussion of which we have not adequate ideas. My faith is fixed, and the Scriptures are the rule of it. . . . As to our politicks, the Lord Lieutenant, with great difficulty, obtained bare thanks. Upon every question majorities increase against him. He cannot do anything. Gratton carries everything. This very night it is supposed the Prince will be declared Regent in the House of Commons without any restriction whatever; on Friday in the House of Lords. Opposition is vain. . . . Most of the placemen and many pensioners against government. The Marquis, I will not say how justly, but certainly he is the most unpopular governor we ever had. Never was Lord Lieutenant so abused and mauled as he has been in the House of Commons; indeed the language was most indecent. We are at present in a state of anarchy and confusion. God grant all may end well. Mr. Pelham is daily expected, and Lord Spencer about the 23rd inst. He has appointed, it is said, Dr. Norris his first and Mr. O'Biern his second chaplain. Lord Rawdon, we hear, is to be one of the Secretaries of State. If it were a department you liked, I wish you were his secretary. If he comes in he might be of use to me. I have seventeen hundred a year to give up—one thing a desirable dignity, 900*l.* a year clear, and the other a prebend, 800*l.* per annum. I stand as well as I could possibly wish with the Moira and Granard families, and if Lord Ailesbury had power he would serve me, but his interest clashes with the politics of the day." 2 *pp.*

Archdeacon Hastings to William Knox.

1789, March 14. Dublin.—Concerning Knox's proposed provision for his children. Warns him not to encumber "Thomas" too heavily, as a large estate, deeply charged, is an unpleasant situation, unless a prudent marriage extricates him from the difficulty.

The Irish edition of the *State Papers* is finished. A thousand copies only are to be struck off, and Mr. King "hopes the expence will not exceed 30*l.*" Our House of Commons is very furious. It is supposed the Pension Bill will be thrown out in the Lords, but by a small majority. The King's recovery will have a great effect in that House. There will be a strong contest as to an address to the Lord Lieutenant for his message to both Houses. "If an address of thanks can be obtained it may remove the sting of the censure. A certain personage is very unpopular, and it is hard to say for what, but so it certainly is. Opposition has numbers but not

abilities." The Attorney-General has displayed talents which will probably secure him the seals. He is honest and able. An addition of six to the Upper House is daily expected—a temporary but dangerous experiment. 2 *pp.*

SIR JOHN BLAQUIERE to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, April 4. Dublin.—Is so jaded and worn with politics that he has scarce breath for a refined pleasure, but the honourable mention of his name has roused the vanity of French blood; he is highly gratified, and returns hearty thanks for the *Extra Official State Papers* which has announced it to him. Regrets the poor return made for Knox's efforts on behalf of Ireland, but believes it was the interest of the great to pass them by, as, if justice had been done to them, "many is the man whose state ability had been perfectly unnoticed at the present moment." 3 *pp.*

ARCHDEACON HASTINGS to WILLIAM KNOX.

1789, May 14. Dublin.—Your great services to Ireland are allowed by all, yet there is no one to state them to Parliament. Opposition will ask nothing, and perhaps the powers that be do not wish to grant any pension. I have spoken to many, especially Sir L. O'Brien, but they all think nothing will be done for you. The Bishop of Cloyne says he cannot speak to Mr. Conolly, as he is in opposition and averse from granting pensions. The session is now just at an end, and you must wait for the next unless you can get a King's letter. The leaders of the volunteers are said not to be pleased at a remark you made, and Lord Pery and others, I hear, are dissatisfied at the publication of their letters. Many doubt whether confidential letters to a secretary should ever be published during the life of the writers.

The church owes you gratitude for your dissertation upon tithes. In the year 1788 we exported 345,000 barrels of grain. What an amazing increase! In 1771 half the grain consumed in Ireland was imported. To check too great an exportation tithes seem the only restraint, or we shall soon have neither beef to eat nor wool to clothe our people. 2 *pp. Seal of arms.*

SIR J. PARNELL to WILLIAM KNOX.

1791, Oct. 2.—I am favoured with your observations concerning the advantages which facility for borrowing or raising money on discount has in enabling merchants to carry on their trade; and also pointing out "how much the commercial capital of this country was capable of increase by adding to the paper currency, and bringing into circulation the value of the dead stock of houses, lands, &c." These principles appear to me to carry self-evident conviction of their truth. "Since I have been in the public service I have always acted under the conviction that by increasing the fictitious capital, so far as it bore a reasonable proportion [to] the real capital, the wealth of the country would be increased and its

progress to prosperity accelerated. It was with this view that I introduced the Bill for the reduction of interest. . . . Had not this measure been defeated in the House of Lords (after it had passed the Commons by a large majority) they who, by their votes and influence, defeated it (viz., the bishops and bankers of Ireland) would not have been the only monied men in this country. However, the measure, so far as it succeeded, has had its effect. Immediately after the Bill had passed, the interest money fell a half per cent.; the growing wealth and commerce of the country has continued and increases, though not so rapidly as if it received judicious assistance. . . .

"The part of this subject to which you allude when you mention houses and lands finding their representation in paper is not here on the same footing as with you; the value of landed property is much depreciated here, and there is no facility in borrowing on its credit . . . but if means could be suggested to enable the owner of land to bring its value into circulation by easily procuring money on the pledge of it, it would greatly add to the national capital. . . .

"I have sometimes thought of following the example of the Roman State, where the Government act the part of pawnbrokers and lend money on pledges at a reasonable interest. I think the institution is called *monti di pieta*. Why should not publick money to a certain amount be vested in a body, to be lent on pledges of lands and goods? It would answer the purposes of charity and of promoting the publick monied interest." 7½ *pp.*

William Knox to Sir John Parnell.

1791, Oct. 4.—Soho Square.—Explaining the inconvenience suffered by merchants in their Colonial trade from the "long detention" of their capital, and the means taken by them to obviate the difficulty by the use of bills; also the special difficulties which Irish merchants have to overcome. In order to place the Irish factors upon a more advantageous footing, he "followed the grant of a free trade with the scheme of a National Bank," and if his whole plan had been adopted, would have still further increased the commercial capital by "coining the dead stock of unproductive lands and bringing them into cultivation and their value into circulation."

By this means he raised Georgia from indigence to comparative opulence in six years, and it is the secret by which England has attained such amazing wealth, "for every acre of land and every house throughout the kingdom, as well as every bale of goods, either actually is or may be brought into constant circulation." 4½ *pp.*

The Same to the Same.

1791, Oct. 31. Bath.—Thanking him for the obliging terms in which he has expressed his concurrence in Knox's views, and sending him a paper concerning "the proper means to be employed for the furthering the improvement and prosperity of Ireland, and giving an effectual check to the emigration of the useful people." *Copy.* 1 *p.*

Enclosing.—The paper above mentioned. 14½ *pp.*

Irish Catholic Question.

[Undated]—Paper by William Knox endorsed as above. "However deservedly the late Ministers have been charged with precipitancy, ignorance and self-sufficiency in their general conduct, there is no instance in which they have so decidedly merited those reproaches as in that of what is called the question of Catholic Emancipation, which, however, if they say true, has been productive of the great good—their resignation." It is well known that the only bar to Catholics holding any office, civil or military, is the declaration against Transubstantiation, for the Conformity Acts are as penal upon Protestant dissenters as on Catholics, yet such dissenters freely enter into office, trusting to the annual Indemnity Acts for protection. The Catholics, however, are stopped by the declaration against Transubstantiation which has to be taken *previously* to entering into any office. In the letter of Lord Petre and others to the Vicar Apostolic of Nov. 25, 1789, they expressly declare that they only wish to be placed on a level with Protestant dissenters, and do not demand the repeal of the Conformity Acts. To believe in Transubstantiation certainly implies submission to the judgment of the Church, and if the same submission was carried into everything the Catholics would certainly be unfit to be trusted with any post under a Protestant government, but the English Catholics "unequivocally profess to confine their submission to the authority of their church to matters purely spiritual," and the mere attitude of submission to authority is favourable to government, "as it disposes to obedience, and by no means to resistance." And as regards the doctrine in question the only difference is that the Catholics believe *more* than the Church of England. The latter inculcates the belief of a spiritual eating the flesh of Christ, the Catholics believe that they eat it carnally, but the Protestant dissenter denies both, and is therefore further removed from the Church of England than is the Catholic. The Church of England disavows all persecution, and consents to complete liberty for everyone to worship God in his own way. The laws requiring persons entering into office to conform to her ritual are merely defensive, to prevent attack, but not to be used for offensive purposes, as is shown by the annual Act of Indemnity. This Act would cover the Catholics from all the penalties of non-conformity and of continuing to go to Mass, and, therefore, by merely removing the Declaration against Transubstantiation, this great business would be settled "without any danger to the Established Church or violation of his Majesty's Coronation oath." 9¼ *pp.*

III.—REMINISCENCES, POLITICAL ANECDOTES, AND NOTES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH PUBLIC MEN.

Georgia.

"The 3rd September, 1756, I arrived in London. I was appointed Provost Marshal of Georgia by Lord Halifax in November, and the 8th of December we sailed for Charles Town, after a stay of near three weeks at Portsmouth. We arrived at Charles Town

the 26th January. There we were entertained very splendidly by Mr. Lyttelton, to whom I was not introduced by Mr. [Ellis] for three days, although he and his secretary went there every day; nor then, but after an invitation to dinner from Mr. Lyttelton, who had heard of me from his secretary, with whom I had (by design) made an acquaintance. This neglect I attribute to the same cause which deprived me of the honour Lord H[alifax] intended me by asking Mr. [Ellis] in my presence to bring me with him to his house (which he never did). Mr. Lyttelton was particularly civil to me, and often attempted to engage me in a separate conversation, and once in a private one, but I avoided every occasion, through fear of giving offence to the other. There and on our journey to Georgia he was incessantly throwing out the jealousy of Wood, lest he and I should unite and so make ourselves of consequence. By Wood's frequent neglects of me I apprehend he had been practised on in the same manner. At last, at Mr. Bull's, we came to an open rupture, in which, as Wood had made himself disagreeable to everybody, especially to Mr. Bryan, and because of the insults heretofore offer'd me, I was countenanced.

"We arrived at Savannah on the 15th of February, and the day after Mr. [Ellis] took the government upon him. The Assembly was then sitting. Mr. Little, the Speaker of the Lower House, waited upon Mr. [Ellis] to beg two favours of him—one to dine with their House, and another to receive an address from them. Both he declined, the latter (he said) because he had refused the like from the Council. Notwithstanding, I afterwards learned that an address was prepared, in which Mr. Reynolds was intended to be complimented at the expense of his successor, and upon my communicating it an adjournment was sent next day. Little was yet undetermined whether he should stay behind his master till after the day in April the Assembly was adjourned to. . . . His great object was to make the government uneasy to the governor, that he might avail himself of his complaints of the refractory disposition of the people, and, at the same time, shew by the Address he had before procured that it was more the fault of the governor in employing improper people than of the people, that things did not go well. This we were soon sensible of, and, therefore, as the majority of the Assembly were his creatures, I was strongly for their dissolution before they were met, but not before Little was gone. . . . . The governor was still of a different opinion. He thought that by his continuing these he would highly oblige them, and as most of them were placemen he was not afraid of their being stubborn; he therefore would have all the advantage of a tractable Assembly without any of the odium of procuring it. . . . It was, however, resolved to prorogue them till the end of May. Little, we resolved, should go home, or be sent, with his master, and I then took my seat in the Council and enter'd upon my office, 3 March, both of which I had delayed doing till then lest it should be necessary for me to go into the Assembly. The governor, however, did not approve that scheme, nor would have suffered it but through necessity, for he then perceived I was acquainted with parliamentary affairs and might make myself of too much consequence in that

House. In truth, I was desirous of going in there for a little time, to gain a character, because I imagined my youth might make me overlooked in the Council, and I should be under the disadvantage of being thought the governor's echo. Addresses were now presenting from different parts of the province, and, as the fate of the Assembly was still undetermined, I contrived (with the governor's privity) to have a wish for its dissolution inserted in several. This proved of infinite convenience, for whilst it furnished the governor with good reasons to the Ministry, if he should dissolve them, and would lay an extraordinary obligation on the new members, as having done it at the people's request; on the other hand, it made the present members more dependent, and gave the Governor an opportunity of manifesting his confidence in them by continuing them. . . . Mr. Reynolds and Little embarqued for England the 25th March. After their departure I had an opportunity of getting acquainted with their party, and as I perceiv'd they were almost all Europeans, tho' very ignorant, and the persons who were likely to compose a new Assembly were mostly Carolinians, from which province they drew all their precedents, and where the Lower House usurped the whole legislation and execution, I came over to the governor's opinion, as thinking the old members much likelier to join in establishing a British constitution, which was our object, than those that should succeed them. I was the more confirmed in this by viewing the journals of the first Assembly, in which many of those Carolinians were members, as I found daily motions for such privileges as were enjoy'd in the neighbouring province. It was now determined to meet this Assembly, yet a proclamation for proroguing them to the 12th June only was issued, that the party might have no assurance when they were to assemble or whether they should be continued. The matters to be laid before them, and the filling up the vacancies, were now the topics of consultation. This was then the state of the province. By Reynold's hasty dissolution of the first Assembly, one year, his second, had been unprovided for, and thro' the insufficiency of the tax that year raised, a balance remained of the first year. The present Assembly had laid on a tax of 1*s.* per head before our coming, which Reynolds told them would be sufficient, without mentioning for what year's service, but in general for defraying the expences of the Courts, &c." The consequence was that the Crown was stripped of its prerogative as executor and the Council of their privilege of disbursing the public money, and both made subservient to the Lower House, for as the revenue was not granted until after the year expired the governor and Council had to risk the approbation of the Assembly for whatever they engaged, or else to inform the contractors that they were to take their chance of being paid for their work by the Assembly, thus making all officers and employés dependent on the Assembly. These were terrible circumstances for a new governor. The first step taken was "to publish an advertisement to bring in to the Council all demands against the public to the 25th March." This made us possessed of the debts and of Mr. Little's orders. These accounts amounted to near 1,100*l.*, and when the tax came in, the latter

end of May, it produced but about 260*l*. There was also the ¾ interest on 27,000*l*. paper money, amounting to about 130*l*., but there still remained a balance of 630*l*. for which there was no provision, nor any for the service of the current year, "so that before the usual time of laying the tax (in February) we should be three years revenue in debt. We were very much distress'd how to get rid of this embarrassment. The governor was determined against any additional tax lest he should suffer in his popularity; he thought of paying the current expenses out of the tax, leaving it to the Assembly to discharge the debt incurred by Mr. Reynolds, whose friends they were. This I was averse to, as I apprehended it would involve us in a dispute with the Assembly. . . . He was then for postponing the matter till the winter, and then trying what could be done by an additional tax in a series of years. This I could not agree with him in, first because there was the chance of his not being so well with the people then, and second because the debt would then be still more increased, and, above all, the habit of settling accounts would be acquired by a new Speaker, and we should lose the advantage of Little's infamous character debarring them from quoting any precedent. . . . My scheme was to call in all accounts to the 24th June, that there might be no arrears, to apply the tax and interest to the discharge of the whole as far as they would go, to raise the credit of the currency by giving bills for it only, and to issue two thousand more at interest, applying the whole to the discharge of the balance, which should be turned into certificates with interest 'till paid by that fund, which would be done in three years without any tax, and that fund for the future to be allotted for contingencies. When this was passed, *then* to lay before them an estimate of the one year's expence of government, commencing the 24th June, which must be then provided for by a tax then imposed but not to be levyed till May following. He thought this too complicated a scheme, and did not for a long time thoroughly comprehend it, being unaccustomed to such business, but when he did, he improved it considerably by altering the sum to be issued to the neat ballance and appropriating the present revenue of interest to the sinking of the paper so issued. . . . I drew up the Bill according to my system with his improvement, and so it passed." I undertook to make the laying on the tax for the next twelve months their own act, and the first Bill being passed, and a motion asking the governor to appoint look-outs on the coast carried, the provision for this latter brought on a debate about provision for ordinary occurrences. "The governor was applied to; he declared he would not do anything without an authority; he did not ask a tax this year, but only to be now laid on and appropriated that he might know what and how he was to act. They had no objection to a tax the winter session, but now, they said, was an improper time, and that the people could not be persuaded but it was two taxes the same year. That, we argued, could not be, as the time of levying, not of laying, the tax was only material. . . . The governor was resolute that if they did not do it now he should neither employ look-outs nor stir one step in anything that should incur any expences." An estimate of one

year's expence was laid before them, amounting to 530*l*., and, after much wrangling, they agreed to it and added 100*l*. to the contingent for the troops. The tax was then fixed at 2*s*. per head.

"I had had great uneasiness at the approach of this session, as there was not one other real friend to a British constitution in the Council, and I should thence have all the labours and all the odium of abridging the liberties of the people. Mr. C[lifton] had been originally appointed of the Council, but had declined taking his seat hitherto. I got him to consent to do it now, but I was afraid of mentioning it to the governor, lest he, from our intimacy, should be jealous, till I prepared him to wish for him by laying my difficulties before him. When it was settled a Council was called, nothing of the matter being suspected, H[abersham] & H[arris] and myself only present, when Mr. C. presented his memorial to the great astonishment of H[abersham], yet not having any opportunity to consult with W[atson?] or byass H[arris] he gave it for the memorial, and he [C.] was introduced and sworn accordingly. This measure secured the Council in all matters of prerogative, as there were now two, which made a protest practicable." C. and I framed the Asylum Act, the Provision Bill, and the Fortification Bill, and I drew our address, the last paragraph only done by Habersham. I thought it necessary for the Council to establish its right to legislation by the passing of an Act which had its rise there; we tried the Fortification Act, but it being a money Bill we dropped it and took the Provision Bill, which we got passed accordingly. In filling up the vacancies matters were not so well conducted, but they turned out as well, Mr. Y[onge] being elected by a large majority for S[avannah]. The Jury Act was prepared by Mr. C., but we thought it best to let it lie by. O[ttolenghe] was very averse to it, because it would throw power into the Provost Marshal's hands and enable him to humble the justices, while O.'s whole scheme was to make himself of consequence. "He was perpetually magnifying the power of the opposite party, but would not agree to a dissolution, because he said he knew how to manage them. He detested the Council, tho' he still professed that he desired a British constitution, and when he found the majority of the Assembly would do the governor's business without him, he endeavoured to embroil the two houses in order to make himself of importance." He had a strong dislike to me, which at last broke out in a way that exposed him to the laughter of the whole town, and brought upon him a severe check from the governor. I avoided any appearance of triumph, and he saw I was too well acquainted with parliamentary management to be attacked that way. He next became the most violent friend of the governor; this brought us together, and "we understood one another very well, and, indeed, are the only people who know either." Jealousy was the thing I most feared. I never assumed anything on what I had done, or took anything in hand till asked to do so. Mr. L[yttelton] signified his desire to meet the governor at Port Royal, and as the latter wished his management to be known before the meeting he sent me to C[harles] T[own] principally on this account, tho' to embark the troops at the same time.

"This was an opportunity I much wished for, but embraced it without any appearance of pleasure. I set out the day after the adjournment, first taking care not to be named of the Committee appointed to draw up the address that I might not be answerable for anything I had no hand in." The reports of the good opinion the people of Carolina had of me created a prejudice in the governor against me. When (in September) I was seized with a fever, his "little attention to my concernments was very visible, yet still was it more evident when I was ill at Martins, for a whole month he not once sent me any message, nor did he offer me a single penny, altho' he knew my circumstances would not afford me necessarys. When the Indians arrived (the 3rd Nov.), I endeavoured to prepare for being present at the Talk." Mr. C. could not find me a horse anywhere, and mentioned this to the governor, but he only replied that it could not be helped. "He added to my chagrin a good deal by offering my lot in town in exchange to D. V. [De Veaux?] without my knowledge, as he told the Council another lot would do as well for me, who could not build on it." The Council, however, were consenting only provided I was content. Here I determined to make a stand, at once to revenge myself by embarrassing the governor by disabling him from fulfilling his promise, and, at the same time, to shew the Council and others I was not the subservient creature they had been told. . . . A second division of Indians coming to town gave me an opportunity of signing the treaty and meeting the whole body. I now kept a greater distance and only went when I was invited, which was seldom." I shortly took an opportunity of hinting my intention to build, soon after I was sent for and an *eclaircissement* desired; I spoke very plainly, and "we settled that he should treat me with more delicacy for the future and I to follow my own inclinations." 13¼ *folio pp.*

Conversation with Mr. Grenville.

1767, Sept. 29.—"This day, at Wootton, Mr. Grenville shewed me copies of the letters which passed relative to the negociation for a change of administration between the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham, from himself and the Duke of Bedford. His account of the conversation between the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham previous to those letters as reported to him by Mr. Rigby led him to suppose the Duke of Grafton made the offer to L[ord] R[ockingham] to join him and support his administration, not to give it into L[ord] R[ockingham]'s hands. L[ord] R[ockingham]'s letter, however, pressed that in direct terms, saying if he proceeded it should be on the footing of considering the present administration as entirely at an end. The Duke's reply is evasive to that in terms, but desiring him from the King to proceed, and saying his idea of a comprehensive plan was adopted by the King was, by implication, acknowledging the present administration to be at an end. On the other hand L[ord] R[ockingham] insisting to continue Mr. Conway Secretary of State, did not look like a total surrender of the present administration, and as L[ord] R[ockingham] made no *reserve* in his letters to, or conversation with, the Duke of Bedford previous to the conference, but declared for a total change,

there is ground for supposing there was some secret bargain between him and Mr. C[onway] which he did not chuse to inform the Duke of Bedford of.

"The charge of duplicity therefore lyes against both, and their separate private purposes seem to have been: The Duke of Grafton meant to disunite Lord R[ockingham] and his friends from the Opposition, and to take them in under himself. L[ord] R[ockingham] meant to draw off the Duke of Bedford and his friends from Mr. Grenville, and bring them in along with and under him; for that reason he had not mentioned Mr. Conway's staying to the Duke of Bedford when he found his Grace determined not to disconnect with Mr. Grenville, lest his doing so might have prevented the Duke list'ning to him at all, and he hoped by drawing him to town, and holding out good things to his friends, with their assistance to have persuaded him.

"Mr. Conway in 1765 was with L[ord] R[ockingham] and by him and the Duke of Newcastle made Secretary of State. In that year he left L[ord] R[ockingham] and connected with Lord Chatham, who came to his house before he went to Lord Temple. In this last business he had agreed to leave Lord Chatham, and did so in the House of Commons upon the East India business, and joined L[ord] R[ockingham], as appears from the negociation. He again quits L[ord] R[ockingham] to oblige whom he had promised to resign, and connects with the Duke of Grafton. Four tergiversations in one year. The K[ing]'s strong dislike of him in 1763 compelled Mr. Grenville to dismiss him, and he was displeased with his tardiness in doing it. The King, when Mr. G[renville] took leave, declared he had never taken offence at him, kept him with him an hour and half; when pressed repeatedly to say why he dismissed him, said it was because he understood a plan was formed to give the law to him, and that he believed Mr. G[renville] chose rather to stay by the Duke of Bedford and [*sic*] than with him. The Regency Bill no part of the reason for his dismission. The King had that Bill framed in his illness, during which Mr. G[renville] never saw him but once, and then the King sent for him. The proposition of leaving out the Princess of Wales came from the King himself, not one of the ministers ever mentioned it to him. When the doubt was stirred by the Duke of Richmond about her being of the Royal Family, L[ord] Bute spoke to both Lord Halifax and Sandwich to take the King's pleasure upon having her excepted, saying he was sure the King would give them orders so to do. When Mr. G[renville] saw the King the next day, the King told him he had just given a message to L[ord] H[alifax] to carry to the Lords for avoiding the difficulty of determining about his mother's being of the Royal Family, which was confining the Regent to the descendants of the late King, and hoped he approved of it. Mr. G[renville] told him, as the measure was taken, he begged to be excused giving any opinion, and hoped his Majesty would remember that since the beginning of this business he had not once mentioned the Princess to his Majesty one way or other. When afterwards the Princess changed her opinion, and, from jealousy of the Princess Amelia being capable and she not, writ to the King to have her name inserted, the King

still acknowledged his orders, but was much distress'd for an expedient to satisfy her, Mr. G[renville] proposed that to him which was followed, and he had the King's thanks for carrying it into execution. He shew'd the King the speech he intended to make on the occasion, and which he afterwards did make, with which the King was much pleased. Mr. G[renville] s letters to his friends upon his first coming to the Treasury, wherein he said L[ord] B[ute] had determined not to interfere, he shewed to the King before he sent them.

"His opinion of the King's not sending to him was owing to its having been represented to the King by people since about him that Mr. G[renville] might have made all things easy to him if he would in respect to money, by putting 2 or 3 hundred thousand upon the Hanover Account.

"The King's dislike of Mr. Conway, so strong in 1763, forced his minister to dismiss him and chid Mr. G[renville] for being tardy in doing it."

"Decrease of Specie. Bank coined a million at 4 : 0 : 8 coin, but 3 : 18 : 10 value." 3½ *pp.*

George Grenville.

1768, June 9. Wootton.—"When Lord Egremont died, in 1763, and Lord Bute determined to quit, the King offered the administration to Mr. Grenville, upon the most extensive conditions. While Mr. Grenville was making his arrangements, the Duke of Bedford proposed to the King to send for Mr. Pitt, which he did. He told Mr. Grenville of it the next day, and when Mr. Pitt had made his proposals, the King then declared to Mr. Grenville that he would confide in Mr. Grenville for the future. He afterwards threw out his hopes that some of the Bedford people could be joined with the administration, to which Mr. Grenville replyd that if the King wished to shew favour to the Duke of Bedford, he would immediately forget his resentment and make him an offer. He did so, and the Duke of Bedford became President of the Council. During that administration, the Butes and the Bedfords were continually pushing at each other, and Mr. Grenville held the ballance till it was told the King that Mr. Grenville was making himself too powerful, and then a disunion was attempted. The King was determined to nominate the Queen the Regent, and Lord Bute, knowing that, desired to have the Princess Dowager excluded, to prevent the obloquey which her supposed nomination might occasion to him. The King chose to leave her out for the same reason, but the Princess herself thought it disrespectful. The King of all things jealous of the power of women; trait of the King's character.

"When the administration of 1764 were called back upon the failure of the Duke of Cumberland's negotiation with Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Northington, Lord Halifax, and Lord Sandwich were not admitted to see the King, and the King desired Mr. Grenville to go to them and know their conditions. Mr. Grenville begged the King to see them himself, but he insisted upon his negociating. He went to them; they proposed the

dismission of Lord Holland and McKensie. Lord Northumberland had declared his intention to resign three months before.

"When Mr. Grenville carried this and some other propositions to the King, the King desired him to try to bring them off, and repeated his declarations of confidence in him. As Mr. Grenville came out, he learnt that the Duke of Cumberland was then in the next room waiting for the King to settle his successor, and the office Mr. Grenville then held was that very day offered to Lord Lyttelton. The design of sending him to negociate with the others was to create a disunion and ruin him." 2 *pp.*

Lord Hillsborough's Resignation.

1772, Aug. 15.—On this date the Earl of Hillsborough resigned. The circumstances were these:—Application had been made to the Lords of the Treasury for a grant of two million of acres in Virginia, and 10,700*l.* offered, being the cost of presents and entertainments given by the Crown to the Indians in 1768, when they ceded that country. The Treasury consented, provided the other Government departments had no objections. Dr. Franklyn, one of the petitioners, said this answer "was good for nought, for that Hillsborough would never let them have it." This was repeated to Lord Hillsborough, and he, wishing to throw the odium off his own shoulders, artfully proposed to the petitioners to ask for 20 million acres instead of two, and went in person to the Board to induce the Lords to entertain the proposal, supposing that the Treasury would increase the sum to be paid in proportion to the grant, and that 100,000*l.* would be more than the petitioners could pay. The Treasury, however, sent up the petition for the 20 millions, with their approbation of the sum first offered to the Lords of Trade.

"Lord Hillsborough now found himself entangled in his own nett, and to avoid the embarrassment of making a report he resolved to delay it, and so let it drop. Some other matters now began to mix in this business. The Earl of Rochford, the Southern Secretary, was needy and dissolute. Wharton, one of the petitioners, made his way to him by pointing out certain islands in the River Delaware, and his Lordship petitioned for them as vacant land. Lord Rochford, to secure Lord Hillsborough's favourable report upon his petition, prevailed with the King to deliver it with his own hands to Lord H., and to recommend it to him to consider it in the most favourable light. The Board of Trade reported agreeable to this recommendation, and to their great dishonour gave their opinion that the King might grant the islands and to none so fitly as to the Earl of Rochford. Mr. Penn, having followed this report to the Council, combatted it so successfully there that Lord Rochford found it necessary to withdraw his petition." Wharton then offered a share in the intended new colony to his lordship, who accepted it readily, and, to prevent any miscarriage in the grant, invited Lord Gower to take a share also. As Lord Hillsborough still delayed his report, Lord Rochford again engaged the King on his side, who, one day at the Levee, asked Mr. Gascoign, Lord Hillsborough's particular friend at the Board of Trade, if the report upon the Ohio

petition was ready. This was hint enough to Lord Hillsborough. He called together the whole Board, which consists of the Secretaries of State and other ministers, to have their opinion before it came to them in Council. "But Lord Gower and Lord Rochford had by this time taken up the resolution of overturning Lord North, and looking upon Lord Hillsborough as his chief support in the Cabinet, they determined to push him out. Lord Rochford aimed at destroying the office of American Secretary and re-annexing the patronage to the Southern Department. Two great offices were ready to fall in, on which he had fixed his eye, that of Clerk of the Courts in Jamaica, and Secretary of Virginia. Lord Gower's view was that of being First Lord of the Treasury and first minister. Lord Suffolk joined in the attack from separate motives. Proud and ambitious, he looked up to the chief command, and considered that no way was so likely to obtain it as by frequent changes and disagreements among his colleagues. The jealousy of the King, he knew, would not long suffer any administration to continue in quiet, and if Lord Gower succeeded for the present, the clanship of Bedford would very soon alarm the King, and then he should have a fair opening to the station he aimed at. Rigby was much averse to Lord Gower's purpose; possessed of the intire office of paymaster, he saw no prospect of being bettered by a change, and risqued losing what he had.

"Such was the state of things when Lord Hillsborough proposed the meeting of the Grand Board of Trade. The ministers refused to come, but left it to the ordinary Board to report, and reserved themselves till the matter came before them in Council. Lord Hillsborough now declared himself openly against the grant, and made no scruple of saying he should report in that manner. The cabal endeavoured to embroil him with Lord North upon this; shares in the grant were given to the two secretaries of the Treasury, and Lord H.'s conduct was represented as reflecting upon that Board in making the agreement with the petitioners. To avoid any such appearance, Lord Hillsborough drew his report upon the reasoning of former Boards, and of other servants of the Crown, and entirely omitted remarking upon the consideration money."

When the report came down to the Council, Lord Gower declared he should be open to evidence against it, and Wharton was allowed to have a copy, and to make and print observations on it, before it was considered. Lord Hillsborough, seeing how things were going, now plainly said that if the grant were made, he could not carry it into execution, and should therefore resign. "He endeavoured to alarm Lord North, and to excite him to oppose this attempt, which was ultimately designed to affect him, and with much teazing got him to bustle a little, but when he did, he found it was to no purpose, for his weight was gone. The King, he saw, was on 'tother side and abetted the cabal; he had therefore no choice but to give up Lord Hillsborough or go along with him, and the former he thought most prudent, taking his chance for what might follow. Lord Gower and the two Secretaries in Council declared they were convinced the grant ought to take place, and should advise the King accordingly, upon which Lord Hillsborough acquainted the

King and the Cabinet that whenever that order came to him, he should resign his seals. The report of the Council was therefore delayed untill a successor to Lord H. was fixed upon. Lord Weymouth, as the friend and adherent of Lord Gower, was offered the American Department, whether at Lord North's own motion or by the King's desire I have not learned, but I believe the latter was the case, as his lordship's conduct in Parliament since his resignation has been much to the King's mind. He refused the offer, and then Lord North, without taking any notice to the other ministers, offered the seals to Lord Dartmouth, which his lordship accepted, to the great disappointment of Lord Rochford, who had hoped that no Secretary would have been found, and then the office would of necessity have been dissolved." 5 *pp.*

Anecdotes at Spa.

1773, June.—Notes headed as above. "Mr. Cressener assured me he could have engaged the Electors of Cologne and Palatine for 500,000*l.* to refuse a passage to the French troops into the Empire at the beginning of the late war. The Court at Bon debauched without decency. . .. . Madame Branconi, the Prince of Brunswick's mistress, very handsome. The town of Charleroy taken the war before the last by the workmen who were making the approaches, who entered it, finding the garrison had deserted the works."

When Mr. Cressener was assured of the day on which the Elector of Cologne would come to Spa, he writ to Sir Joseph Yorke to acquaint the Prince of Orange of the Elector's intention, and to invite his Highness to meet him. Sir Joseph replied that "the Prince was much pleased with the invitation, but, as the States were assembled and he just returned from a progress, he could not, without too much noise, come to Spa." Sir Joseph said he seemed so very desirous of meeting the Elector that he might possibly find some pretence for doing so. The Bishop of Liege also meant to come, but the Elector declined the compliment, choosing to be incognito and the guest of Mr. Cressener; he, however, came through Liege, and there dined with the Bishop.

"The third son of the late Princess of Hesse, a good figure, and appears sensible and manly. The Cardinal Fleury, upon finding himself deceived in the man he had chosen to succeed him, told Mr. Walpole he should advise the King never to have a Prime Minister. Lord Mansfield consults Andrew Stone. The same terms of peace offered Mr. Cressener that had been demanded in a former negotiation with Lord Sandwich. The Duke of Cumberland refused them and was enraged with Cressener for sending him the propositions.

"The Duke of Chartres and the Duke de Lyne, his favourite, both debauchees; Marshal Braniki, a weak, vain man. Prince Repnin, a designing man; Count Orlow [Orloff], a plain, domestic, good man. Prince Zartoriski, a polite gambler and excellent dancer; the Princess, admirable." 2 *pp.*

1775, November. Memoranda.—"The King wished to have Lord George Germain in the American department, and Lord Dartmouth was desirous of the Privy Seal, but Lord Weymouth claimed it, backed by Lord Gower and the Bedfords. This caused great embarrassment. Lord Dartmouth offered to go out intirely, but Lord North insisted he should do the same if Lord Dartmouth did so. Lord Dartmouth would not succeed Lord Weymouth as Groom of the Stole. Lord Rochford, who had frequently desired to retire, now made the offer. His department was offered to Lord Dartmouth, who declined it. It was then agreed to offer it to Lord Weymouth, and, in case he refused it, the offer was to be carried to Lord George Germain.

"Lord Suffolk, who had pressed for Lord George Germain to be a Secretary of State, was content with this, as his object was to have him in the Cabinet, to add to his own weight there, and forward his secret purpose of being one day minister. Lord North was not ignorant of Lord Suffolk's views, but wishing to get clear out himself, he seconded them, that a successor being ready, and an able assistant in the House of Commons, he might find it the easier to quit when a proper time came.

"Lord Weymouth accepting the Southern Department made all easy. Lord Dartmouth then got the Privy Seal, and Lord George Germain became the American Secretary. A difficulty had formerly been made by Lord Weymouth of considering the American Secretary as a Secretary of State. Lord Hillsborough had never been so considered by the other Secretaries; he was only held to be first Lord of Trade with Seals and Cabinet; his commission confined his efficiency to the Colonies. Lord Dartmouth's commission was the same, and Lord Weymouth had refused the Department when Lord Dartmouth got it on that very account. Lord George Germain being a commoner, it became necessary to make some alteration in his commission, for the former commissions made it a new office, and consequently excluded him from the House of Commons. A commission in the terms of those of the other Secretaries obviated this difficulty, for there were precedents of three persons being at the same time Secretaries of State. A difficulty in giving Lord George Germain such a commission, 'twas apprehended, would be made by Lord Weymouth and Lord Suffolk. Lord Suffolk, however, we supposed, would acquiesce for the sake of his own plan, and with him the Solicitor-General would concur. The Attorney-General and Lord Weymouth were supposed to object together.

"The King, by one of those minute strokes for which he is so eminent, removed all difficulty. When the Council was met to swear in the new officers, Lord Gower, being Lord President, moved the King, of course, that Lord Weymouth might be sworn Secretary of State. The King replied, "there are two Secretaries of State to be sworn; let them both be sworn together," which was done accordingly. Lord Weymouth perfectly understood the King, and finding his Majesty would have Lord George considered as a Secretary made the best of it by taking Lord George Germain aside, and telling him he understood there was some difficulty about his com-

mission, but to him there appeared to be none, for if his commission was in the same terms as the others, there could be no objection to his sitting in the House of Commons. The commission has accordingly been prepared at Lord Suffolk's office, and no difficulty has been made by anybody to its passing." 2½ *pp.*

Proceedings in relation to the American Colonies.

1774, 1775.—"Secret of proceedings respecting America in the new Parliament. The Bill for shutting up the Port of Boston, passed the last session, was the step proposed by Pownall to have been taken. I was for an alteration in the Council; Lord Dartmouth went with me, but neither of us wished to make any further alterations in the Charter. Sir Francis Bernard unluckily came to town, and, with his old papers, infused the opinion into Lord North that the juries should be also regulated. The preventing town meetings came also from him. He had produced these papers to Lord Hillsborough in the year 1770, and when I was appointed Under-Secretary, Lord Hillsborough, Sir Francis, Mr. Pownall and myself had a meeting upon them. I gave my opinion then against any alteration but that of the Council. The others were for all, and for my dissent in this case, I was ever after excluded by Lord Hillsborough from all consultations whilst he staid in office.

"There had been no accounts from General Gage which looked hostile when the resolution was taken to dissolve the Parliament. I was at Spa when it was done, but the motion came from Lord Suffolk. There was good ground to have hoped that if no alteration had been made in the Massachussets charter the tea business might have been settled, but the Regulating Bill secured them the support of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and encouraged them to resist.

"When the hostile accounts arrived it was proposed by P[ownall] to send out Sir Jeffrey Amherst and two Major-Generals. Lord North approved the proposition; I liked it well, and so did Lord Dartmouth, only he had difficulties on account of the harshness to General Gage, who was to be continued in his government and second in command. Lord North shewed it to the King, who stared at it, and asked who could have thought of doing so unjust and cruel a thing to General Gage. The Cabinet had it afterwards under consideration, and rejected it, but ordered the three ships of the line and a detachment of marines. What turned us all so much against Gage was his telling Governor Hutchinson that, in his opinion, the only thing to be done was to suspend the Acts, and, in the mean time, make preparation for enforcing them by hiring Hessians and Hanoverians, for it was absolutely necessary to make an entire conquest of the New England Governments, and not less than twenty thousand men could venture to take the field.

"We were flattered with hopes by the merchants that the General Congress would come to no resolutions respecting trade. The New York, Jersey, some of New Hampshire and Pensylvania were said to be against all violent proceedings. A letter from Dr. Franklyn advising such measures brought over the Pensylvania delegates, so the resolutions were taken. We were astonished at

them when they arrived, as we so little expected them, and then determined to say nothing to General Gage, but let all rest till we knew the opinion of the new Parliament. This speech was the only one we were ever consulted upon. Mr. Pownall, with my assistance, drew the American clause. I afterwards made some alterations in what they had adopted, with Mr. Cooper, in the Address, which we had also been consulted upon and amended. The very great majority in the House of Commons for the Address raised our spirit, and gave a firmer tone to our measures, but however determined we all were that the Colonies should obey the sovereign authority of Parliament, we all thought taxation ought to be given up in practise, and that the Colonies should be invited to make some proposition as an equivalent. I went further, and thought there were many unjust as well as impolitic restraints on the foreign commerce of the Colonies, which ought to be taken off, and endeavoured to comprehend Ireland in whatever indulgences might be given to the Colonies. Our conversations on this matter led to Mr. Pownall framing a Bill to be brought into Parliament, appointing commissioners to meet deputies from the Colonies, to discuss and settle all claims, and Parliament to confirm, if approved, what they should agree upon. This proposition was approved of by the Cabinet on condition that they approved what was to be given in charge to the commissioners. Mr. Pownall wanted much to be a commissioner. Sir Jeffry was named as one, and Mr. Jackson another, but no encouragement was given to Pownall. He then changed his plan, and instead of three commissioners, proposed one High commissioner, to whom he intended to be secretary. This ruined the whole, for when he drew up his propositions of the manner of meeting, the authority to be given the high commissioner, and the extent to which they were to carry their discussions, it carried so much the appearance of an American Parliament that the whole Cabinet revolted against it, and would never hear a word of a commission afterwards. I had warned Pownall of this, and entreated him to keep his proposition as much under as possible, and to avoid all appearance of parade or dignity, and to adhere to the three unimportant commissioners, not only to avoid the jealousy of people here, but, lest the Colonies from seeing the good effects and practicability of such a general Assembly, and flattered by the dignity of being delegates, should make the regular convoking of such an Assembly the object of their demands, and thus become form'd into a systematick combination which must lead to Empire. Lord Dartmouth still insisted that something should be held out to the Colonies." 5 *pp.*

THE FIRST COMMISSIONERS to the AMERICAN COLONIES.

[1776, March].—An account of proceedings previous to sending Lord and Sir William Howe out as commissioners. Objections made to Lord Howe being sole commissioner. He agrees to have his brother joined with him. Eden and Knox suggested as additional commissioners, but refused by Lord Howe. A secret wish that Knox should go as secretary, but the idea rejected by him. Diffi-

culties concerning the Instructions. Lord George Germain desired acknowledgment by the Colonies of "the supreme authority of the Legislature to make laws binding on the Colonies in all cases whatsoever" as a *sine qua non*. Lord North agreed that such acknowledgment must be insisted on before matters were finally adjusted, but not as a preliminary. Lord Dartmouth against its being required at all. Lord George thought North also meant to give it up at the last, and so stood to its being done "before any Colony should be relieved from the late Act, or restored to peace." Instructions drawn up by Pownall. Cabinet decided that the words "in all cases whatsoever" must stand, as they were in the Act. Debate "whether the declaration should be a preliminary or an ultimatum." Knox proposed a middle way—viz., "that the Assemblies should be called by the Governors and acquainted that they might pass an act appointing delegates to meet the commissioners so soon as all congresses, committees, or conventions in the colony were dissolved, and legal government restored, and all bodies of armed men disbanded, but that they could not be restored to peace or relieved from the late Act until they made the declaration." This was not approved. Lord George insisted that they should not send delegates until they made the declaration; Lord Dartmouth was resolved to "speak out" against Lord George's plan, and to quit his office. "Lord North was to speak his sentiments and his resolution to proceed no further in conducting the public business, if such measures were adopted, than untill his Majesty could make a new arrangement." Lord George thought it would be highly unfit for the King to suffer Lord North to decline acting, and that it was much better that he (Lord George) should go. "The truth was, Lord George having now collected a vast force, and having a fair prospect of subduing the Colonies, he wished to reduce them before he treated at all," and feared that if peace were once restored, neither ministers or Parliament would renew the war for the sake of the declaration.

Knox did not wish hostilities to be suspended against the New England Colonies, who had so despised the power of Great Britain that they ought to be made to feel her strength before terms were made, but he desired that the Southern colonies "might have the door opened to them, as well to divide them from the others as to draw supplies from thence for the troops employed in the North." He therefore drew up a paper proposing a mode of contribution by the colonies, which was much liked, and he believes will be adopted. [*Probably the "Project" calendared on p.* 289, *below.*]

A Cabinet was appointed for Monday, March 18, but, on Sunday, Lord North proposed to Lord George to talk to Lord Mansfield on the matter, and the Cabinet was put off. Lord North and Lord George went together to Lord Mansfield, and it was settled to postpone the difference, "and instead of instructing the commissioners to demand of the Colonies, they were now to wait for the Colonies making offers, and in case the colonies did not make the declaration, the commissioners were not to restore them to peace untill they received further instructions, but if they did so offer, they were then to receive them. The Commission was

altered from the general powers it gave to such specifications as were conformable to these ideas." 8 *pp.*

Also :—

Suggestions for a circular letter to be sent to the Governors of Provinces, in accordance with Knox's proposal above. 3 *pp.*

The KING'S SPEECH to his Cabinet.

1779, June 21.—" This morning all the members of the Cabinet were summoned by a message in the King's own handwriting to meet him at the Queen's House at one o'clock. They assembled accordingly. He desired them to walk into his library. He sat down at the head of his library table, and desired, for the first time since he became King, all the ministers to sit down. He then began by saying Lord North had desired to know why they were summoned, but he had not thought fit to tell him, as he meant to tell it to them all together. (Here Lord George Germain, who gave me the account, said he began to think they were going to be dismissed, and very probably they all thought the same thing.) The King went on to say he had, ever since he came to the crown, made it his study and endeavour to discharge his duty conscientiously to God and his people; and he had the satisfaction to find, upon the strictest examination of his conduct, that there was no one action of his life that he could blame himself for, but his changing his ministers in 1765, and consenting to the repeal of the Stamp Act. The ministers he then brought in did not, he said, intend to repeal the Act untill Lords Chatham and Cambden made their declarations and they adopted that fatal measure. Could he have foreseen the consequences, he certainly would not have passed the Act, but it was to the repeal he imputed all the subsequent misfortunes. He declared to God he had never harboured a thought of injuring the constitution, or abridging his people's liberties in the smallest instance, nor had he suffered himself to be led by prejudice against any man to oppose his coming into office if he approved of the principles he professed to act upon. He called upon Lord North, Lord Weymouth, and the Chancellor [Thurlow] to say if, to their knowledge, he had not given leave to enlarge and strengthen administration in particular instances upon that ground (this Lord George supposed alluded to some late negociations with Lord Shelburne and his party which were a secret to him); that he considered himself as particularly obliged to Lord North for taking up Government when the Duke of Grafton deserted him, and expressed his thanks to Lord Sandwich for the respectable footing he had put the Navy upon, which, he said, had been let down too low after the Peace of 1748, and not sufficiently provided for after the last. That great praise was due to the Treasury for the very abundant manner in which the war in America had been supplied, and that, for his own part, he had sent the officers which were thought the best in his service to command the troops. That when Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne were named, everybody approved. Lord George Germain, who was not then amongst them (meaning the ministers) said in the House of Commons they were the fittest men for the service

in the army. From a consciousness of the rectitude of his conduct and intentions, therefore, he had confidence in the favour and protection of Almighty God, and trusted that He would support him against his enemies who so unjustly attacked him. It was his principle, and it was [his] resolution to part with his life rather than suffer his dominions to be dismembered, for he held it to be his duty to God and his people to preserve them intire at whatever hazard or inconvenience to himself.

"He therefore expected firmness and support from his ministers. If they thought they wanted strength, he was willing to enlarge the bottom of his administration, but in all events he expected they would support him.

"This, as well as I could collect, was the substance and the words of this discourse, tho' much longer, for it took up near an hour in delivering, not, as Lord George said, by way of speech or formal harrange, but as a plain narrative, delivered in conversation." 3½ pp.

Lord Hillsborough.

1779, July 27.—"Lord H[illsborough] told me L. N[orth] had writ to the [King] proposing him for S[ecretary] of S[tate]; that the [King] answered in these words: 'L. N[orth] you could not propose any person more agreeable to me for any office in my administration, except, L[ord] L[ieutenant] of I[reland] than L. H[illsborough].' Before L. N[orth] had communicated this to L. H[illsborough] the A[ttorney] G[eneral] was informed of what had passed, and by message by Mr. E[den] told L. N[orth] that if Lord H[illsborough] was appointed, he should resign. The secret is, Mr. E[den] wants to be ambassador to Holland in the room of Sir Joseph York, who for that reason they wish to make S[ecretary] of S[tate]. Their entire plan is to remove L. G. G[ermain] and Lord S[andwich], to make L. W[eymouth] Privy Seal, to make Lord D[artmouth] Sec. of S[tate] for A[merica], Lord Stormont and Sir J. Y[orke] the others, and to bring Lord Sh[annon ?] Lord Howe or Ad[miral] Keppel to the Admiralty, by way of strengthening Lord N[orth], but in fact to fix their own shackles upon him. 1 *p.*

"Curious Political Anecdotes."

(1) *Lord Rockingham.*

1779, May 8.—"Lord Rockingham had desired an audience of the King last week, and wa[s] considerable time in the Closet. What pass'd was related to me this day by Lord George Germain, as he had it from the King. His Majesty said he perceived him to be much confused at his entrance, and endeavouring to recollect a set of words prepared for him to speak, and as soon as he began, he saw he was to make a long set speech. The subject, Ireland. He endeavoured to paint the distresses of that country, and to glance at the want of attention in administration to her circumstances. He said he had always made it his practice to inform his Majesty of his intentions before he moved anything in Parliament (which, by the bye, said the King, I thought odd enough, when I had not seen him here (meaning his Closet) since he went out of

administration in the year 1766), and that as I (*sic*) now intended bringing the affairs of that country into discussion, he came to open his purpose to his Majesty. He, however, assured the King he was not impelled by personal considerations, for his estate there was so happily circumstanced that he always received his rents. 'As I found,' said the King, 'I was in to be treated with a long harangue, I thought this was a good opportunity to make him shorten it by diverting him from his subject, and asked him how he managed so well. This made him talk a little about his own affairs, and took him out of his speech; and when he came to resume it again, he could not take it up in form, but huddled the substance together. The points he wished to carry, he said, were a general liberty to import grain from Ireland into England, and a liberty to export coarse woolen cloths from Ireland. The King's remarks upon his propositions were, that he began in the wrong place, for it was the House of Commons that was principally concern'd in these sorts of questions. 'But,' says he, 'I could not help observing how people are affected by their particular interest, for I was talking of what Lord Rockingham proposed to Lord Hartford, and he said the exportation of woolens would do nothing for Ireland; advantages in the linen were the things wanting.' " · 2 *pp.*

(2) *Sir William Howe.*

[1779].—" When the Howes' correspondence was moved for, Lord North was in negociation with Lord Howe, and wished him to take the command of the Western Squadron. He insisted that his brother should be exculpated by Parliament, and sent Lord North a resolution to that purpose, which Lord North returned, saying he could not consent to it, and if he did, his friends would not. The Howes never gave out they expected thanks or approbation, but only exculpation. When the papers were brought in and printed they found the public opinion did not run in their favour; they therefore moved for witnesses to be examined. This was agreed to be refused, as there was no accusation, and a negative was put upon the question for calling in Lord Cornwallis in the committee. Sir William Howe had made his speech in justification of his conduct before the papers were read, to which no reply had been made. Lord George intended replying when the debate upon Lord Cornwallis being called in came on, but was prevented by the Attorney General desiring him to let the Advocate speak before him, and the debate taking a different turn. Opposition renewed the subject in the House some days after, and then Lord George spoke, and retorted upon Howe. He still meant no witnesses should be examined, but Rigby and the Attorney General joined in saying, as there was a difference of opinion respecting the causes of the failure of the American War, it was proper the examination should go on; upon which Lord North acquiesced. Witnesses were then agreed to be called on the part of administration, but a doubt arose whether it were not best [rather] to suffer the examination to be only *ex parte*, and on that ground to combat a vote of approbation, than to call evidence to disprove, and so join issue and trust to the merits.

"General Grey, in his examination, declared so positively that the force sent to America was always inadequate, and the people so generaly indisposed to the Government of this country, that it was judged absolutely necessary for the justification of administration to examine evidences to take off the impression Grey's had made." 2 *pp.*

(3) *Lord Hillsborough.*

1779, May 12.—"Lord Hillsborough, in a long conversation with me this day, gave me the history of his own conduct and situation. His object was to fall in with what he knew to be the King's plan, that each of his ministers should hold of him and not of one another or of the first. He was at the head of the Board of Trade in 1775 [*sic.* 1765]. Upon the breach between the King and the Bedfords which ended in the ruin of Mr. Grenville's administration, Lord Halifax, boasting to the King of the strength of their party, told him that Hillsborough and his whole Board would resign if he did. The next time Lord Hillsborough went to Court, the King passed him by without speaking to him. Lord H. felt shocked and surprised, not knowing the cause, but apprehending there might be some mistake, he went next levée day. The King passed him in the same manner. He then concluded some injury had been done him, and asked an audience. He told the King his great concern at finding himself ungraciously looked on, as his Majesty's gracious acceptance of his services was the great comfort and happiness of his life; that he was unconscious of having in any the smallest instance departed from that line of conduct which he thought would be most pleasing to his Majesty, and could not in any way account for the change in his Majesty's behaviour towards him, and therefore he requested an audience to be informed of his crime. The King told him what Lord Halifax had said, upon which he solemnly protested nothing had ever passed to give Lord Halifax the least ground for what he had said; that, for his own part, he should not resign in compliment to any man so long as he could concur in the measures of any minister his Majesty might appoint, and that, as to his Board following him, he did not know the sentiments of anyone there, nor did he believe one would resign with him, go out when he would. The King then said he suspected Lord Halifax had spoke without authority, and that he had changed his behaviour to Lord Hillsborough with the view to bring about an explanation, as he expected he would ask an audience in consequence of it, as he had done.

"When the Cabinet Ministers went out, Lord Hillsborough did not resign. He went to Bath with Lady Hillsborough, and there he received a letter from Mr. Conway, the new Secretary, informing him the King had no further occasion for his services. The same post brought him a message from the King, thro' Lord Barrington, telling him that nothing had ever given him more concern than being obliged to consent to his removal, but such was the present necessity of his affairs that he could not refuse, but that he might depend upon being brought in the first favourable occasion.

"When Lord Chatham came in, he had a private intimation from the King that he would be appointed First Lord of the Admiralty,

but that, for particular reasons, Mr. Pitt thought it necessary to make an offer of it to Sir Edward Hawke, who would certainly decline it. The King was mistaken, for Sir Edw. Hawke did accept it. Lord Hillsborough then went back to the Board of Trade. In 1768 he was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Lord Clare First Lord of Trade. Lord Weymouth, who was then a Secretary of State, disapproved of the new office, and all the Bedfords, who had some time before been brought in, disliked Lord Hillsborough's coming into the Cabinet, probably from remembering his staying after them in 1765. Lord Hillsborough, in pursuance of his system, gave all his aid to Lord North, he being the King's minister. When the Falkland Island business was agitated, the Cabinet were divided about the measures to be taken. Lord Chatham had then recovered from his long delirium. Wood, who was Lord Weymouth's secretary, wished to bring him in and to make Lord Weymouth the acting minister. A war with Spain he thought the certain means of effecting his purpose. Lord Weymouth's conversation with Prince Massarano was rough and hostile, but that good man did not seek an occasion to involve his country in war, and was not irritated. A squadron of men of war under Harland was going to the East Indies; Wood prepared instructions for him, authorising him to commence hostilities and seize the Philipan Islands. Wood thought himself so sure of war by this stroke that he sold stock to a great amount in expectation of the funds falling when the secret came out, but he was the dupe of his own policy, and lost considerably, for the instructions were rejected by the Cabinet, Lord Hillsborough taking an active part against them. Lord Weymouth upon this resigned, but had a promise from the King of the Blue Ribbond and the first Cabinet office that fell. Things went on till 1772, when the Ohio grant became the cause of dissension in the Cabinet. I have detailed that business in a separate paper, upon my own knowledge.* Lord Hillsborough parted with the King with great regret and marks of affection on both sides. The King made him an English Earl and Lord North promised him the first Cabinet office after Lord Weymouth was gratified. Lord Weymouth had the gold key in 177[5]. Sometime after, Lord North called at Lord Hillsborough's twice in one day, when Lord Hillsborough, who was not at home, imagining he had something particular to say to him, writ to know if he wish'd to see him. Lord North came to him, told him Lord Talbot was dying, and that he intended his place for him. Lord Talbot, however, recovered. When the Lieutenancy of Ireland was to be filled up in 177[9], Lord Hillsborough had heard generaly that he was proposed by Lord North. He read it in the newspaper one morning when Charles Townshend call'd upon him, to whom he jocosely shew'd the article. Mr. Townshend asserted it was true, and that he was Lord Lieutenant. Lord Hillsborough dressed, and went to Court to find Lord North, and taking him aside, asked him if he had any intention of naming him for Lord Lieutenant. Lord North said he had. Then, says Lord Hillsborough, I will go

* See p. 253 above.

in and ask the King for it. Lord North told him it was not come that length yet, for there were difficulties started about his estate in Ireland, but that he did not doubt they would be got over. Lord Hillsborough desisted, and heard no more of it untill Lord B[uckingham's] appointment. Then he was told the King made the objection, or allowed it to be a good one, of his having his estate in Ireland. Lord Hillsborough, however, thinks the King would not have made or allowed that objection if he had asked it of the King himself, and he thinks he had before hurt himself with the King by a note he had written to Lord North, professing his attachment to his lordship's administration, which note Lord North shew'd to the King. From what I have been told of the matter by Lord George Germain, the proposition was made by Lord North to the King, who made the objection above stated, and persisted in it. Every minister in the Cabinet except Lord North, and particularly Lord George Germain, were against Lord Hillsborough, principally or at least ostensibly because his appointment would open a door to all the Irish nobility to become candidates. The Duke of Leinster [and] Lord Shannon could no longer be objected to on account of their local connexions. The Earl Gower and Lord Weymouth possibly had other reasons, tho' they did not give them; they might wish to pay him off the old score, and I am confident there is not a man but Lord North, and I am not clear with regard to him, that desires to see Lord Hillsborough among them.

"When Lord Buckingham applied, Lord North told him by letter there were two who he must propose, but if they were not accepted, or did not accept, his lordship should be the man. These two were Lord Hillsborough and Lord Rochford. The latter refused to go, and the former was objected to by the King. Lord North, upon the King's objecting to Lord Hillsborough, delayed to name any other for several weeks, and the King would not name one, as he said it might then be supposed he had objected to Lord Hillsborough to make way for that other. In the meantime Lord Carlisle was mentioned by Lord Gower, and the Duke of Northumberland was sounded to go. Lord Buckingham, hearing of this, claimed Lord North's promise under his hand, which Lord North pleaded against Lord Carlisle, who he did not desire should go, and Lord Buckingham was appointed." 6½ *pp.*

(4) *William Eden.*

1779, June 1.—"Mr. William Eden,* having become an object of ministerial jealousy, and already made some figure in the political world, and probably will have considerable influence hereafter, I will set down what I know of him and his movements to the present time, when the commission he was appointed in just expired. He was bred to the law, had been called to the Bar, but being a bad orator had made no figure there. He became known as a man of talents by a treatise upon criminal law, I think it was entitled; and when Mr. Whately died, Wedderburn, Solicitor-General,

* The proper names in this paper were erased by Knox, as he states in a note, "lest it should fall into improper hands," but afterwards restored by him.

recommended him to Lord Suffolk to succeed him as Under-Secretary. He possess'd a most insinuating, gentle manner, which cover'd a deeply intriguing and ambitious spirit. Lord Suffolk, who had great innate pride that only shewed itself in a dignity of conduct which led him to be most generous and friendly to all those he patronised, was fond of Eden, and seemed resolved to make his fortune. He soon brought him into Parliament, obtained a pension for him, and afterwards got him the Auditorship of Greenwich Hospital. But the powers of the Secretary of State were too limited for Eden's views. Lord North was his object. He took a house in Downing Street to be convenient to his Lordship, and when Robinson was ill he undertook the secret business without quitting his situation with Lord Suffolk. He allied himself to the old system of Carleton House, which, since the Princess of Wales' death, have been distinguished by the name of King's friends, or supporters of the Administration for the time being, without regard to those of whom it is composed, by marrying Sir Gilbert Elliott's daughter. Robinson unexpectedly recovering and resuming his office, Eden was appointed a Lord of Trade in consideration of his services and disappointment. He continued, however, to carry on the foreign secret correspondence, and to be the confidential friend and intimate of Lord North, and pander to his amours. When the measure of appointing commissioners to treat with America was adopted in 1778, Eden procured himself to be named one. The Solicitor-General, who prepared the Instructions, was very desirous his friend should succeed in the negociation, and the Instructions were most liberally framed for that purpose, so diametrically against his former conduct. When the resolution of the 20th February was drawing up Eden determined to get possession of the first commissioner, Lord Carlisle, and he soon carried his point. His powerful connexion was a bait too alluring not to be snatched at, and as he, from his former situations, was presumed to possess the confidence of Administration the others paid him great attention. His ignorance, however, of the orders for evacuating Philadelphia was a severe blow to his importance, and he felt the mortification so sensibly that he could not help expressing his spleen in his letters and in a manner that exposed his character to the King, and Lord Suffolk, who had kept the Under-Secretary's [place] vacant, took him at his word and appointed; for he became jealous of his preferring the connexion of Lord Carlisle to him. He came home in disgust, but chose to conceal it, and affected to sink the consequence he had assumed. I had escaped his resentment through mistake, but when he was set right he shew'd his ill-humor by official inattentions. When he found it necessary to transact with me he again became civil, but he was foiled in all his purposes; he aimed at having a seat at the Board of Trade, tho' without emolument, that he still might have the honor of making the Peace should it come about. Lord G[eorge] was determined to get rid of him, and did everything to prevent his continuance there, and succeeded. He detected a scheme, which he immediately imputed to Eden, to get the Board of Trade from him. He stated it to the King, who had conceived strong prejudices against Eden, and, upon this

occasion, told Lord G[eorge] that he had found Lord Carlisle was jealous of Eden, so he had a mind to know how the matter stood, and in his conference with Eden he asked about Lord Carlisle; that Eden's answer was an intire panegerick on Lord Carlisle, but he added that he wanted somebody to produce him and conduct him; 'that is,' said the King, 'he meant I should understand Lord Carlisle would do very well under his management.'

"Various intrigues were reported to be on foot at the ending of this session for producing a change. Lord G. Germain and Lord Sandwich were the objects pointed out, but they came to nothing. The Spanish declaration on the 15th occasioned the session to be protracted some days, of which it was supposed the Attorney-General and Eden would avail themselves to make their bargain. On the 21st an event happened which served to clear away all suspicion of private negociation from the King at least, and shows his character is developing, and that his difficulties will make him soon act the part of a great Prince. I transcribe the narrative of the transaction from the paper on which I set it down immediately after I was told it by Lord G. Germain. [*See the King's speech to his Cabinet, p.* 260 *above.*]

"The 24th, Lord George had an opportunity of asking the King what he meant by his references to Lord North, Lord Weymouth and the Chancellor. He said he had heard of negociations going forward, and he supposed his Majesty alluded to them. The King said it was no late business; that Lord North was often wishing to go out, and, at the time the Chancellor came in, he pressed very much for leave to quit; that he therefore gave the Chancellor leave to sound Lord Shelburne, but that he found his demands extravagant, and his principles not to be trusted. If anything was now negociating he knew nothing of it, but whoever wished to go out, he thought, had better go, not stay. Lord George said he thought he would be distressed to fill Lord North's place. 'So I should,' answered the King, 'for altho' he is not intirely to my mind, and there are many things about him I wish were changed, I don't know any who wou'd do so well, and I have a great regard for him and very good opinion of him.'" $7\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*

(5) *Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough.*

"The promotion of Mr. Wedderburn to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and a peer was the consequence of a fortunate concurrence of circumstances which rarely happens. He had been bred to the Law in Scotland, and derived no pretensions to preferment from family or fortune. His sister, a very fine woman, was taken to wife by Sir Harry Erskine, and on the credit of that connexion the brother quitted the Scotish bar and came up to England. His knowledge of the Scotch law brought him business in the appeals from that Kingdom, and he laid himself out to be employed in the Colony causes before the Privy Council. When Lord Bute became minister, Sir Harry Erskine assumed to be his chief favourite, or, as he styled himself, *sous ministre*, and of course Mr. Wedderburn grew into importance. They set up the *Briton* and *Auditor*, in

defence of Lord Bute, but the conductors complained of being ill-furnished with materials, and both were dropt. I first knew Mr. Wedderburn in Paris, in the year 1763, the summer after the Peace. He attended Andrew Stewart there as his council in the prosecution of the enquiry into the supposititious birth of Mr. Douglas. He was then only distinguished by his assuming and forward manner. He perhaps felt his own superiority, tho', as he had made no extraordinary exhibition of talents, others were unwilling to allow his claim, and hence was that behaviour deemed arrogant then, which would since have been thought sufficiently modest. When Lord Bute went out, he attached himself to Mr. Grenville, and he took a considerable share in the business of the House of Commons, where he was soon allowed to be the least of a lawyer, as a speaker, of any man who had been bred to the Bar, but he did not acquire the character of a great Parliamentary speaker until that Administration was changed, when the acrimony of disappointment gave a zest to his declamation, and he indulged his talent for satyr (*sic*) and railing at the expence of the new ministers, to the great entertainment of the House, and raising his own reputation. Upon Mr. Grenville's death, he connected with Lord Suffolk, and paid court to Lord George Germain. When Lord Suffolk became Secretary of State, Mr. Wedderburn became Solicitor-General. Thurlow, who was the Attorney, had wished to be Chief Justice of Chester, from dislike of business, and a negociation was actually set on foot with Morton to resign it to him. Mrs. Morton would not, however, consent to her husband quitting Chester, and thus has the caprice of a woman become the occasion of Thurlow obtaining the great Seal, and depriving Wedderburn of it.

"While Bathurst continued Chancellor, Wedderburn was impatient of his office of Solicitor, but upon Thurlow's promotion, and himself being made Attorney-General, he expressed still greater eagerness to quit the House of Commons. He wanted a peerage, tho' he has no child, nor is his wife ever likely to have any. He wished to have been Secretary of State in the room of Lord Suffolk, with a peerage, and he long solicited Sir William de Grey's resignation, in order to succeed him. Lord George Germain offended him deeply by having said he thought his office of Attorney-General ought to content him for some time, and that a peerage was too much for him to expect so early. He, with Eden, schemed Lord George's removal from the Board of Trade, and placing Lord Carlisle there, and meant to have carried his Lordship into the Cabinet, but could not obtain it." 2½ *pp.*

(6) *Thomas Hussey's mission to Spain.*

"In the spring of 1780, a Mr. Hussey, who had been one of Massarano's and, afterwards, Almadovar's chaplains, and had lately returned from Spain, became acquainted with Mr. Cumberland, and convey'd thro' him to Lord George Germain his opinion of the pacific disposition of the King of Spain and the Chief Spanish ministers; that they had conceived apprehensions of our purpose to attack them and to make peace with the Colonies by assisting

them to conquer some of the Spanish territories, which was the reason of *their* making war, and that if they were assured of our desire to be at peace with them, he had no doubt but matters might soon be accommodated. Lord George, in several private interviews, endeavoured to convince Mr. Hussey that no such designs as Spain imputed to England had ever been entertained, and Hussey offered to go to Spain to inform the Court of what his Lordship had said, and try the effect, if his expences were borne and he had a letter given him, authorising him to give such assurances. A letter from Lord George to Mr. Hussey was accordingly prepared by his Lordship, and Cumberland and I carried the draft to Lord North for his approbation, who approving it, the letter was signed, and, with 200*l*, given to Mr. Hussey, who set off for Madrid immediately.

"On his return, he shew'd a letter from Mr. Florida Blanca to him, of a similar nature to that he had received from Lord George Germain, and, in his conversation, he declared it to be his opinion that Spain would immediately make a separate peace with us, if we ceded Gibraltar and West Florida, and would give us equivalents in America. Upon further conversation, and finding no negociation could be begun if the cession of Gibraltar was to be a preliminary, he expressed his hope that a treaty might take place without such a preliminary, and that, as Spain was very eager to have West Florida, if she found us disposed to exchange it for Porto Rico, it was not impossible matters might be accommodated upon that footing. I rejoiced in the idea of this exchange, for I had long before proposed purchasing Spain's friendship by giving her West Florida, as the best means of preventing the Americans from settling the interior country, or availing themselves of the navigation of the Missisippy, but Hussey pressed that some person might be sent back with him to Spain, to receive and transmit correspondence, in the quality of an agent, as the Spanish Court had objections to corresponding on the subject thro' our minister at Lisbon, and affected the utmost caution to keep the whole a secret, especially from France; and as Mr. Cumberland was already interested, Mr. Hussey wish'd he might be the person.

"Mr. Cumberland went with him accordingly, but instead of going in a private manner, he carry'd his wife and daughters to Lisbon, and instead of waiting there for a private invitation into Spain, he set off with Hussey and them, and was received on the frontiers and conducted in the King's carriage as a public minister come to sue for peace. France presently got information of the business, and, of course, contravened it." $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*

(7) *Lord Chancellor Thurlow.*

"When the tea was sent out by the East India Company to America in 1774, no communication of the project was made to the American Secretary, nor any orders or even notice sent to the Governors respecting it; but when the account of its destruction at Boston arrived, the ministers appeared determined to act with extraordinary vigor; Lord Dartmouth, who was then the American

Secretary, taking the lead, to exculpate himself for having formerly moved the repeal of the Stamp Act in the Lords. The Cabinet met at his office, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Thurlow and Wedderburn, attended. It was agreed to issue a warrant under the hands of six Privy Counsellors for apprehending Cushen,* Handcock, Warren, Adams; to send Mr. Hay, who was then returned from Quebec, as director of the business on board a frigate which was to bring over the culprits, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General were directed to prepare the proper warrants. They all met the following day, and Mr. Pownall and myself were sitting in the outer room, waiting the result, when the Attorney and Solicitor came out. 'Well,' cried Pownall, 'is it done?' 'No,' answered Thurlow, 'nothing is done. Don't you see,' added he, 'that they want to throw the whole responsibility of the business upon the Solicitor-General and me; and who would be such damned fools as to risk themselves for such—— fellows as these. Now if it was George Grenville, who was so damned obstinate that he would go to hell with you before he would desert you, there would be some sense in it.' He walked off, and the project was dropt.

"When the failure of Burgoyne's expedition was threatened to come under discussion in the House of Commons, Thurlow, who was then Attorney-General, came to me at the office one day and told me he was informed by all the Ministers that I could give him the information he wanted about this expedition. There were three things he wanted to know: the motives and reasons of the expedition, the measures that were concerted for its execution, and the occasion of its failure. I told him I would put into his hands a paper I had drawn up for the Cabinet Ministers according to my annual custom, which was a *precis* of the whole correspondence of the preceding year, which would give him much of the information he desired, and accordingly brought him one of the copies. He turned over the sheets and examined them, and then said, 'Why, this is the very thing I wanted, and you have done it already; pray, do the Ministers know of this?' 'Yes, Sir, they have all had copies of it.' 'Then, by God, they have never read it, for there is not one of them knows a tittle of the matter.' He took home the paper, and came to me a few days after with a sheet of remarks and desired me to hear him rehearse, that he might know whether he understood the business, and went thro' the whole with wonderful accuracy. He asked me what was Burgoyne's reason for sending Germans to Bennington instead of English, for that, he observed, seem'd the first cause of his capture, and I had said nothing about it. I answer'd that as the General had given no reason for it, I could not set down any, but I believed I could tell him how it happen'd, for I remembered, when Sir William Howe was blamed for placing the Hessians at Trenton, the excuse made for him by military men was that every corps had its situation in the line of march, and when detachments were made, if they were not taken from the wing on the side on which they were made, it would be a breach of rule; and the Brunswick troops happening to be on Burgoyne's left, as the Hessians were upon Howe's, they were, of

* John Cushing, Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly.

course, the corps to be detached on that side. 'So,' says he, 'because one damn'd blockhead did a foolish thing the other blockhead must follow his example.' The enquiry, however, was dropt, and Thurlow had no opportunity of shewing his talents for military operations, which, I am sure, would have appeared far superior to any of our commanders. From that time he was very civil to me, and when he became Chancellor I always visited him at his Levées, while he continued to have any, and at length a closer intercourse arose." $3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*

State of the Dutch Business.

1780, December.—Memorandum headed as above. The Armed Neutrality being projected by Russia "soon after we had declared our treaty of 1674 with Holland void," and fears being entertained that Holland would accede to it, it was judged best "to lay in ground of a separate quarrel with Holland" on that matter, and rather to go to war with her than to suffer her to carry for our enemies. "The discovery of a project of a treaty among Laurens' papers between Amsterdam and the Congress furnished a sufficient pretext for this purpose." Sir Joseph Yorke was, therefore, directed to complain of the town of Amsterdam and demand punishment of the Burgomaster. The States disavowed any knowledge of the matter; a second demand was then made, but, meantime, a majority having declared for the Armed Neutrality, Yorke was at once recalled, "before the notification of their accession to the Neutrality could be signified to him, that so our offence might be imputed to the Treaty only." 2 *pp.*

Further Memorandum.—

When the account was received from Sir James Harris of the intention of the Empress to offer her mediation a messenger was despatched to Vienna. The death of the Empress Queen happened in the meantime, but Sir Robert Keith wrote that the Emperor seemed not averse to the mediation. Holland having meanwhile resolved to enter into the Armed Neutrality and to ratify the treaty, an immediate decision became necessary. "The Ministers who met were Lord North, the Chancellor, President [Bathurst], three Secretaries, Sandwich and Amherst. The first and third fell asleep as soon as the business was opened—Lord Hillsborough nodded and dropped his hat; Lord Sandwich was overcome at first, but rubbed his eyes and seemed attentive. Lord Amhurst kept awake, but said nothing. Lord Stormont, the reader of these important papers, the Chancellor and Lord George Germain only gave them consideration, but when the others awoke they approved of what was proposed. My opinion went against coming to extremities with the Dutch, because I thought it might impede the return of America and cut our fleet out more work by having the North Sea to guard. The supplies they would carry to the French and Spaniards those nations had always found means to get, and the making them pay more for them was not to be put in comparison with the increase of our expences by adding a Dutch war to our present disbursements. I would, therefore, have temporised

until an agreement could have been made with the Emperor to assist us by holding out to him the free navigation of the Scheld and other advantages to be taken from the Dutch." 1½ *pp.*

Cabinet Council.

1781, Jan. 19.—Despatches having come from Sir James Harris giving an account of a conversation with the Empress on the subject of the Armed Neutrality and her mediation, the King summoned Ministers to the Queen's House on the 19th, "where, being come, he ordered them to be seated round a table, himself at the head opened the business and desired their opinions separately. One asked who his Majesty would chose to speak first. The King said he should not point to anyone. Lord Sandwich, afraid the Chancellor should begin, said the usual way [was] for the youngest to begin, which, being acquiesced in, Lord North, forgetting that he stood above Lord Amherst, began without rising. He was followed by Lord A[mherst] and the others standing. The Council continued from half after eleven till three, and it being Levee day the King then sent to put it off." 1 *p.* *Headed* "17 January" *by mistake.*

Removal of Lord George Germain.

"Account of what passed in consequence of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, brought down to the 17th January, 1782, and 1st February, 1782.

"The loss of that fine army, after General Burgoyne's, impressed the country gentlemen with an idea that the reduction of the colonies was impracticable. It was in vain the misconduct of the Generals and Admirals were urged as the cause, for the answer was ready and not to be gainsay'd: 'Have you better to put in their places; and if with the force you had you have failed, can you expect to succeed with what remains, &c.' Many were for relinquishing the American war altogether, but they soon fell into the opinion of others, that we ought to maintain what we possess'd, and act offensively by sea only. It was, therefore, agreed that the troops now in America should remain there and be kept up by recruits, but no new corps to be sent out. Lord George Germain was called upon by the King to propose his plan for employing those troops and bringing back the Colonies to the sovereignty of this country. He put down his ideas on a paper which I drew up in form and extended. A copy was sent to the King, and another to each of the Cabinet ministers. In the meantime the Bedford party were busy concerting a change in the Administration, and Rigby and the Lord Advocate of Scotland [Dundas] made an attack upon Lord North in the House of Commons for suffering himself to be over-ruled by others, meaning Lord George Germain, who they recommended to Lord North to turn out. The ground they took was Lord George's declaration that he never would consent to any treaty with America by which the sovereignty of it was given up, while Lord North kept aloof about the terms, but declared his wish for peace. Nothing was said upon Lord George's paper for three

Cabinets, and by various accounts there was reason to believe a negociation was going on for an alteration in the Ministry, and particularly for the removal of Lord Sandwich and Lord George. The Opposition had moved for an enquiry into Lord Sandwich's conduct, and it was said he was to be supported by Lord North; and lest Lord George should give any handle against the Admiralty, by throwing the blame of miscarriages upon the Navy, it was supposed he would be removed into the House of Peers, and Mr. Jenkinson was intended to succeed him; but he having a petition depending against him was not capable of a re-election, and therefore the American Department was, in the meantime, to be thrown into the Southern Office, and all the foreign business given to the Northern.

"Clinton's friends, finding so strong a run against him, had thought it prudent to desire he might have leave to resign the command, which Lord George had informed the King of, and desired to know who his Majesty would have to succeed him, to which the King answered that the appointment of a Commander in Chief was so connected with other matters that he could not immediately determine. This Lord George took for a hint that a change of Ministry was in contemplation, and soon after, hearing that Sir Guy Carleton had been sent for to the Queen's House, he concluded he was to be employ'd, and that his own removal was decided upon. The next audience he had of the King, his Majesty told him he could not yet tell him who was to be Commander in Chief, 'for,' added his Majesty, 'I really cannot get at the bottom of Lord North's intentions respecting America.' His Lordship then told him what was said of Carleton, and owned that after his former correspondence with him, as the King's Secretary, he could not possibly bring himself to open another in the same office, without something was done by Carleton to take away the former offence, which he considered not so much as a personal insult to him as a disrespect to his station and appointment. The King declared he had thought of him cursorily, but had not taken any step in the business. Lord George then told his Majesty that he thought it a proper time for him to go into the country, and wait till his situation was decided upon; that he had come into office in the hope of being of service, and that, if his Majesty found his going out would be of service, he was ready to take his leave. He requested his Majesty to be sure of his ground before he moved, and whatever he judged necessary to do for the strengthening of his government, not to defer it on personal considerations for his Ministers, for his case and theirs was very different, and affairs were now in such a situation that he must look to himself. After much conversation of this sort, the King agreeing that Lord George might properly go into the country, he took his leave and set off for Drayton. It was while he was there I was informed of the proposed arrangement, which I communicated to him, and in return was desired to deliver a message to Lord North [*space left for message*]. When I began to read the message, Lord North stopped me by asking who told Lord G. Germain that he [was] thinking of a plan for American affairs, or of making any alteration in Administration. It was an

alteration of measures and not of men that was wanted, but perhaps Lord George thought the measures would be such as he should not approve. I made no answer, but pursued the delivery of my message, and when I had done, he said warmly, his own Department gave him full occupation without attending to other matters. Where, could I tell him, was he to find taxes to produce 800,000*l*. He had engaged to the King and told the Cabinet, last year, he could support the war only one year more, and he had fulfill'd his engagement, and now he wish'd he was out. I replied, if matters were at that pass, had he not better make peace now than wait till our distress was notorious. He answered they would not make peace with us. 'Have you tried,' said I. 'Why keep off with Holland by demanding of her to give up liberties which you must allow other nations to take? Why not try to buy off Spain, offer the *uti possidetis* and a truce to America?' 'Oh, they wont treat with you,' said he 'Try them with the offer. If they refuse, then it will be evident to the people that it is France which prevents them having a peace to their wishes. That will give you good ground to negociate separately and revive your interest. Send a proper person to manage the business.' 'Would Lord George agree to that?' 'I believe he would, but if nothing else will do, take the advantage of the disaster of the French fleet and your own superiority in the West Indies to ask France what she will have. You can do it now with more dignity than you will next year, if you can make no further exertions!' He walked about the room and call'd for his post chaise, which I took for a civil way of bidding me get out of the room, and did so accordingly.

"Lord George came to town on Tuesday, the 15th, when I reported what pass'd. He determined to speak out to the King the next day, but the next day the King was indisposed, and had no levée, nor was there to be any court on Thursday, and Friday was the Queen's birthday. A Council, however, was necessary for the Irish business, and the King agreed to have it on Thursday at three o'clock To this Council Lord George went, and after it was over had an audience, and here follows his report to me of what pass'd.

"The King received him very kindly. Lord North had just gone out from him. He talked of the matters which had been the subject of the Council and of other matters for some time. At last, Lord George, finding an interval, ask'd him plainly, 'am I out?' 'Out,' eplies the King, 'What should make you suppose you were out?' He then assured him no proposition had been made to him for his going out. 'Why then, Sir, am I not told what are to be the measures? Why does not Lord North tell me what he intends?' 'He saw Knox,' said the King. 'Yes, but he gave him no answer. I sent Knox to him as I knew he had a kindness for him and used to talk confidentially with him, and upon the footing he is with me, it was the same as going myself, and I avoided that negligent manner of his which must have given me offence; but instead of sending me an answer. he call'd up his post chaise.' 'Well,' says the King, 'he will send to you.' Lord George then went into a repetition of the motives of his conduct, professing that as he came in with the hopes of being of service, he was ready either to continue at

all hazards or retire, as his Majesty thought proper; that his wish was to retire now, rather than be forced to it some time hence, as he was sure must be the case if vigorous measures were not taken. The King answer'd, 'Conduct like yours occasion a removal but to your own satisfaction.' He then asked about Fisher, how he went on, and how Knox liked him, and so ended a conference of a full hour with that easy familiarity which meant to express satisfaction and to convey it.

"The next day, a card came from Lord North, desiring Lord George to come to Downing Street the 19th at eleven o'clock. He went, and came away in a monstrous passion. I had that morning written to Robinson to warn Lord North not to be inattentive in the conference, and to tell him that I had disposed Lord George to treat with America upon the foot of a truce and the *uti possidetis*, and that the King would come into it (for so Lord George told me), but that Ireland must be called upon to fulfill her promise. Robinson had hastened to Downing Street, but Lord North, when he came down, did not go into his own room but into that of the meeting, which was call'd upon Admiralty business, and to which, and not to a private conference, Lord George had been summoned. When Lord George found what was the business, he waited it out, thinking Lord North would then speak to him, but finding no appearance of such an attention, he came away in disgust. He immediately sat down to write to the King, when I took the opportunity of slipping down to Lord North's in search of Robinson, who I brought up with me to Lord George. He had almost finished his letter to the King, telling him how he had been treated, and that it being evident Lord North meant he should go out, he desired his Majesty would acquaint him with his pleasure when he should bring the Seals, or to whom give them. Robinson entreated him not to send the letter, assuring him there was some mistake, and that Lord North would send to him to appoint a conference before Monday, upon which he consented to keep back the letter till Monday. On Monday morning he received a very civil letter from Lord North * declaring he had no recollection of the King desiring him to converse with Lord George, and appointing Tuesday morning. On Tuesday Lord George went, when Lord North told him he had been right in supposing the King had desired them to have a meeting, for upon his writing to the King to tell him what Lord George had said the King refer'd him to a note in the box he had returned to him on Thursday, where he found one, desiring him to make the appointment, but he considering the box as containing only office papers had not opened it when it came back. The conference lasted an hour, and the report Lord George made to me of it was to this effect. Lord North said it was impossible to continue the war; that America was lost, and it was vain to think of recovering it. Lord George offered to treat upon the *uti possidetis*, but that, Lord North said, they would not accept; nothing but Independence would do, and that, Lord George said, would never be given by him, and, therefore, if such was his purpose, he must look out for another

* See Report on the Stopford-Sackville MSS. (8vo edition), vol i., p. 76.

Secretary of State. He talked of the office merging in the Southern Department, but that, he said, could not be, for he must have an efficient man in the House of Commons. Jenkinson was named, who, he said, would not accept it, as his object was Cabinet, with the War Office. Lord George pressed to be told before he went to the House to-morrow (the 23) whether he was to continue or not, and his Lordship promised he would inform him. In the conversation, Lord North [said] there was no objection to Lord George's person, but to his declared principle of never consenting to Independence, which made the difficulty, 'and yet,' says he, 'your being out of the way wont mend matters, for the King is of the same opinion.' I think he intends the Lord Advocate to succeed Lord George, and its probable he will find difficulty in obtaining the King's consent, for he told Lord George that he had told Lord North he never should forget the Lord Advocate's behaviour. Nothing further having passed for some days, Lord George Germain spoke to the King upon the disagreeableness of his situation and the injury his service received. The King told him Lord North had spoken of the necessity for his going out, because of his avowed principle of resisting treaty with America upon any footing but preservation of sovereignty. 'If you mean by his going out,' said the King, 'to relinquish that principle you must make other removes.' 'No,' replies Lord North, 'for no one else has declared that principle.' 'Yes,' says the King, 'you must go further; you must remove ME.' Lord North may be supposed to have been struck with this declaration, and for some days nothing was heard from him. The Advocate and Rigby left the House whispering their intention not to go there while Lord George was in office. Lord George now thought it time to write to Lord North* for the answer he promised him ten days ago. No answer came, but the next day, the 31st, as Lord North came out from the King, he said to Lord George Germain: 'My Lord, your desire is the most proper and reasonable that can be, but the worst of it is, Jenkinson wont take your department.' This decided Lord George to consider himself as out, and meeting Lord H[illsborough] he was told by him that he was commissioned to sound Mr. Ellis, and if he did not take it the office was to merge into his. Considering Lord George's removal as the first step to relinquishing the American War, I offer'd to go out Governor of South Carolina and one of the Commissioners to endeavour to save that country for the nation, and preserve my own property in Georgia, but he would not agree to it." 18 *pp.*

LORD THURLOW.

"My first acquaintance with Mr. Thurlow, then Attorney-General, was upon the occasion of General Burgoyne's calling, in the House of Commons, for an enquiry into the cause of his miscarriage at Saratogo. The friends of the Howes had got about Burgoyne and persuaded him to lay the fault upon Lord Sackville, as neither having supplied him with sufficient force or furnished him with

* See Report on the Stopford-Sackville MSS. (8vo edition), vol. i., p. 77.

Instructions sufficiently discretionary, instead of imputing his failure to the want of Howe's co-operation, which Burgoyne well knew was the true cause, assisted by his own imprudence; but as he was no friend to the Administration he thought it was better to injure them than Howe.

"There certainly was a weak place in Lord Sackville's defence, which was the want of an official communication to Howe of the plan and Burgoyne's Instructions, with orders for his co-operation; of which I was not only innocent, but it was owing to my interference that Howe had any knowledge of the business. Mr. D'Oyly, my then colleague, having been some time Deputy-Secretary at War, and the particular friend of Howe, had the entire conduct of the military business; and Burgoyne and he had settled the force and Instructions, and Burgoyne had gone in to the King and obtained his consent for having the command and everything in his own way; even the specific detachments and corps were all named and not left to Carleton to select.

"When all was prepared, and I had them to compare and make up, Lord Sackville came down to the office to sign the letters on his way to Stoneland, when I observed to him that there was no letter to Howe to acquaint him with the plan or what was expected of him in consequence of it. His Lordship started, and D'Oyly stared, but said he would in a moment write a few lines. 'So,' says Lord Sackville, 'my poor horses must stand in the street all the time, and I shant be to my time anywhere.' D'Oyly then said he had better go, and he would write from himself to Howe and inclose copies of Burgoyne's Instructions, which would tell him all that he would want to know; and with this his Lordship was satisfied, as it enabled him to keep his time, for he could never bear delay or disappointment; and D'Oyly sat down and writ a letter to Howe, but he neither shew'd it to me or gave a copy of it for the office, and if Howe had not acknowledged the receipt of it, with the copy of the Instructions to Burgoyne, we could not have proved that he ever saw them. I applied upon this occasion to D'Oyly for a copy of his letter, but he said he had kept none. I then desired he would get one from Howe, who had the original, but he would not ask for it, and Lord Sackville did not call upon Howe for it. Thurlow would, however, have called for it if the enquiry had gone on, as I had told him all the circumstances. When he came to me he said he was sent to me for information respecting Burgoyne's expedition, for that all he had talked with upon the subject seemed to know nothing, but told him he must come to me. [Here follows the account of the interview already given. See p. 270 above.]

"I had once before met him and Wedderburn, then Solicitor-General, at Lord North's, where Mr. De Gray and myself were carried by Lord Sackville to a consultation upon the Instructions to be given to Lord Carlisle, &c., as commissioners. Those we had prepared for them had been by Lord North refer'd to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and Wedderburn, being the patron of Eden, wish'd much that he might succeed in making Peace, and therefore was for giving the Commissioners much larger powers than we had intended. When the concessions to be made were spoken of, I

said that the Northern Colonies were rather to be considered as the rivals of this country and Ireland than their dependants; that they were much less advantageous than the Southern, and more difficult to be retained, and that, in my opinion, Great Britain would be better without them if they could be annihilated; upon which Thurlow observed that, as I seemed to think the Northern Colonies were not worth keeping, if that were the case he was sure the Southern ones were not worth fighting for. The consultation ended in submitting to Wedderburn to manufacture the Instructions and bring them to Lord North, and he framed them in such a manner as, if the Colonies had accepted the offers the Commissioners were impowered to make, the people then would have had all the advantages of British subjects without any share of the burdens of the Empire, and consequently Britain and Ireland would have been depopulated and reduced.

"After Thurlow became Chancellor, I visited him at his levées and was always well received, and when the Marquis of Buckingham came from Ireland, I writ to the Chancellor upon the state of that country, and had a very handsome answer. I afterwards sent him my several publications, and, in consequence of my conversations with Lord Rawdon, I requested a conference with him upon the views of that body, and my motives for attaching myself to them, which he much approved, but gave me to understand that the King did not feel the manacles Pitt had put upon him, or was not willing to hassard the inconvenience of attempting to break them. He said: 'This man (meaning Pitt), who he gives his confidence to for every thing, is utterly incapable of such a trust: he does not know how to do his own business, much less all the business of the Nation, which he takes upon him nevertheless.' I left him with assuring him that whenever the King thought fit to remove Pitt, he would find no difficulty in forming a respectable administration. It was in pursuance of this idea that I drew up and printed the *Considerations on the State of the Nation*, a copy of which I sent to Lord Thurlow before publication, and when I afterwards waited upon him in an evening, we had a long conversation upon the former subject. He approved greatly of the pamphlet, but seemed to think the King would not make any change; but wish'd Lord Rawdon and his friends would fairly come forward and avow themselves the supporters of the King. I mentioned this to Lord Rawdon, who, in answer, writ me a long letter declaring his sentiments, and renouncing all office during the present King's reign. I thought it right to communicate that declaration to the Chancellor, as I had given him reason to think differently of Lord Rawdon's purpose, and I also, from that time, gave up the idea of connecting myself with that party, which I foresaw would soon be melted down into the Duke of Portland's, and I gave the Chancellor my reasons for so doing. It was upon this occasion he told me the history of the Regency business, which I will set down in his own words:—

"'I scarcely knew the Prince of Wales, having never seen him but in public, and still less had I seen the Duke of York. When the King was taken ill, they were all frightened, and knew not what to do with him. The Prince thought it not fit to write to me to

desire I would come to them, but sent the Duke of York. I went immediately, and upon the Prince asking me what was to be done, I told him that the King, in his present situation, was to be considered as any other man so circumstanced, and treated accordingly. Whatever, therefore, the physicians, who were all there, advised, was to be done without scruple. All the physicians agreed in the hopelessness of his case. After this, the Prince asked me what was fit for him to do. I told him his situation was a delicate but a plain one. Everything must flow to him of itself; he could only interrupt its course by impatience to receive it. He had to think of the King in the double condition of father and sovereign, and in both capacities, his present situation called for his utmost tenderness. The Prince appeared convinced, and expressed great obligation to me, but, after he saw Sheridan, he adopted the contrary course, and I believe he now thinks he would have done as well if he had followed my advice, for when we meet, he tells me, laughing, he is not angry with me for the opposition I gave to his friends' propositions. The Ministers were all in a puzzle what to do; my advice was to go on as they were untill the King's state was found irrecoverable, and to treat his disease as a common severe illness, which rendered him incapable of giving any orders. They, however, chose to declare the King's state to Parliament, and to appoint a Regent. As Keeper of the Great Seal, the whole responsibility of the measure was thrown upon me, and I saw that among all the Councellors that were given the Queen, I should be the object of the malevolence of the Regent's party. I would not have taken the Great Seal under such circumstances, for I am not a brave man, but, having it, I could not reconcile it to myself to quit it.'

"I told him the public did ustice to the motives of his conduct, and look'd up to him as the stay of the Constitution and the firm support of the King's authority. He said what he had done deserved no praise, for there was no meri in no being a rascal, which he must have been if he had acted otherways than he did. 'My first care,' he added, 'was that the King should not be in the hands of the Regent's Ministers, and that no obstacle should be thrown in the way of his recovery, and, as I foresaw the objections they would raise to any symptoms of his recovery, I took the mode of proof out of their power; but still, with a Parliament at their back, what might they not do to prevent his recovery. They might so intimidate the Queen's Council that they would be afraid to declare the King convalescent, and if I stood forth as I should have done, at all hassards, in the King's support, an impeachment would probably have been my reward.'

'I expressed my own happiness and that of the Nation in his having been Chancellor at the time, and hoped I should never see the Great Seal in other hands. All this passed while we were at breakfast, which he made for me, and got up thrice to ring the bell for toast for me, not thinking that which was brought up was to my liking." 13½ *pp.*

CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

"When the peace of 1763 was made, Huske was busy collecting information respecting the new acquisitions in the City. He dined

with Machray, where I was, and the conversation taking that turn, I spoke of the advantages to be derived from the Floridas. Huske soon after asked me to let him introduce me to Charles Townshend, and I became very intimate with him. I writ to him from France, and I have a letter from him in answer. He brought me home with him from the House of Lords after the debate upon the Cyder Bill, against which 40 Lords voted, which he thought a death blow to Lord Bute's administration; and as Lady Dalkeith and I sat at supper, which he never eat, he walked about the room, entertaining us with his observations upon what had passed that day, in his eccentrick manner.

"'The Burial is gone by, Knox (says he); Lord Pomfret and Lord Denby the two black staves men. Whose funeral is that? Lord Bute's. Then comes Lord Hilsborough, tolling the great bell—bum, bum.' Those three were the only lords that had declared themselves attach'd to Lord Bute in the debate, and their manner of speaking, which he took off, made the allusion highly ridiculous. 'Do you know (says he again) the meaning of the other speeches you heard? The Duke of Newcastle said, My Lord Bute, you thought it was an easy thing to govern this country thro' the King's favour. Now, I can tell you that altho' I had as full possession of the late King as you have of the present, I found it necessary to take the great connexions of the country with me, which you are endeavouring to break and oppose; but, take my word for it, you will find your seat at the Treasury an uneasy one if you dont change your plan, of which what passes here this night is only a specimen. Then Lord Mansfield. My Lord Bute, you gave me reason to think I should be of your Cabinet, but you have neglected me, and paid less attention to my recommendations than you ought. I will now shew you that I can punish you if I chuse to do it, but as I don't mean to break with you, but only to teach you to behave better for the future, I will bring you off now.'

"His manner of reading a book was curious. He turned over the leaves at the beginning extremely quick, first glancing at the middle of each page. 'Thats all preface,' says he. He then ran over the facts with more attention, and when he had gone through them, turn'd over the remainder of the leaves as he had done the beginning, saying, 'that's all conclusion, I can do that myself'; and he received oral information in the same manner, always confining the narrator to the fact. I was with him one morning at the time the Master of the Rolls was vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Clark. Mr. Yorke was then out of office, and Sir Fletcher Norton was Attorney-General. Mr. Grenville had offered Mr. Yorke his choice of being Attorney-General or Master of the Rolls, and he had not given his answer, but was to come that morning to Charles Townshend to consult him 'That is (says he to me) he wishes much to take one of them, and to throw the blame of his quitting the Opposition upon me. We are very good friends, but I'll be cursed if he makes me his stalking-horse to get into office. So go into the next room when he comes and stay till he is gone, and then I'll tell you what has pass'd.' When he call'd me in, he began with laughing most heartily. 'My poor friend (says he) came to me

under great embarrassment for my advice, and I think I have sent him away ten times more embarrassed than he came. I soon found he meant to take one of the two, but could not decide which was the most certain road to the Great Seal, which his heart, I know, is set upon. So, to puzzle him effectually, I began with telling him that the government of this country must come to him and me. Lord Temple can't live a year, and then George Grenville must go up to the Lords, and there will be no one but me to manage the House of Commons. Lord Hardwick can't hold out long, and then you will be Earl of Hardwick, and must have the Great Seal when Northington dies or becomes incapable, or we may turn him out. Norton is no Chancery man, so if you take the Rolls, you will probably succeed to the Seal even if Northington should die before Lord Hardwick. Indeed, the Attorney-General is the more direct line to the Seal than the Rolls, and Norton is so useful and thoroughgoing [a] fellow in the House of Commons that if he should insist upon the Seal, a Minister dare not put him by, especially as it is the usual course for the Attorney-General to get it. Now, if you took the Attorney-General and sent Norton to the Rolls, you would be in the direct line, but then Norton, by being at the Rolls, would learn the Chancery business, and he is such a damned able fellow that he would presently make himself so useful to Northington that he would devolve most of the business upon him, and he would do it so well that every one would say he ought to be Chancellor in case Northington should die or retire; and, as the Rolls is for life, the Minister would have no power over him, and, if he refused him, he would go into opposition and plague his heart out, so he would probably put you by and give it to him.'

"Mr. Yorke acted as Charles Townshend expected. He could not decide, for he was no able man, and wanted firmness as well as judgment. He hesitated so long that Norton heard of what had been offer'd him, and came to George Grenville to complain that he should be at the disposal of Mr. Yorke, and desired to resign his office of Attorney-General. Mr. Grenville then gave Sewel the Rolls and thought no more of Charles Yorke, but Norton refused to continue Attorney-General unless the King should desire it, as his Ministers had used him so ill. He had an audience of the King accordingly, and upon his Majesty expressing his satisfaction in his services and his regard for him, he took the occasion to ask to have his son appointed Minister to the Swiss Cantons, to keep him abroad some years, and he had it, with 800*l* a year salary." 6½ *pp*

Lord Hillsborough.

"The account he gave of his resignation or rather dismission from the Board of Trade in 1765." Substantially the same as that on p. 263 above.

Marquis of Lansdown.

"1785, July 6.—My first acquaintance with the Marquis of Lansdown was at the time he was preparing his speech introductory of the motion for an Address of the House of Lords, approving the

preliminaries of the Peace of Paris [Dec., 1762]. The acquisition of Florida and Louisiana was treated by Opposition as of no value to this country, and it happened that the Ministers had no information respecting those provinces but what they could derive from Charles Vouges and Mitchell's map of North America. I was lately returned from Georgia. . . . Dr. Francis having found me out, carried me to his then common friends, Lord Holland and Lord Lansdown. I drew up by Lord Lansdown's desire a defence of the preliminaries, and presented [it] for his Lordship's use, and Dr. Francis got a copy of it from me for Lord Holland, who was so well pleased with it (though he said it was numbers and not argument that he depended upon for carrying the Address) that he desired Dr. Francis to ask me if I wished for any office in the new acquisitions, as he meant to consider me; 'for' says Dr. F., 'he is a man that expects nobody to do anything for nothing, and it is his maxim to live and let live. I, however, declined the offer, because I could not endure to be obliged to a man who I heard so ill-spoken of everywhere.

"Lord Lansdown did not put me to the like trial, but he had frequent conversations with me, and I digested into a pretty large paper my remarks upon the defects in the Constitutions and modes of government of the North American provinces, and put it into his hands, he being then first Lord of Trade. A copy of this paper was afterwards given by Lord G[rosvenor] to the Earl of B[ute] who, his Lordship told me, observed upon it some days after that he thought we ought to set about reforming our old Colonies before we settled new ones. Lord L[ansdown] soon after gave me a commission to execute at Paris, where I went with Lord G[rosvenor] in June, 1763, of a pritty hassardous nature, and might have prevented me from ever returning. It was to procure for him, out of the French King's beaureaux, some of the maps and plans of the French islands and fortifications in the West Indies, and for my security, and as a means of introduction to the *Comis*, gave me a letter to Mr. Nevil, his Majesty's Minister at Paris, requesting him to take me under his protection and to assist me in the business he had charged me with. I proceeded so far in the execution of his Lordship's commission as to find out the person who had purloined a draught for the late Duke of Cumberland some time before, but he told me that, upon that draught being missed, or more probably upon the secret being promulged here, as we are very apt to boast of our achievements of that kind, all the plans and draughts were removed out of the reach of the lower orders of *Comis*, and nothing could now be obtained.

"I acquainted Lord Lansdown by letter with these circumstances and he wrote to me in return that it was now of no importance to him, for he was no longer at the head of the Board of Trade. I was prepared for the intelligence by what I had perceived before I left England; a strong jealoucy of his intriguing and ambitious spirit was entertained by both Lord Halifax and Lord Egremont, but especially by the latter, who was guided in all Colonial affairs by Governor Ellis, and whose influence Pownall could not endure. He therefore stimulated Lord Lansdown to underwork Lord Egremont, while Ellis incited the latter to thwart

Lord Lansdown. I was consulted by both Ellis and Pownall, and saw into the whole intrigue. The Under-Secretary, Wood, stood neutre in this contest. Ellis had purchased his acquiescence in his influence with Lord Egremont by pointing out to him a valuable office in the new island [? Cape Breton], but when Wood discovered that he had taken a better to himself, which he did just before Lord Egremont's death, he broke with him, and I found them bitter enemies when I returned from France.

"My connexion with Mr. Grenville having now commenced, and as I could not think of leaving him, either in or out of office, to return to Lord Lansdown, I had but little intercourse with his Lordship while he held the Seals of the Northern Department, nor untill he brought those of the Southern and American Departments to Whitehall in 1782, where he found me in the twelfth year of my Under-Secretaryship, having served with four successive principals. His Lordship recognised me as an old acquaintance; he told me the American office was to be absorbed, as well as the Board of Trade, into the Southern Department, and that it was his intention to select all the ability and efficiency of the three offices, and form out of the whole one complete establishment; that, therefore, he could not yet say who he should keep or who remove, but that whoever went out should have ample compensation for their loss of office; that he should, in the meantime, depend upon me for the care of everything, and desired I would give him my opinion of the abilities and characters of every one in the office. I told his Lordship I had no wish to remain, having obtained his Majesty's permission to retire, but that my devotion to the King's service would oblige me to continue as long as his Lordship thought I might be useful, and that I should exert my best endeavours to do my duty. He then went away, desiring me to tell Fisher, who was coming to make his bow, not to come in his way—for he could not bear to see anybody that he meant to part with; a fair confession, I thought, of weakness of nerves, notwithstanding all his bustle and high tone. Pollock's terror, and Sir Stanier Porten's exclamation of 'God be thanked I am not to be under you again' made me feel happy in the reflection that I was at liberty to withdraw from him. Indeed, I had no reason to imagine that upon such a change as that which had taken place, I should be suffered, much less desired, to stay, for the zealous part I had always taken against the Americans, the pamphlets I had written, and my activity in office, had made me so obnoxious to the whole party, that none of them were likely ever to place confidence in me; . . . . I had requested Mr. G[renville] to take his Majesty's pleasure whether I should withdraw or continue if I was desired to stay, and he had acquainted me that I might withdraw if I chose to do so. Sir Richard Sutton had long ago told me that of all ministers, Lord Lansdown was the most difficult to please. He was never satisfied with what anyone did, or even with what he did himself, but altered and changed without end. As an instance, he mentioned his having prepared a draught of a despatch for Tuesday's mail. His Lordship directed him to alter and write it over again for his signing in the evening. He did so,

and he then took it to consider further of, and altered it and sent it to him to write over again, which he did, and brought it to his Lordship, who told him that as it was then late, he should keep it till the next mail. He accordingly kept it till Friday, when he gave it to Sir Richard with fresh alterations, and he assured me; before the letter was sent off, it had been nine times transcribed, and the Friday night's mails were detained for it till two in the morning. My own experience soon proved to me that it was not without reason those who had served with him in office abhor'd him as a principal. I attended him by his orders, day after day, with a 'pressee' of the unanswered dispatches, without being able to obtain his instructions for preparing the answers, and, perceiving that I was looked upon by those who frequented the house rather as a spy than an Under-Secretary, I beg'd his Lordship to send for me when he chose to see me, and from thence refrained coming. On the following Sunday night, between ten and eleven o'clock, I received a note from his private secretary, desiring me to come immediately to Berkeley Square, and bring all the unanswered dispatches with me; to which I return'd for answer that I had never been requir'd to do any business on Sundays that did not require immediate attention; that I was then going to read Prayers to my family, according to my usual custom, but that I would attend his Lordship very early in the morning. He made me explain to him and Sir Guy Carleton the reason and purpose of every order and movement during the progress of the war in America, and I informed him of everything that was proposed to be done in the next campaign, with which he appeared to be much gratified; but he was so ill-informed of the geography of America that I was obliged to lead him thro' the map, and describe the country as I went along. Sir Guy Carleton, when we were alone, gave me to understand that the mode of conducting the war and the conditions of peace were to be confided to him, and in that belief he embarked. Not many days after Sir Guy had sailed, Lord Lansdown express'd to me his great apprehensions for the safety of Quebec, and his earnest wish that Sir [Guy] could have the command in that province. I told him, smiling, that I should rejoice to hear Washington had crossed the Lakes, for I was very sure Sir Guy would never suffer him to come back again; but his Lordship appearing deeply affected, and assuring me that all the secret intelligence agreed that the most positive directions had been given by France for the expedition, I brought him Mr. De Vergenes' intercepted letter to the Marquis Lucerne, instructing him to use his utmost endeavours to prevent any attack upon Canada. His Lordship was much surprised and embarrassed by that letter, but recovering his looks of apprehension, he went on to ask me about the means of transporting troops from New York and Charles Town to Quebec, and of giving Sir Guy the command there. I now clearly perceived the purpose of his affected apprehension for the safety of Quebec, and proposed to him a means of giving Sir Guy the command without disgracing Haldimand, which made him happier than I ever saw him. The next day I told him that, to prevent his suspecting some of those about him of divulging his

secrets, I thought it right to inform him of what passed at Lord Hillsborough's table, where I had dined with a large company. Lord Denby, who was there, call'd to me aloud, 'Knox, what are you going to do with all the troops you are taking away from Charles Town and New York.' I said I knew nothing about taking any away. 'No,' says his Lordship, and then swore he knew they were to be taken away, for that one of the Cabinet told him so. Lord Lansdown appearing to take what I had told him good-humouredly, I added, 'Your Cabinet, my Lord, is too numerous for secrecy, and especially as there are some in it who were never in the habit of keeping secrets, and they cannot resist the pleasure of the display of their importance by communicating what they know, but for my own part, I must request the favour of your Lordship not to talk with me upon any matter with which I am not to be trusted, for I am so well acquainted with every part of America and with everything in it, that you cannot open to me ever so small a part of any plan without enabling me to penetrate the whole, and if it gets wind, as, from the state of your Cabinet, I think it must, I shall probably be fixed upon as the betrayer of your secrets.' He replied, laughing, that he was very much obliged to me for the caution I had given him, but he was very sure whatever I might come to the knowledge of would be very safe with me.

"A very particular conversation respecting the American Office which his Majesty was so gracious as to join me with Lord Lansdown in, at the Drawing Room one Sunday, led me to imagine his Majesty would be pleased with my continuing with his Lordship, and therefore I determined to do so, and upon the following Tuesday, when Mr. P[ownall] was lamenting to his Lordship that I was not to continue, and his Lordship exclaimed that he hoped I had no intention of leaving him, I bowed consent, but the next morning I saw Mr. Dundass carry in Mr. Ord to his Lordship, and on Thursday I found Mr. Ord in my room at the office, not one word having passed between his Lordship and me upon the subject after Tuesday. He could have no other motive for acting with this duplicity towards me but the gratification of his own mind, as I had so early expressed my wish to retire; however, when he came to the office, he was so good as to tell me that Mr. Ord did not come to succeed me, for that I had no successor, my office being suppressed, and assured me pathetically my whole behaviour had been the most proper he ever knew, and particularly the pains I had taken to inform Nepean had made a most lasting impression upon his mind, and that I might depend upon being amply compensated by Parliament for the loss of my office, and that, if I wished for any mark of the King's favour, he would request it for me. I made my acknowledgments for his Lordship's kind expressions, but said that his Majesty's goodness to me had been so great that I could not think of making any request for further pecuniary favours; that were I restored to the possession of my estate, I should have humbly solicited an honorary mark of his Majesty's approbation of my conduct, but that as I could not be certain of having any considerable income to subsist myself and family, except what I derived from his Majesty's bounty, it would

ill become me to ask for an honor. His Lordship assured me he would make a faithful representation to his Majesty of what he was pleased to call my very proper sentiments; but I fear he kept that promise as ill as he did the other he made me, of considering me when the Parliamentary allowances should be settled for the secretaries and clerks of the suppressed offices. He was then at the head of the Treasury, and gave to every dismissed clerk his full salary; to Mr. Cumberland, who had been only two years Secretary of the Board of Trade, the whole emoluments of that office, 750*l* per annum, clear of all deductions, and to Mr. Fisher, who had been my colleague only six months as Under-Secretary, 400*l*, but he passed me over without notice, only directing Mr. Rose to tell me that his Majesty had been so generous to me that there was no occasion to ask Parliament for any allowance for me; thus appropriating his Majesty's bounty, extended to me in consideration of the loss of my American offices, as a compensation for my being deprived of that of Under-Secretary, also, after twelve years service in it." 11½ *p.*

IV. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

Marquis de Montcalm.

1. Extract, in English, of M. de Montcalm's letter of April 4, 1757, to M. Berryer, with note by Knox. "This advice of Montcalm's made the French at the Peace insist on the Isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon."

2. Translation of Montcalm's letter of Oct. 1, 1758, to M. Berryer.

3. Translation of Montcalm's letter of Aug. 24, 1759, to M. de Molé, president of the Parliament of Paris, from the Camp before Quebec. [*These letters, which were published in* 1777, *have been generally considered spurious.*]

Commerce.

[1763 ? *].—A paper by Knox, headed "Hints relative to our Commerce." The main points are as follows:—As the Treaty of Peace has left Great Britain in possession of several of the French Colonies, and given security to her former possessions in North America, an increase of her American trade may be expected. By a greater demand on the part of her Colonists, England's manufactures will be increased and more employment given to her people, but "as her Colonies are part of her Empire, any gain which is made by the individuals who carry on the direct trade with them cannot be said to be an addition to the national wealth. The trade between two counties in England may be very profitable to the individuals who transact it, and yet the Nation cannot be the richer for it. Our trade with foreign nations is the only traffic by which the nation, as well as individuals, can

* Apparently written shortly after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris. See also letter to Granville, p. 89 above.

be enriched." Foreign trade divides itself into two branches, export and carrying. British exports have been increased by the war, but the carrying trade has been ruined. For although our fleets were everywhere triumphant, the enemy's privateers exposed our merchant ships to such risks that the ships of neutral nations could be hired at a much cheaper rate, and the loss of this trade occasioned a prodigious diminution in the number of our shipping, a consideration of great importance when our very existence as a state depends upon the superiority of our naval power.

As regards the effect of the war upon France, her maritime trade being entirely ruined by it, the State has been deprived of almost all revenues from imports and exports, and has been reduced to borrowing for the expenses of the war. The same cause which obliged her to go deeper into debt having deprived her of security for her creditors, foreigners refused to trust her with their money, and therefore the money in the country was all the State had to avail itself of. If they had been carrying on only a defensive war, this would not have so much mattered, but the offensive war in Germany entailed payments for the subsistence of the armies there, no part of which payments returned to the French people. To make her money last the longer, France stopped payment of foreign bills and of the interest on her old debt, and thus, with what she got from her people, raised money for the carrying on of the war that year. Next year she resorted to the same methods, and with the same success, "for the people generously gave her their all," but it was impossible to continue to support her armies on such a footing, and therefore her ministers judged it best to accept the conditions offered by England. England, on the other hand, seemed to flourish under the pressure of the war, for her conquests increased her trade, and with it her revenue. But her ministers "are not dazzled with the splendour of this false riches" knowing that the money they have been spending was borrowed and that the nation must one day be able to re-imburse it or be utterly undone. By the war with Spain, we have lost an influx of nearly a million per annum in specie, and by the attack on Portugal, are likely to lose a million and a half more.

The distress of France is greater, but temporary; the burdens of England not so pressing but perpetual; therefore France is more likely to re-establish her foreign commerce than England, and will try to indemnify herself for the loss of her colonies by wresting from England her foreign trade. If France can undersell our manufactures in foreign markets and get the carrying trade into her hands, our acquisitions in America will be but poor compensation for our loss. To prevent this, England must reduce her expenses, be "extremely economical in the receipt of her Revenue," and lighten her burdens by distributing them amongst the several members of the Empire. Suggestions for economy in collecting the revenue, and simplifying the assessing of taxes. The writer had meant to urge the taking over of the care of the poor by Government, "but as the great utility of such a regulation is fully pointed out in an excellent pamphlet published this day," he will only declare his opinion "that the collection and disbursement of the Poor

rates are subject to so many abuses that a general tax, laid and collected by Government, though no heavier than the rate paid by the lowest rated parish in the Kingdom, would not only maintain every really necessitous person " but leave a considerable surplus ; government officials being so much more controlled by adverse criticism than those appointed by the people.

The paper ends by discussing how far Ireland is able to assist Great Britain in supporting her necessary burdens, and by what methods she may be induced to give her assistance. 22 *pp.* 2 *Copies.*

On the Fortifications at Cherbourg.

[After 1763].—Notes for a letter to a newspaper, defending the right of the English Government to protest against the fortifying of Cherbourg, on the ground that—while repair of damages and augmenting defensive works are pacific measures which no nation has a right to take offence at—" the construction of works in time of peace which can have no use but to give an advantage in time of war, is a direct avowal of intended hostility." 7 *pp.*

Endorsed by Knox, " not published."

Revenue.

1764.—Discussing the various methods for employing a surplus in the National revenue, and advocating the granting of bounties upon exports in time of peace, which, ceasing at the breaking out of hostilities, would leave free an additional war revenue without increased taxation. 12 *pp.*

Marriage Act.

[1772, April *].—" A speech intended to be spoken upon the Introduction of Mr. Fox's bill to repeal the Marriage Act."—Urging the importance of parental control to prevent premature and unwise marriages, and advocating the age of 21 in men and 18 in women as the period of emancipation from such parental restraint. 13 *pp.*

American Congress.

1774.—Abstracts, by Knox, of the Resolutions of Congress, 14 Oct., 1774; the petition to the King, 26 Oct.; and a second petition, undated; with marginal notes upon the contents. 8 *pp.* [*See S. P. America and West Indies, vol.* 278, *f.* 471.]

Population of the American Colonies.

[1774 ?].—" Number of [European] inhabitants in North America " :—

Nova Scotia	17,000.	Virginia	300,000.
Connecticutt (1774)	191,392.	Pensylvania	*no figures.*
Massachusetts	400,000.	Maryland (1762)	114,332.
Rhode Island	35,939.	Georgia	18,000.
New York	148,000.	N. Jersey	77,000.
New Hampshire	100,000.	S. Carolina	60,000.

* Fox brought in his Bill on April 7, 1772.

A rough calculation below brings the total to 1,911,000, but the items do not exactly tally with those above. Also Maryland is omitted and Connecticutt given twice. The population of Pensylvania is put at 300,000. 1 *p.*

PLAN for Carrying on THE WAR

1774.—Suggestions by Knox for the distribution of troops. Noted by him as "delivered to Lord Dartmouth, 1775." 1 *p.*

CANADA

[1775, April].—Plan for Canada, in Knox's hand, and noted by him as presented when Burgoyne went out. Suggestions for giving commissions to Canadian officers, their men to be raised by corvees from the Militia for a short term of service, and for forming a Roman Catholic regiment in Canada, in which, it is believed, Irish Roman Catholics would readily enlist. 2 *Copies.* 2½ *pp. each.*

PLAN OF THE WAR.

[1776, March *].—Arguments to show that in the American War the British have "begun at the wrong end"; that the Southern provinces, being easier both to acquire and retain, should have been first attacked and reduced, and thus formed a base for attacking the Northern ones. With suggestions for the methods to be employed. 5 *pp.*

Also

Another paper on the same subject. 7 *pp.*

INSTRUCTIONS for LORD AND GENERAL HOWE.

1776, May 6.—Orders and Instructions. *Copy* 10 *pp.* [*Another copy calendared in Report on Dartmouth MSS. ii., p.* 417.]

Also

"Additional and separate Instructions for the same. Same date. *Copy.* 3 *pp*

PROJECT FOR A SETTLEMENT with the Colonies.

[1776, summer of ?].—After showing that the Colonies, in treating with Great Britain, are at a great disadvantage as compared with Foreign States, seeing that whatever terms are given, when they have once returned to their allegiance, they can have no security for their fulfilment but England's good faith, Knox goes on to propose an Act to the following effect:—

That whereas it is only reasonable that all British subjects who partake of the advantages of the constitution should contribute in due proportion to charges incurred for the general good:

And whereas the annual charge of the army, fleet, &c., and of such civil expenses as concern the whole empire amounts to about 4 millions, exclusive of Ireland:

* *Cf.* Knox's proposal on page 259 above.

And whereas the population of Great Britain is computed at 8 millions, and that of the British provinces on the coast of the Atlantic in North America to 2½ millions, and that, therefore, the just proportion to be contributed by the latter would be five-sixteenths, or 1,250,000*l.* (this still leaving the whole burden of the Public Debt upon the people of Great Britain): Nevertheless, as it has ever been the desire of Parliament to promote the prosperity of the Provinces, and because "very great advantages are derived to the Inhabitants of Great Britain from their exclusive commerce with the said Provinces, which commerce it is intended shall always remain confined to Great Britain as heretofore, or carried on under such regulations and restraints as Parliament shall impose," it is proposed that "the sum to be contributed by the said provinces shall be no more than 8 per cent. of the rated value of all commodities exported from the same in every year," which, at the highest rated value of the exports in the past, would not exceed 300,000*l.* for several years to come, *i.e.*, not one thirteenth part of the aforesaid charge of four millions. 12 *pp. Imperfect*

BROOKLYN.

[1776, August].—Minutes of letters from Sir Peter Parker and Sir Henry Clinton, apparently relating to the attack on Brooklyn in August, 1776. They explain how by reason of contrary winds and getting aground, the frigates destined for the service were prevented from assisting in the attack which was made "on the 28th (*sic.*)." 2 *pp.*

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

[1778, February ?].—Draft by Lord George Germain of part of a letter to Sir William Howe, concerning the surrender of Burgoyne's army, and Sir William's desire to quit the command. With many alterations in Knox's hand, and endorsed by him: "Lord G. G.'s paragraph for a letter. . . altered by me in the letter upon that occasion." 3 *pp.*

SIR HENRY CLINTON.

1778-9.—Minute of orders sent to Clinton in 1778 and 1779. With note by Knox that it is to be copied in "a large black hand," and to be kept secret. 6½ *pp.*

PEACE OR WAR.

1779, October 14.—Paper dated and endorsed as above. States that as the French and Spanish fleets will have 36 ships of the line, while Parker and Arbuthnot have only 23, it will be necessary, "to give us equality," to send out 13 ships of the line at once. If this cannot be done, Spain should be detached from France by the offer of West Florida, and even, if necessary, by a surrender of our intercourse with the Musquito Shore. 6½ *pp.*

Peace Prospects.

1781, January.—Paper endorsed by Knox "Ideas" on above date. Urging that the negotiations for peace should be, not between Congress and the British commanders, but between "the people at large" and persons with plenary powers, who derive nothing from the war, and expect their reward from the making of peace. As regards Europe, the Emperor and Russia can best help against the House of Bourbon. The Emperor, being ambitious and poor might be prevailed on by money, and some advantages at the expense of the Dutch. Russia is desirous of a port in the Mediterranean; Minorca would be highly acceptable to her, and in her hands would be "an everlasting cause of jealousy between her and France and Spain," and consequently would bind her to England. This alliance would draw in Denmark and perhaps Sweden, and the Dutch might also be admitted. So formidable a league would impel France and Spain to treat, "and then would be our time to lay our plan deep for reducing their naval strength and augmenting our own." Spain might be pursuaded to yield her part of St. Domingo in exchange for the restitution of the Floridas, and with the Spanish part of the Island in our hands we might master the French garrisons before they could be strengthened from France. This great point being gained, the exchanges with France might proceed upon the foot of the Treaty of Paris or of the *uti possidetis*. 6 *pp.*

Georgia and the Carolinas.

1781, June.—Arguments in support of the view that the people of Georgia and the Carolinas are favourable to England, and that their holding back from joining the King's forces is the effect of intimidation, not of disloyalty. 8½ *pp.* *Endorsed* "Defence to be made in the House of Commons."

East India Company.

1784.—Notes on "the occasion of the East India Company desiring to borrow 1,500,000*l*."—*i.e.*, "the failure of the arrivals expected in the course of the last year." 1½ *pp.*

National Debt.

1785, Oct. 4.—Notes and calculations, endorsed by Knox. "Materials: National Debt, 4 Oct., 1785." *Drafts, much corrected.* 29 *pp.*

Proposals [by William Knox?].

1787, Dec. 9.—Paper (stated by Knox to have been sent to Mr. Rose on this date, to be laid before Mr. Pitt), concerning the evils of emigration, and offering to conduct an undertaking for the "Colonizing" of the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetland islands, and the unimproved tracts in Wales. 3½ *pp.*

Slave Trade.

1788, May 25.—Notes for introductory remarks on making a motion in relation to the Slave Trade in the House of Commons—

defending the trade on the ground that negroes that were slaves in Africa are better off when brought to America, their temporal condition being no worse, and their spiritual state (owing to the opportunity of receiving religious instruction) much better; but praying for information as to what has been done by Government and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to render their condition more comfortable and " to remove all reproach for retaining them in servitude." 4 *pp.*

Florida.

[Undated.]—" Hints respecting the Settlement and Culture of East Florida." Describing the soil, vegetation and climate, suggesting the cultivation of cotton as its special product (as being " the material for a great variety of manufactures," and one with which the market cannot easily be overstocked); also of indigo and silk, which would succeed much better than in Georgia, owing to the absence of frost. Florida is said to be not only in nearly the same latitude as Egypt, but to have much the same climate and soil. 19½ *pp.*

Also: Another paper, partly to the same effect as the above, but proposing an alteration of its boundaries, the importation of Christian Greeks from the Archipelago to populate it, and provisions for government, granting of lands, &c., especially deprecating grants on a large scale.

Ends.—" Pen's and Lord Baltimore's success in colonizing has tempted many people to become American proprietors, not considering that Pensylvania became considerable by being made a sanctuary for the persecuted of all religions, the Roman Catholic excepted, in very zealous times, and that Maryland is the only colony where Roman Catholics are entitled to the rights of men." 11 *pp.*

Exports.

[Undated.]—Advocating the abolition of the export duties charged on goods, both foreign and of home manufacture, sent from Great Britain to the Colonies and the United States. 2 *pp.*

Hemp and Flax.

[Undated.]—" Reasons for granting a bounty on the importation of hemp and flax from the British Colonies." At present nearly all the hemp used in England is exported from Russia. The balance of trade with that country is " near five hundred thousand pounds against us," the value of the imports being nine hundred thousand pounds and that of the exports thither only five. Hemp being absolutely necessary for shipping, England is at Russia's mercy, and also at that of Denmark, whose forts command the Sound. When Sweden, in 1703, refused to let us have any naval stores save in her own ships, Parliament granted a bounty on the importation of such stores from the colonies, with the result that tar, pitch and turpentine were presently brought

thence in such quantities as almost wholly to supply the demand and were sold at one-third of the price formerly paid to Sweden.

Hemp and flax are now being grown in the colonies, and if a bounty were offered on their import into England, we might soon be independent of Russia, and might also check the colonists from manufacturing, for "there is no other method of preventing a free people from manufacturing their own materials than by purchasing those materials and giving such a price for them as shall afford them a compensation for their labour in raising them, and enable them to purchase your manufactures." *Draft.* 4 *pp.*

American Produce.

[Undated.]—Notes on the consumption of sugar and molasses in the northern and southern provinces of North America, and especially upon the danger of allowing corn distilleries to be set up there, whereby the West Indian planters would have to pay in specie instead of in rum (as they mostly do at present) for lumber and provisions and would have nothing for a return freight. 5½ *pp.*

The Currency.

[Undated.]—Notes on the Proposition of the Board of Trade "to take away the lawful tender from all paper currency in the Colonies." 16 *pp.*

Also

Another short paper on the same subject. 1⅓ *pp.*

V. PAPERS RELATING TO PRESENTS TO THE INDIANS.

Precis.

1775–1779.—Precis of orders for sending out Indian presents from England 1775 to 1779 inclusive. Total value (except 500*l.* sent to Nova Scotia in 1779), 87,484*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* 9 *pp.*

John Stuart, Superintendant for the Southern district, to William Knox.

1777, March 10.—The competition between himself and the rebel agents for the friendship of the Indians has been very great. Mr. Galphin's weight with them has been added to by the plentiful supply of goods, arms, &c., brought over from the French islands. Besides giving and promising them large presents, Mr. Galphin has assured the Cussita Indians that they "could have no trade from hence," all the London ships being intercepted by the [American] cruisers. The Chehaws have attacked and defeated "a party of the Georgia scouts, and returned home just at the time that the English traders arrived with a plentiful supply of goods,

which determined them all to engage in his Majesty's cause. Yet, if they should be hard pressed, they would probably attempt to make their peace with the rebels, and therefore posts should be established in their country, where supplies could be kept and where their wives and children might find protection upon any emergency. *Extract.* 2½ *pp.*

William Knox to Gen. Haldimand.

1781, April 7.—Sends invoices and bills of lading of a supply of presents for the Indians according to the demands received, save that a considerable reduction has been made in the total amount. The Indian officers who prepared the demands gave no estimate of the cost, and upon computation the three lists were found to amount to little short of 55,000*l*, without reckoning the charges of freight and delivery. Mr. Guy Johnson's demand was almost half of the whole, although he has not "near so great" a number of Indians to deal with as Mr. De Peister. "It should seem he imagined the importance of his services would be rated by the greatness of the expence he put the public to." Col. Campbell's packages, which will be under his Excellency's immediate direction, Col. Johnson's for Niagara, and Major de Peister's for Detroit, have all been marked, for convenience sake, with distinctive initials, but the Treasury Commissioners leave it to his Excellency to make any alterations in their destination which he may choose.

The supply being very ample, their Lordships hope no expenses will be incurred by purchases in the country. 4½ *pp.*

Enclosing:

List of presents sent for the Indians at Niagara, including pieces of many sorts of cloth and cotton materials, linens, blankets, sheeting, laces, coloured threads and ribbons, "very gaudy feathers," combs, sponges, needles, looking glasses, cutlery, arms and ammunition, shirts and shifts, hats, vermilion, tobacco, kettles, pipes and handmills.

Also in silver: medals with the King's bust, arm bands and gorgets with the King's arms, wrist bands, shirt buckles and earrings. 3 *pp.* [*The other two lists are wanting.*]

General Haldimand to Lord George Germain.

1781, Oct. 23. Quebec.—Believes that the best way to control the expence of the Indian department would be to appoint some person of rank, influence, knowledge, activity and perfect honour to superintend the Northern Confederacy, and to annually visit, examine, and if necessary make reforms at the several posts. Sir John Johnson in every respect fulfils the above requirements, and although he formally declined the office, he is now, "in consideration of the ruinous state of his private affairs," willing to undertake it. If promoted to the rank of Brigadier General, he would have command of the Lieutenant Governors and Superintendants, who

are too apt to consider themselves independent with regard to the expenses they incur.

"It is not in nature" that Haldimand himself, far away from these posts, can have personal knowledge of the contingencies which amount to such amazing sums, and when "after writing volumes upon the subject of economy," he is told that such and such expenses are absolutely necessary, he must submit, or stand by the consequences. *Copy.* 4½ *pp.*

William Knox to General Haldimand.

1782, April 23. Whitehall.—The goods for presents to the Indians, supplied by direction of the Treasury Commissioners, have been shipped on the *Amazon* and *Maria*. The greatest care has been taken in providing them of the best quality, and the estimate for Niagara "was made out with Sir John Johnson's assistance, and chiefly taken from Col. Campbell's demand, Mr. Pollard having declined giving any information upon my rejection of his proposal of laying a profit upon the cost of the goods which he computed would amount to about six thousand pounds and dividing it between us." This shows the danger of employing traders to do business for government, as their own interest "suppresses all feelings for the public service." *Draft.* 4 *pp.*

General Haldimand to the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend.

1782, Oct. 28. Quebec.—Sends Sir John Johnson's general estimate of Indian presents for the ensuing year, and praises his zeal in entering upon his office. Encloses a copy of Mr. Knox's letter of April 23. As Mr. Pollard is on the spot they will be able "to hear the parties, and determine upon the merits of the proposal recommended by the Superintendent and Inspector-General of the Indian department." *Copy.* 1¼ *pp.*

Evan Nepean to William Knox.

1782, Dec. 17. Whitehall.—Sends a copy of Gen. Haldimand's letter to Mr. Secretary Townshend and of two papers relative to the Indian presents supplied by Knox, and desires him to state fully, for the Secretary's information, such reasons as he may have to offer "for justifying the charges which appear on the face of the account upon several articles to be much above the usual price." 1 *p.*

Memorial of William Knox to the Treasury Commissioners.

[End of 1782].—In the spring of 1781, having, by order of the then Board of Treasury, purchased a supply of presents for the Indians, he was directed to erase from his invoices the customary charges made at the several offices for fees upon the warrants,

as their Lordships wished to regulate these fees before paying them. He has since then sent out two further supplies of presents, and the claims of the several officers are as follows :—

Upon the 4 *warrants of June* 19, 1781, *sum* 38743*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.*			
Treasury fee, 5*l.* 12*s.* each	22	8	0
Entering Clerk in Pay office	16	16	0
Paymaster, 2 gns. per 1,000	60	7	6
Controller of army accounts for examination and report on the invoices	18	18	0
Total ...	£118	9	6
Upon warrant dated Oct. 28, 1781, *sum* 7721*l.*			
Fees [details given]	28	3	0
Upon 4 *warrants dated Aug.* 7, 1782, *sum* 63861*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*			
Fees [details given]	198	8	0

For all these fees the officers hold Knox responsible, and he therefore prays for a warrant for the whole or such part thereof as their Lordships shall think fit. *Draft.* 4 *pp.*

WILLIAM MOLLESON to WILLIAM KNOX.

1784, June 13. Upper Brook Street.—Informing him—in case he inclines to be present—that Lieut. Houghton is to be examined by the Comptrollers on the morrow at one o'clock, relative to the Indian presents shipped in the spring of 1782. 1 *p.*

Memorial of WILLIAM KNOX to the TREASURY COMMISSIONERS.

[No date.]—Explaining the way in which it had been customary to proceed in the provision of money for the Indian presents and the distribution of the "Bills of Parcels" for them. *Draft.* 3 *pp.*

THE MANUSCRIPTS

OF

CORNWALLIS WYKEHAM-MARTIN,

OF THE HILL, PURTON, WILTS, ESQUIRE.

LADY CORNWALLIS to her son, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1761], April 18. London.—". . . We had the satisfaction of having Lord Brome arrive safe and in perfect health on Tuesday last. Harry came with them as far as Munster, but was not very well, and they persuaded him to remain there three or four days longer. . . .

"We talk here of peace, however I doubt our military young folks will stay but a very short time with us, for it is supposed all things will be carried on with the same spirit till the peace is actually concluded, indeed appearances confirms that supposition, as our expedition sailed since these strong reports of peace. Nothing with any authority has been heard of them since, which is rather surprising, as it is imagined they have been in Quiberon Bay these ten days.

"I shall be very impatient to know how you like your new command and your new shipmates . . ."

CHARLES, 1ST EARL CORNWALLIS, to his son, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1761, May 3. London.—"General Parslow going to Gibraltar gives us an opportunity, as we hope, of sending letters to you by a safe hand. I am very sorry that I must relate to you a misfortune that has befallen our family, which has given us all the most distressing affliction; your poor brother Harry, who was on his road, coming home from Germany, was seized with a violent fever, which occasioned his death. We believe it was contracted by the great fatigues he underwent the latter end of the campaign, and lying frequently out in the open air. But misfortunes that it pleases God to send must be submitted to, and I hope time will relieve our present affliction. Your brother Lord Brome is at present here, and seems to be in perfect health, and a great comfort to us all, as he seems to be a very promising young man, and, if he lives, likely to be a great blessing and of great benefit to his family. He is got to be Lieutenant Colonel to an old regiment, which is in Germany, so that he must go again there. But peace is so much talked of, and so much believed, that I hope his stay there will not be long. I don't know whether the word peace is an agreeable

word to you seamen. But it is a happy circumstance that you have got the step of being a lieutenant before it takes place, and I hope and believe, you are very likely to do well in your profession, and be a comfort to us all. Your brother Jemmy is at Oxford and seems to do very well there. Molly is very well. We are very glad to hear from you whenever we can."

LORD BROME to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1761, May 4. Hill Street.—"My father has certainly sent you the melancholy account of poor Harry; you cannot imagine what a shock it has been to me, and to us all; but as these kinds of misfortunes admit of no remedy, we must try to bear up against them as well as we can. Life is so very uncertain, and happiness so seldom to be met with, that I question very much whether the loss of life can be looked upon as a very great misfortune; but the loss of a brother and friend that I loved so sincerely as I did my dear Harry, is a most shocking and irreparable stroke. My only comfort is in you and Jemmy. I am vastly happy to hear so good accounts of you; I dare say you will one day or other make a figure in your profession. All I can say is, that nobody can love you better than I do, that I shall always endeavour to prove myself worthy of your esteem and friendship, that I shall at all times and on all occasions do all in my power to serve and promote you, and that half the contents of my purse will be always at your service. Excuse my writing any more on this melancholy occasion."

EARL CORNWALLIS to his son, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1761, June 27. Culford.—". . . I am very sensible it must be more expensive to you now you are a lieutenant. I am very willing to allow what is necessary to you, and would by no means have you live worse than your brother officers. I suppose you will not be able to do with less than a hundred a year. . . . We had lately a letter from Lord Brome. He was within two days of joining the army. They had not then begun any operations. At the taking Belle Isle, the marines behaved very well and gained much honour. They talk now of some other expedition going on. We have had a French minister at London for three weeks. It was thought his coming was sure to produce peace, but as far as the public can see, it does not seem to go on very fast. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1761, August. London.—"Your mother has wrote you so long a letter that I shall only add a line to testify my sincere joy at your happy escape in so dangerous an engagement as you have had. I am very glad you have seen such a close engagement, as it may be of use to you, and you will gain reputation by having been an officer in a ship that has behaved so well. I have desired Lord Carysfort, brother to Captain Proby, to recommend you to him, though I dare say the Captain would naturally be kind to you. I desire

you to make my compliments to him. I have but one piece of advice to give you at present, which is to endeavour to keep company with the captains of ships and your superior officers as much as you can. It will certainly be of advantage to you. Pray make my compliments to Admiral Saunders, with my thanks for his kindness to you, likewise my compliments to General Parslow, who is a very good sort of man; and if this letter gets to you before my letter to Colonel Edhouse, tell him I am infinitely obliged to him for his kindness in writing us word of your safety."

The Same to the Same.

1761, September 1, London.—"I hope before you receive this, you will have received a letter from your mother and me, congratulating you upon your safety, after the sharp engagement you had been in. It was owing to Colonel Edhouse's kindness in writing the moment the *Thunderer* came to Gibraltar that we were relieved from our anxiety about you. It is said the *Stag* is come in, we expect by that ship a letter from you. You can't imagine the pleasure we had in hearing of your safety. I don't know whether this engagement of the *Thunderer* may occasion her coming home sooner than might have been intended, but, be that as it will, I wish you all happiness. In my letter, joined to your mother's, I recommended much to you to keep, as much as you can, company with the captains of ships, and your superiors. I can't help repeating that recommendation to you, as I am very sure it will be of the greatest advantage to you, in every particular, to your future promotions, to your good character in your profession; and the knowledge the Admiral and Captains have of you is a very essential thing for you, as in all professions the character superior officers give of young men is all in all. Your brother Lord Brome has found the benefit of it; he is known to every General in the army he serves in, and has their universal good word and approbation, which has helped him with ease to be a Lieutenant Colonel very young, and will carry him on with applause. I had a letter from him yesterday, he was very well. Peace is talked of very much, and it is said a week will determine either peace or another year's war.

"Your brother Jemmy has been ill, very oddly, the use of his limbs taken away. It came gradually, he complaining a little for five or six days, growing worse, until he was quite lame, and had no use of his fingers. He is better, and his physician assures us there is no doubt of his being well again before it is long. I came now to town in expectation of paying my duty to our new Queen. But the wind is perverse and contrary, so that we don't know when she may arrive, and Lord Anson will be very cautious, having such a charge. I wish you all happiness, and all I can do to promote it you may be sure of."

James Cornwallis to his brother, the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1762, June 23. Bristol.—Announcing their father's death.

Elizabeth Countess Cornwallis to the Hon. William Cornwallis.

[1762], July 13. Hill Street.—"The heavy affliction that has lately happened to us, has made me uncapable of writing to you of some time. My happiness is for ever gone, but it is in all my children's power to lighten my misery by behaving well in their several stations. I have no doubt of having this comfort. I am left by your father's will guardian to Jemmy and you. Molly told you that I had applied to Lord Halifax for a sloop for you, and yesterday I had a letter to acquaint me you were appointed to command the *Wasp* sloop. Upon enquiry I find it is at Plymouth, therefore I hope I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you soon at home, as I suppose a notification will immediately be sent to you from the Admiralty. Till that comes I imagine you are to take no notice of the information. . . . . As it is of great consequence to you to get the rank of Captain before a peace, I don't question that you will be so careful in your conduct in this command as it will make it easy for your friends to get you soon to be a Post Captain. You are very young, but I hope have sense and prudence enough to consider your whole future happiness consists in getting an established character of a good officer, and a sober man You will then rise by your own merit, which is ten thousand times more satisfactory than the doing it by the assistance of friends, supposing you should have them, which is not always the case. Not a word of this is said from the least suspicion I have of you, but comes purely from the anxious anxiety of my heart for your doing well."

The Same to the Same.

1763, May 5. [London].—"Your last letter was received with sorrow. I am afraid I ought to call it a foolish sorrow, as my reason tells me the sooner you go the better your chance, both in point of health and preferment. I shall be glad to hear you have reached Portsmouth and hope they will not detain you long there.

"I have sent the letter to Admiral Tyrrel, and shall make all the enquiries in my power who is to be the other Admiral employed in the West Indies. . . .

"Mr. Wilks refused to be bailed, and as the legality of the commitment was a nice point to decide upon, the judges of the Court of Common Pleas ordered him back again to the Tower, and said they would give their opinions on Friday next. People are impatient for their decision; many imagine he will then be discharged. He made an excellent speech, with great respect to the Court before whom he was, and what pleased me most, with great respect of His Majesty, to whom I think he has been very wanting. I believe he is thoroughly convinced nobody approves of anything that looks like disrespect to the King. He treated the Ministry with his usual contempt. Tom Scot dines and sups with him, and says he is the merriest gentleman he ever saw."

The Same to the Same.

[1763, May], Saturday, the 7th.—"Poor Mrs. Harding has lost her son in the East Indies; he died of a fever. I hope you will be so careful of yourself as to do all in your power to make the West Indies more lucky to your mother. . . .

"I saw by an advertisement in our morning paper that the *Craftsman* of to-day had everything in it relating to Mr. Wilks, upon which I have sent for it, in order to enclose it to you. There are some misrepresentations in the morning paper in excuse for the Secretaries of State, but not very material ones, perhaps the *Craftsman* may not be more correct. After positively saying there were some misrepresentations, it is very possible the paper may be right and I wrong. I did not remember to have heard that the close confinement which was ordered by the warrant was ever mentioned in the Court of Common Pleas, and then they could be no judges whether the warrants were proper or not, but my attention might be faulty, as you know, when I am not much interested, is often the case. . . . Everybody is going or gone out of town, and we poor souls who inhabit this place all the year round are quiet kind of animals, [so] that all noise and quarrelling will soon subside."

With Postscript by Lady Molly, that the *Craftsman* is not to be had, so they send the newspaper instead.

The Same to the Same.

[1763], May 10. London.—"I have this moment received your letter and am glad you are arrived at Spithead. How poor I am in joys when I can say I am glad you are at a place that is farther distant than you before were, and that it is with the hopes of your going still farther, and what is worse to a place I dread; but I trust you will for my sake keep your blood cool as you know into what sort of a climate you are going. I have sent a note to Mr. Adair to acquaint him with your being at Spithead, and after having expressed my earnest wishes that you might not be detained there, have desired him to acquaint me as soon as he knew whether you were to be dispatched directly, or to wait for to convoy the transports. You are apt to suspect my saying too much always; I assure you I mentioned nothing from you but only that you were at Spithead, the rest was only my own curiosity, as he knew what strong reasons I had to wish you might be dispatched immediately.

"Your brother has just sent me word he is come to town; I have not yet seen him. I was told this morning that the prosecution was begun in the King's Bench against Mr. Wilks, and that he had been summoned to appear before them to-day; whether he did or what passed there I have not yet heard. They say Lord G. Sackville looks melancholy upon its being determined he is not to be Secretary of War; some other place it is supposed he will have, but he had set his heart upon that particular post. I received a letter from Jemmy at the same time with yours; he is impatient to hear you have begun your voyage. He says the Oxford politicians

are angry at Wilks's being discharged, and think he deserves a halter. I wish all my friends would keep their opinions to themselves upon that affair."

Elizabeth Countess Cornwallis to the Hon. William Cornwallis.

[1763, May ?]—Mr. Winkley has not yet brought the lease of the house, and heard yesterday that the old lady has married a Scotch officer of nineteen years of age. "The lady is turned of 69. She had an estate come to her about six months ago of 1,500*l* a year." Mr. Winkley says she cannot refuse to let me her house, "but what dependance can you have upon such a foolish old woman . . . There was to be a meeting last night at Lord North's to consider what was to be done about the Middlesex election. I suppose the result was put in execution in the House of Commons to-day."

Postscript by Lady Molly.—"I am obliged to you for your good wishes in a certain affair. You know my sentiments upon that head; prudence and a horror of dependence are the inducements. How this will end I cannot pretend to guess, he has so far obtained his wish in having had a sight of me; how his inclinations may now stand I know not. . . . You may depend upon my not exposing myself in showing too great eagerness.

"I was at Almack's last night, and such sort of doings which you will say *pish*, was I to give you account."

The Same to the Same.

1763, August 7. London.—"It was vastly kind and good in you to remember your poor old mother, in catching an opportunity of letting her hear you were safe and well as far as Barbadoes on your voyage. I received your letter dated from off that place the 23rd of June, on the 5th of August, with as much satisfaction as I am capable of receiving, and was highly pleased with the contents. I should vindicate myself a little upon your aspersions, as if I did not pay due honour to the gentlemen of your profession; but as you know I am very vain and love to display my own merits, you will not be surprised that as I have at this time a little to brag of, all other subjects must give way. Now for the history of my great acts.

"As soon as I heard Admiral Burnaby had kissed hands for the command of the West India squadron, which (having no acquaintance in town) information came from the newspapers, I wrote to Miss Ottley, whose aunt he married. This was on a Friday, and the Monday following Mr. Ottley brought Sir William to me, who expressed great civility, and desire of obliging me. You may imagine I did not omit the giving him to understand Post was the favour we wanted. Some few days afterwards, by a letter from Miss Ottley, I was informed that Sir William wished I would get a letter of recommendation to that purpose from either Lord Halifax, or Sandwich, to prevent their recommending some other person to be

appointed Post Captain, as in that case, he should be obliged to obey them, although his inclination would be with you. Upon which I dispatched a servant to Frognal for advice. My brother* (who, I desire you would remember, has been very kind in this affair) bid me write immediately to Lord Halifax, and yesterday I sent a servant with my letter to Bushey. I asked the favour only from myself, mentioned no other person's name, and had the following words returned with a letter sealed enclosed to Sir William Burnaby.

"'I have great pleasure in obeying your Ladyship's commands, and in endeavouring to be of further service to your son. I shall therefore enclose a letter to Admiral Burnaby, which I heartily wish may have the desired effect.'

"I think now we have so many strings to our bow we cannot fail of succeeding in this very desirable point, and I hope I have nothing further to wish about you but that you may have your health, and that I may be so fortunate as to have you soon at home again.

"Your brother James is very happy with having succeeded at Merton. Your brother [Lord Cornwallis] is still in Scotland. As soon as I informed him that Admiral Burnaby was appointed to that command, he got you recommended to him by some of the Admiral's friends. I wrote to you this day was sevennight, the letter is probably still at the Admiralty, in which I told you all the news I had heard, except the Duke of Bedford's having asked for the first vacant regiment, and that Mr. Wilks, who is gone to see his daughter in France, had last week an execution taken out by his creditors upon all his goods and effects. This looks as if the generosity of the Opposition was a little tardy towards their champion. I have taken care your bills shall be answered whenever you draw for money."

The Same to the Same.

1763, August 29. London.—" . . . [Sir William] Burnaby in his first visit to me seemed very well inclined, and in his last, after he had received Lord Halifax's letter of recommendation, he gave me an absolute promise that he would make you a Post Captain. I am now writing by a merchant-man, as I hear there are two to sail for Jamaica soon; I shall send duplicates, one by each ship. Take care of your health and do not be out of spirits if things should remain in the same situation. You are very secure of being promoted, and indeed there is at this time so great a probability of a thorough change, that I am at this instant very sorry you went to the West Indies for what it is very likely you would have had as soon at home. There are none of my friends in town, so I can get no secret intelligence how things go on; but this is certain, that Mr. Pit was alone with the King from twelve o'clock till three yesterday noon at Buckingham House, numbers of people waiting at the gate with anxious countenances the whole time to observe him when he came out. What passed between

* Charles, 3rd Viscount Townshend.

His Majesty and him is out of my reach to learn, but I have since heard that Mr. Pit was first sent for by His Majesty on Thursday last, and that he insisted upon some preliminaries that were not agreed to, and that His Majesty sent for him again yesterday. If this should be true it looks as if they came into his proposals. It is a very remarkable proceeding their choosing this conference should be made so public, as such things are usually kept quite private till they are settled. The park at that time was at the fullest; his [*sic.* ? he] coming through in his gouty chair,* which was left a great part of the time in the court, at last they took it into the hall. Mr. Grenville and some others came during this conference, but were not let in. Steel was at the door of Buckingham House when he came out, who says he looked pleasant. A few days will unfold this affair, but these two letters must go, I'm told, to-morrow morning, and I don't know how I shall be able to send another letter till Admiral Burnaby goes, which will not be these three weeks, as I am afraid of being too troublesome at the Admiralty. I never saw Mr. Stephens, but my impatience to send you a letter gave me courage to write to him and send a letter to you enclosed, which, in his answer, he promised to do in a most civil manner. I think I am a strong instance in many particulars that an insignificant person with great attention may be of some use, although far short of their wishes. . . ."

P.S.—The Duke of York and Hervey would have begun their voyage last week to the Mediterranean, if, as I'm told, Hervey's instructions had been signed before Lord Egremont's death; but now they say they are to wait till a Secretary is appointed to that department."

Elizabeth Countess Cornwallis to the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1763, September 17. London.—"I shall send you enclosed a newspaper which has a list of the great offices lately filled; you see what all the conferences came to. Mr. Pit however has gained great credit by his behaviour upon the occasion, and the minority are not dejected. You perceive Lord Egmont has now the Admiralty; my Lady is our relation, but very nearly so to Lady Ferrers, and a great intimacy from their infancy.† Upon her coming to me yesterday and saying the Admiral would now be more obsequious than ever, for her interest with Lord Egmont, I thought this looked as if she expected I should say something about you, upon which I told her the situation, and then said you went to the West Indies for this step, and that Sir William Burnaby had promised to promote you upon Lord Halifax's recommendation, and I hoped you would be no sufferer by these changes. You had in my opinion paid a pretty good price for your advancement by such

* See "Letters of Horace Walpole" (*ed.* Toynbee) v. 365.

† Charlotte Baroness Ferrars, in her own right, was only child of James Compton, 5th Earl of Northampton; Catherine Lady Egmont was daughter of Charles Compton, the Earl's brother. Lady Ferrars was the wife of George Viscount Townshend.

a voyage. I should think I could by her means have a recommendation also from Lord Egmont, but I am doubtful after what Sir William Burnaby said to me whether it would be civil to ask for any more; it would have the appearance of mistrusting him. Lord Shelburne resigned just at the time of the negociation with Mr. Pit, which made people think he was leaning towards the other side, and he has no share in the late promotions, as you will see by the newspaper, yet they say he continues in favour. There is some mystery past my finding out. Your brother is at last got to Culford, and James, the Fellow of Merton, by this time with him. He is to make me a visit for ten days or a fortnight the beginning of next month. I have already paid all due upon your account, except part of Regnier's bill, which will be paid in full this Michaelmas. I have long ago taken care that any draft of yours shall be accepted. I know you will not be extravagant, and I hope you know I shall both readily and willingly assist you with what money you want. I am careful for no other purpose but to be able to have it in my power to be useful, and shall take it unkindly if you do not apply to me for any wants you may have. James by this acquisition will soon be off my hands, therefore shall be very well able to help you.

"When I wrote so far, I thought it might prevent all disappointment if I wrote to Sir William Burnaby to say I hoped the late change in the Ministry would make no alteration in the promise he had given me of making you Post Captain the first vacancy. To which he answered that he would have me by all means acquaint Lord Egmont with Lord Halifax's recommendation, for, if Lord Egmont should recommend any other person, he should be obliged to prefer him before you. I immediately employed Lady Ferrers, a very near relation, and intimate friend to that family Her Ladyship was very good and kind, but I imagine could not suppose that there could be any favour in doing of nothing, which was all I wanted of his lordship, yet by the answer she brought me I found he had puzzled the affair most extremely, for I could not guess what she had asked. However, by a letter I wrote to Lord Egmont, and the friendly assistance of Admiral Rodney, I have had a very civil letter from Lord Egmont, and I think a full security of his not interfering; therefore if you are not already a Post Captain, I make no doubt you will be so upon the first vacancy after Admiral Burnaby comes to his command."

The Same to the Same.

[1764], January 15. Hill Street.—James and Molly will tell you the news. "I will therefore only mention that Isaack Townshend was reported this week to be dead, and that the King said Rodney should have Greenwich. The report was premature, but it is said he can last but a very short time, when the promise to Rodney will be fulfilled. Our relation,* I suppose, is much mortified, after having [been] so long a strong advocate for every minister in power, to have an Admiral so much younger than himself preferred to the very thing he most wished for; but I hear he bears it silently."

* Admiral George Townshend.

Lady Mary Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1764, January 17. Hill Street.—". . . I have deferred writing till the last minute that I might have it in my power to give you some account of the Royal Wedding.* The ceremony was performed last night in the Drawing room at St. James. Peers and peeresses, their eldest sons and their daughters, Privy Counsellors and their wives, and all the foreigners were summoned. There was so great a crowd that I could see but little of the ceremony. The Hereditary Prince arrived in England the 13th, three days before his marriage. He has had a levée every day at Somerset House, which you may conceive were much crowded. His very affable, agreeable manner has pleased exceedingly all kinds of people. It is said they will not leave England for ten days or a fortnight. The Princess will take no English with her to stay. It is very sensible in her. It is not to be expressed the joy every body seems to show upon this occasion; the whole town was illuminated. . . . Little else has been thought of. The Parliament did meet yesterday, but I fancy no business was done. It is believed Mr Wilks will return into England this week, much against the opinion of his friends. . . . We have had incessant rains these four or five months, with terrible high winds."

The Same to the Same.

[1764], March 26. Hill Street.—". . . . Lord Townshend died at Rainham ten days ago; he has left everything to his eldest son. The lady he kept was not mentioned in his will; what he gave her in his life-time does not appear, nor is it known whether he has any children by her living. People seem to think it hard he did not leave anything to his son Charles, for the sake of his children. . . . The Parliament, it is said, will be up the 14th of next month. It began to sit so early in the winter that people will be in a hurry to get out of town as soon as they can. Lord Townshend's death occasions a vacancy of a member for the county of Norfolk; it is expected Mr. de Grey will be chosen without any opposition. Madrid Charles† is gone to attend the meeting appointed for that purpose at Norwich to-day. The election for High Steward of Cambridge in the room of Lord Hardwick, deceased, comes on the end of this week. The two candidates are Lord Sandwich and the present Lord Hardwick; the first supported by the court. It is yet very doubtful who will carry it.

Lord Bute is come to town this week; looks much the better for having lived quietly in the country these two or three months; but I believe now has the lead just in the same manner as he used."

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* The Princess Augusta to William Frederick, hereditary Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel.

† So called to distinguish him from his namesake and cousin. He was secretary to the Madrid Embassy 1751-56, and in 1761 was elected M.P. for Great Yarmouth. Created Baron Bayning in 1797.

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, the *Swift*, JAMAICA.

1764, April 11. London.—"There never was less news than we have had of late. The heads of the Opposition have for a long time been confined to their rooms by illness; the Parliament therefore has afforded none, which will now be up in about a week. The election for High Steward at Cambridge it is supposed will come over again after this next term. In this dearth of public news the town would have been at a loss for conversation had not Lady Susan Strangways married last Saturday Mr. O'Brien the actor. Lord and Lady Ilchester, her father and mother, are much to be pitied; she was reckoned both pretty and clever. Your brother had some time since a letter from the person who has the care of Cornwallis Island for you and James, in which he says it is very much improved, and desires a letter of attorney to impower him to act for you. Ever since I knew this I have hurried the affair as far as I was able, have signed it myself as your guardian; and it is now to be sent to James for the same purpose, he being of age. As it was let for 50*l.* a year, and nothing has been received for three or four years, I hope there will be something coming to you; however, things at that distance are not much to be depended upon. But you may be very secure of 100*l.* a year from me, if I live; when I die you know I have nothing to leave, and indeed the pleasure of my being able to be of some use to you is a great comfort to a kind of life that has not many pleasing things in it."

Admiral the HON. A. KEPPEL to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1764, July 11. London.—"I am very sorry to tell you how ill your hopes have succeeded in this country. Sir William Burnaby's having given *commissions* and not *orders*, as I understood he meant to do upon what I said to him, has prevented the inclinations of some in power from helping you, as the point in question then lay, whether or no the commissions should be confirmed or not; and, in case of refusal, it was thought impossible to confirm even Sir William's act to his son, so that, in fact, it was the attention the Admiralty had to his son that secured Captain Cotton. Your friends and relations are much hurt at your failing, and think Sir William Burnaby has not used them as they expected. They seem, especially Lady Cornwallis, extremely anxious for your return to London. I am not so much of that way of thinking, at least I would by no means be too hasty in that step, as I am of opinion you have not much to expect from those in power when you get here, and therefore would wish your pressing Sir William to allow of a change with a Post Captain. Such an act would be no expense to the public, and, if the professions of some can be depended upon, I should imagine would succeed. If it does not you are only where you was, and must get home as fast as you can. But you must remember, if you can bring it about, in case of a change, that it will be absolutely necessary that the officer changing with you should proceed directly to England in the sloop; a commander-in-chief

can always find reasons for such occasion. I beg my compliments to Sir William. I have no objection to your showing him this letter."

CHARLES, 2ND EARL CORNWALLIS, to his brother, the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1764, October 14.* London.—"We have been in great anxiety about you, as the first report was that your ship was entirely lost; we thought this would vex you exceedingly, especially as I really think at present you are pretty sure of the first vacancy. I hope by this time you are got to Jamaica, and that the *Swift* is in a fair way of being fit for sea again. If you have lost anything by this accident, or are at all in want of money, I beg you will draw on me. I must again repeat my entreaties, that you will not now or at any other time be at all scrupulous about it, as I can assure you it will always be a very sincere pleasure to me to contribute all in my power to your comfort and happiness.

"Keppel talked to me much about your procuring a change with some Post Captain there; I cannot thoroughly understand him, but if anything of that sort can be done, I believe Lord Egmont will be inclined to serve you. If any sum of money should be necessary for it, for I have heard there are sometimes bargains of that sort, I will answer any draft that you may find it necessary to draw a month after sight. Perhaps I am talking very ignorantly, but I am so very anxious to have you made Post, that I would omit no possible means, and I think you could not lay out a sum of money to greater advantage. A thousand thanks for your mahogany spar; let me know if I can send you anything from hence. Adieu, fortify your mind against all misfortunes and disappointments, and be as happy as you can."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1764, October 19. Hill Street.—"I was so fortunate not to hear of the accident that befell you till I had it from your brother, who had a great deal of company at Culford, and was informed by Admiral Keppel. He instantly came post to London to inquire all particulars. I assure you I was not more affected myself than he was; nobody was ever received with more joy by us both than Mr. Hore, the master of the merchantman. Your brother would have made him a present, besides the freight, for bringing the mahogany, but he would not accept it. He was so civil as to come twice to Hill Street from the farther part of the city, to be questioned by us. I received your letter yesterday, which came by the *Mary Ann*. I believe we both felt for the situation you had been in, nor were we easy at the description of your present; the sloop broken to pieces, and upon an uninhabited island, not a house to shelter you from that scorching climate. His countenance was all

* Should be Oct. 18. See postscript of Lady Cornwallis' letter below.

uneasiness while he was reading your letter, it cleared however a little when he came to that part of your sending a boat full of your people on shore; 'very handsome,' he said, 'in William.' He gave me a letter for to send you last night, and is returned to Culford this morning, and has left orders with me to send you some porter.

"Your brother says he told you in his letter that he was of opinion that Lord Egmont wished to assist you. Lord Townshend, who is now in town, assures me of this, and indeed I think his whole behaviour of late has had that look. I am not apt to be sanguine in things I much wish, but I am told by everybody you certainly will be promoted the next vacancy. I suppose if the sloop is by this misfortune rendered incapable of service, you must come home, and there will be an end of those expectations. Molly wrote from Culford to me, and my brother T[homas] T[ownshend] from Frognall to say they supposed you must have suffered by this accident, and desired they might assist you with money. I told them both that I was able to assist you with whatever money you wanted, and I would give up that pleasure to nobody. I must repeat again, my dear William, that I hope you will draw for what you want. Be assured I shall not only be able to answer your drafts, but shall have great pleasure that it is in my power to be of any service to you.

"I have not heard yet from the island at Halifax. I am told that you might have a thousand pounds for it, that is between you and James, who is now sitting by me, and bids me inquire of you whether you should approve of its being sold, if a purchaser should be found. It cannot be parted with but by your signing; if that should happen, and you approve, I suppose the writing may be sent to you. Most probably nothing may be done about it before you come to England. James is very sorry for your accident, and will write soon. If any annuities should be part of the scheme for raising the money this year, should you like to have part of your fortune laid out that way? You know you will be of age in March, when you will have 4,500*l.*"

P.S.—Your brother mistook in the date of his letter. It should have been the 18th.

Lady Mary Cornwallis to the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1764, October 28. Barton.—"I was exceedingly happy to hear of your safety in the imminent danger you had encountered; and a very great satisfaction it was in my concern for the distress you must have suffered, to hear your behaviour and conduct in this trial met with so much approbation; a great comfort to your friends, as well as to yourself, after the consciousness of doing right oneself, to be approved by others. I hope your loss has not been very great, which I beg may not be the least inconvenience to you, as I shall very readily and gladly contribute whatever you require towards refitting you. I would have lodged some money immediately in Mr. Hoare's hands, to be ready for you whenever you drew upon him, but my mother desired I would defer it till I knew more particularly what supply you might want. I am sure

it is needless to assure you you will ever be most heartily welcome to whatever assistance in money you may want, as I shall have the greatest pleasure in being of the least service. Therefore I hope you will be ingenuous in letting me know what sum you should require to reinstate you in your former possessions, that I might supply you with it directly, as I shall be excessively glad to have it in my power to accommodate you in the smallest degree. I think this way would be more useful to you than buying myself things to send you, as I can be no judge what you would like, besides the uncertainty of their ever reaching you.

"I have been in Suffolk these three months with Lady Sarah Bunbury and my old friend Miss Bunbury. I was last week at the meeting at Newmarket, where I saw Admiral Keppel, who talked to me a great deal about you, and joined with me in my sincere wishes for your promotion. He is excessively happy with his sister's marrying Lord Tavistock. The Duke of Cumberland, who has been extremely ill, was well enough to go in his coach upon the course. The Suffolk people are much displeased with the Duke of Grafton for having no hounds; as the Duke of Cleveland has left this part of the world, they have no opportunity of fox-hunting, at all, which you know to sportsmen is a grevious mortification."

Lieut.-General Edward Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1768, July 23. Gibraltar.—Requesting him to give a passage home to Lieut-Colonel Preston, of the writer's regiment, who has leave from the King to dispose of his commission.

Lady Mary Whitbread* to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

[1769], Dec. 20. Bedwell Park.—On the subject of her marriage, praising her husband, and hoping often to see her brother at the house they have taken in town, in Charles Street, Berkeley Square.

The Same to the Same.

[1770], February 24. Charles Street.—"I wish you would let me know when you would like to have me send the hogsheads of porter, and what direction I should give about the forwarding it to Plymouth. Was you now in town you would be amazed at the excessive eagerness and anxiety of almost every body about the masquerade. Those who have been so fortunate as to have got tickets are entirely engrossed in their thoughts and time, in making the preparations for their dress for this important entertainment, in endeavouring to excel each other in finery, for which purpose they borrow all the jewels and pearls they can of their friends,

* Married on Aug. 18, 1769, to Samuel Whitbread the brewer; died in childbed Dec. 27, 1770.

and those who have not been able to obtain tickets, or whose fathers will not consent to let them go, look so disconsolate that it would raise your compassion. The Bishop of London has endeavoured to prevent this entertainment taking place, in going to the King—to represent the perniciousness of allowing it. His Majesty said he did not approve of it; that this was quite a private thing, therefore he had not forbid it."

The Same to the Same.

[1770, March. Charles Street.]—"I have this instant received your letter. I had some time ago ordered two hogsheads of porter to be sent you by the first vessel in the river for Plymouth, which I take for granted is done; however Mr. Whitbread will when he goes to-morrow morning to the brewhouse enquire of his clerks about it. . . . I regret the not seeing you again in town before you sail. I heartily wish you a most prosperous voyage, and all the health and every possible good to attend you.

"Dr. Madan* brought his son to town ten days ago, to put him to Westminster School, where he is now placed. I had him in the house with me till he was settled in the school. As Dr. Madan was only in a lodging, I apprehended he might be distressed what to do with the boy. He is indeed a very fine boy, has a very remarkable open good countenance, he seems very lively and good humoured, and, as far as I can judge from his appearance, I should flatter myself he will do well. I have taken him quite into my care, as I am to have the educating him. Dr. Madan preferred Westminster, which he was of himself, and I think, considering all things, it is the most eligible for him. As his parents live at so great a distance, I and some other of their friends will have it in their power to give them accounts of him, which they could not do was he at Eton or at any other school distant from London. Charlotte takes the opportunity of Dr. Madan's absence to inoculate her youngest son, as the Doctor has never had the small-pox. Mr. Whitbread is in the House, upon the corn business."

The Same to the Same.

[1770], July 20. Bedwell Park.—"I was much pleased to hear by my mother of your having got well to Jamaica, and that you had a good voyage. My mother tells me she writes constantly, and as she is more in the way of getting intelligence by living always in London I refer you for all news to her. Mr. Whitbread has taken great pains to persuade her to come to Bedwell, and would feign [fain] have brought her with him the last time he was in town, but she was immoveable. I am surprised she will not, as she must know we should be extremely glad to have her company, and I want to have the pleasure of shewing her this place I dote so much

* Dr. Spencer Madan, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, had marrie Lady Charlotte Cornwallis.

upon. Mr. Whitbread visits her constantly when he goes to London, and, he says, he finds her always very cheerful and well. Mr. Whitbread has been in great uneasiness for his eldest daughter, who has been dangerously ill for some time past, and I am afraid is not yet thought safe by the physical people. She is in London, at her grandmother's, to be nearer the assistance and advice of the faculty; as our house in Charles Street is small and inconvenient, and our house in Portman Square not yet habitable, Mr. Whitbread thought it better for her to be with her grandmother, where she can have all proper care taken of her. We have been strongly pressed to come to visit at Culford by my brother and Lady Cornwallis. I have a great mind to shew Mr. Whitbread that place as well as some others in Suffolk. I believe we shall, if Miss Whitbread does not grow worse, accept of their invitation next week for two days. We have managed so as to render it impossible for us to stay more than that time with them.

"I should be glad to hear you have received the two hogsheads of porter we sent to Plymouth after you. If you wish to have more remember that we shall supply you with great readiness and pleasure. Mr. Whitbread wants to get some genuine Madeira, could you put him in a way of getting it? If you could procure him a butt he would be glad, and would pay the person you send it by. I don't mean to put you to any inconvenience or trouble about it; I only mention this, in case it is in your power to procure it us. James is likely to become a domestic family man. When shall you think of settling? General Cornwallis is going to add [to] and improve his house at Birds Place; he visits us often."

J. Blankett to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1771, December 15. London.—"Now indeed that I am come to peep in London, I can write to you that Stott has been to Falkland Island and taken possession, has left it to take care of itself, and is returned unhurt to Plymouth. Mr. Banks is going on another expedition to the South Seas with two sloops, the *Drake* and *Rawleigh*; the first commanded by Cook (who is to be made Post), the other by a Mr. Furnace, who was formerly Lieutenant with Byron.

"Cotton still continues idle in regard to our service and is entered into that of a wife (though he denies it), which probably may be attended with as many storms, hurricanes and tempests as any frigate in the West Indies. It is said the Ministry are angry at Mr. Rodney's making the seizure of the schooner a serious matter, and intend sending him some further instructions in regard to the Spaniards. The Princess Dowager still continues alive, but cannot last long; she has a cancer in her mouth and risings of the viscera, and is quite irrecoverable. As to minority, the extravagance and luxury of the times makes it necessary to be well with a minister, and their opposition will be very feeble; they possibly may try a question or two and dwindle to nothing. City patriotism has changed hands, and who has it now I cannot determine. Johnny [Wilks] is most furiously attacked and badly

defended; he loses ground daily, which he is sensible of. The Duke of Cumberland, who has long diverted the town, is just arrived in Pall Mall with his Duchess; they are forbid the Court, but that probably wont last long. As to the Turks and Russians, it is expected they will come to a peace this winter; they are both much exhausted in men and money, and unless the Emperor of Germany interferes, will be glad to make peace on any terms. As to ourselves everything appears truly pacific; the Ministry seem resolved not to quarrel, and the state of France will not yet suffer them to be troublesome.

"Extravagance, luxury and gaming are the fashionable vices of the town, and it will astonish you on your return to see the vast improvements of the age. The Lotorie, Macaroni, White's, Almac's, &c., are in the most flourishing state, and cards in all companies are the only things worth living for. A man of taste must play all the morning, or, at least, four or five games before dinner, which is shortened to give time for the exquisite pleasures of *Quinze* and *Vingt-un*. In fact idleness and debauchery are so far taken possession of all ranks in society, that opposition to the King's measures is a piece of barbarity inconsistent with the manners of the present age. All wit is at Court, all knowledge at the gaming table."

HON. JAMES CORNWALLIS to his brother, CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, the *Guadaloupe*, Jamaica.

1773, February 11. Clifford Street.—". . . I am going to resign my place in the Tower, which is worth at present 200*l*. per annum, and my brother is to settle 100*l*. per annum upon my wife for her life. Spencer Madan is to have the place, and to pay (so long as he keeps it) 100*l*. per annum to my brother to indemnify him. . . . My brother and I are both of opinion that the place is not worth your acceptance upon these terms, and as the being able to dispose of it depends wholly upon my brother's continuance in office, we think the present opportunity not to be lost. . . . It will be a great thing for young Madan.

"I shall be very happy to introduce my wife to you."

The EARL OF SANDWICH to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1773, October 26. Hinchingbrook.—"Your conduct with regard to your profession in wishing for constant employment on a foreign station is highly laudable, and you may be assured I will attend to your wish as much as I can, consistently with what is due to other sea officers who have been a long time out of commission, and I am sure you will agree with me that justice requires they should have their share of the little employment there is to give in time of peace. I hope, therefore, you will not object to the remaining a reasonable time on shore, and you may depend upon it that I will make that time as short as I can with any degree of propriety."

J. B[LANKETT] to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander of the *Guadaloupe*, Jamaica.

[1774, October ?].—"The city is the only place left in the world that pretends to support liberty; Wilkes and Townsend are the patriotic candidates, and it is generally believed Wilkes will carry his point and be elected Lord Mayor. This will at least plague the Court, as he will allow as many common halls as they like to have.

"A reduction of 5,000 men is expected to take place amongst us very soon, in which case, if guardships are included, Mr. Barrington, Hughes, and your humble servant will retire. . . .

"Captain Fielding (who is married to Miss Finch) is in the *Kent*, in the room of Colby; Mr. Hervey is expected here to reduce the Marines of his division; Sir Charles Knowles is coming home; Bethell has quitted the service; Watson has had two strokes of the palsy. . . . Glover, Herbert, and Gower are still idle men. . . . Cotton is married to Miss Aston, whose father is lately dead.

"Promotion is now as distant as at the beginning of the Peace. The hackneyed word Economy is used to stop the mouth of all applications."

The EARL OF SANDWICH to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1774, October 29. Admiralty.—"There is on board your ship a surgeon's mate, named Thong, whose relations at Huntingdon are my particular friends. I cannot, therefore, at their intercession avoid recommending him to your protection.

"I had a letter some time ago from the Duke of Leinster, who seemed much pleased with my having recommended his brother to you for a berth on board the *Pallas*, and saying he would set out immediately for Portsmouth, but I have not yet heard of his arrival in England."

CAPTAIN J. LEVESON GOWER to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1776, February 27. South Street.—"I shall send you enclosed a list of the ships for this summer's American service. It is likely much increased, and is increasing every week. About six weeks ago Lord Howe was applied to and told that it was the King's wish that he should take on him the command of the ships in America; this surprised everybody, as Shuldham had been so lately appointed, and it was certain his arrival there was not known by the Administration here. However Lord George Germaine was now taken into great favour, and was to take the lead in the management of all this American war, for such it surely may now be called. Lord Howe made many *requisitions* (his own word); the only one he has made public was that he should have his commission as Vice-Admiral ante-dated to that appointing Sir Hugh Palliser Lieutenant General of Marines, which we must suppose was granted, for his Lordship has actually accepted the command, though the *Eagle*

(the ship he is to hoist his flag on board) is the only ship of the line under his orders; the *Boyne* and *Somerset* being come back and reduced to guardships, and the *Asia* is expected soon. What makes this yet more extraordinary is that Lord Howe both hates and despises Lord Sandwich, and he has not spoke to Lord George Germaine since the expedition to the coast of France in 1758, and these two men preside at the head of the two Offices through which he must transact all business. A friend of ours says his Lordship has much more faith in things than he shall ever be able to persuade himself or any friend of his to have. Lord Sandwich fought hard to support and keep Shuldham Commander in Chief; it would not do, but, by way of *douceur*, a patent is making out to create him Lord Shuldham of the kingdom of Ireland.

"I should have set out with telling you that upon the death of my very good and valuable friend Sir Charles Saunders (even before he was cold) they appointed Sir Hugh Pallisser Lieutenant General of Marines, and he actually kissed hands the very next day. Sir Hugh should have shewn a more decent attention to his memory, considering the regard Sir Charles had always shewn towards him even in his will. As to Lord Sandwich, he never had any decency, and, shocking as it is, yet it is most true that he concealed the account of his son's death two or three days that it might not stop the amusements and entertainments which he was then making at Hinchinbroke."

Earl Cornwallis to the Dowager Countess Cornwallis.

1776, September 2. Long Island.—On the 27th we gained a great and important victory; we killed and took prisoners about 3,000 of the rebels, the loss on our side does not exceed 250. They have abandoned all their works on this island, and I believe in a short time their army will disperse and the war will be over.

The unhappy people have been kept in utter darkness by the tyranny of their wicked leaders, and are astonished to hear how little is required of them by Great Britain. Judge of my happiness, having had a share in the late glorious action, and now being blessed with the prospect of being soon restored to my family.

P.S.—Brodrick acted as my aid-de-camp on the 27th, and behaved very well.

The Same to the Same.

[1777], November 29. Philadelphia.—"I have the satisfaction of assuring you that William has gained the greatest credit in the attack of Fort Island in the face of the whole army and fleet; Lord Howe extols him to the skies, and will I am convinced represent his good behaviour in the strongest terms. This event will I am sure make you as happy as it has done me. The communication of the river is now open, and our campaign will finish in a few days. I have some hopes that Lord Howe will send the *Isis* home as she has suffered so much, if not, I am afraid he must go to Rhode Island for the *Chatham*, which will prevent our coming together; however,

I trust we shall both be with you very soon. Burgoine's disaster has greatly changed the face of affairs in this country God only knows how this business is to end. It makes however no very material alteration as to the conclusion of our campaign."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1777, December 6. Hill Street.—"I wrote you two letters on the 2nd instant. . . I can think of nothing until the next account comes but of that detestable Fort Island, or, as some people call it, Mad Island. Major Cuiler said before the letters were given out he did not think any of the Captains had notice time enough to write. The Archbishop was told by Lord Sandwich that you were well; he spoke also with kindness, his Grace says, of you, and the *Gazette* names you and your ship often. These were lucky circumstances for me just at that time; but then by the *Gazette* I see the service you are upon, which both makes me impatient for, and at the same time dread the next account. That it may be a happy one is my most ardent prayer, all the comfort of my life depends upon it. People in general were much pleased with the successes of General Howe's army, it was followed the next day by Burgoin's [Burgoyne's] misfortunes, which gave a great allay to the joy. I suppose it is too late in the season to have any bad consequence with regard to our other forces in America. Lord Onslow tells me his cousin the captain has been all this time at New York, and that at present he has the care of Lee. You will be very angry with me if I confess just now that I wish you in that disagreeable situation rather than where you were. I sent to Captain Cotton's house to inquire whether he was come this morning; they said he was not, that when they heard last from him he was detained at Jamaica in good health. I can give no account of what passes here, all my thoughts are in America. Sure General Howe will send home as soon as this fort is taken; it is said here to be very strong. May it end happily, and I have the great comfort of a joyous letter from you, with a certainty of seeing both you and your brother this winter."

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Captain of the *Medea*, Bristol.

1778, July 8. Duke Street.—"I have just this moment the honour of your letter, and was so sensible of the propriety of William's attending you as soon as possible, that I made all haste to dispatch him to Bristol. I had not indeed *the one thing needful* to send with him as much as he ought to have; I therefore take the liberty of requesting you, when he is in want of money, to advance him from time to time as far as thirty guineas, for which he will give you drafts upon Messrs. Allen, Marler and Company, Ironmonger Lane, Cheapside, which shall be duly honoured. I cannot take my leave of you without once more returning you my thanks for your great kindness to my son, who, I hope, will never do anything to forfeit your favour."

JEMIMA COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1778, September 3. Esher.—"I do not know how to wish you, out or detained; all I know is that these are really frightful times in all respects. As for *both sides*, the infatuation is something horrible. Opposition are actually rejoicing at their own miseries (for shall we not all fall together?) because they think they are proved in the right; and Ministry most gloriously resolve to continue to the end in plans which evidently rush to destruction, rather than allow they have been in the least mistaken. By this means I am really so *bilious* as to think that our army in America, fleets everywhere, possessions in the West Indies, &c., &c., will be frittered away and destroyed in about another twelve months; and not impossible that within that time we have commotions at home also. Don't laugh at my being political. I assure you I do not think a female *ought* to talk politics, but when it comes to husband, friends, &c., one must feel, and it will out."

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1778], September 5. New York Island.—"When the French fleet first appeared off the Hook, some of Lord Howe's ships were at the Narrows, and had they attempted going in the first tide, I think we were ruined; but they gave Lord Howe time to post all his ships advantageously at the Hook, and remained about ten days looking at him, when they went away to Rhode Island. As soon as they were gone, the *Reasonable* and *Centurion* arrived from Halifax, the *Renown* from the West Indies, and the *Cornwall* of Byron's fleet. With this reinforcement Lord Howe followed them to Rhode Island; when the French saw him off they came out to attack him; Lord Howe stood out to sea, whether to avoid an action, or to draw the enemy from Rhode Island is not known; however, in a few hours a most violent gale of wind came on which totally dispersed both fleets. The *Apollo*, with Lord Howe's flag on board, was dismasted. In a few days Lord Howe assembled his fleet at the Hook, and Monsieur D'Estaing did the same off the Capes of Delaware. In the meantime your old friend the *Isis* fell in with a French 74, and obliged her to sheer off. The French fleet suffered much by the storm; they returned for 24 hours to Rhode Island to take their sick on board, and then went away to Boston. Lord Howe, who was joined by the *Monmouth* of Byron's squadron, followed the enemy to Boston, in hopes of overtaking some of the disabled ships; the *Isis* is come in here to refit, being much shattered in her masts and rigging. Last week arrived Admiral Parker with the *Royal Oak*, *Fame*, *Bedford*, *Grafton*, *Conqueror*, and *Sultan*. The *Invincible* and *Guadaloupe* are gone dismasted to Halifax, and the *Albion* back to England; we know nothing of the *Princess Royal*, *Russell* or *Culloden*.

"The six ships that came with Admiral Parker have 1,300 sick. People think Byron kept too much to the northward, never coming south of 47; I submit that to your better judgment. I don't know whether I ought to wish to be at home before you get out, as time

's precious at the beginning of a war; I shall however be glad to see you. The frigates that were burnt at Rhode Island were the *Orpheus*, *Juno*, *Lark*, *Flora* and *Cerberus*, and *Kingfisher* sloop."

JEMIMA COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to her brother-in-law, CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1778], September 14. Mansfield Street.—"I hope you are not sailed, that you may have the satisfaction of getting this to tell you I had a letter last night from my Lord, July 30th, a short one, having just heard of the ship sailing. He has wrote by the packet which sailed the same day, August 1st, and those letters of course we expect every instant. My Lord was well, writes from New York, but says he has a country house on Long Island, close to the encampment of the 33rd. I shall not enter into the news because I imagine Lady Cornwallis will, Lord Townsend having just sent it us all collected together. I do not know what to wish about you, except as usual that you were in Orders and Rector of Ingham. I am convinced that though we all *fancy* we know and expect it, we shall in a few days, upon hearing that Spain has declared against us and their fleet joined the French, be all as much astonished and thunderstruck as if we never had heard there was such a country as Spain in the world. I put not my trust in princes nor in any child of man; but I hope in the mercy and justice of God, that we shall not be utterly destroyed, and that our enemies, who are at least as wicked, will be as much punished by folly, obstinacy, and infatuation in their rulers as we are. Upon this great charitable plan of mine you will perceive what *peaceful happy* days we have to look forward to. Well, it *will end*. I am as yellow as an orange, feel very ill, am kept here by Sir John Fielding, who chooses to make my mother appear against some thieves (that stole a trunk of hers) on Friday. Hope to get away to Bath on Saturday."

LORD HOWE to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1778, Nov. 12. Grafton Street.—Regretting that he has felt himself neglected since his return to England, but trusting that his appointment to the *Lion* will furnish him with opportunities, by his successes, to compensate for the mortifications he has sustained.

The EARL OF MORNINGTON to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1778, November 24. London.—"I hope you will excuse the trouble I now give you, but the misery I am daily witness of induces me to take this liberty. In short, Lady Mornington has been in the most violent affliction ever since she heard you were to be stationed in the West Indies; but I have most constantly withstood her entreaties that William should not go there, because I think it would be extremely ridiculous to make objections to a young man of his profession going wherever his duty may call him. The American climate certainly did not agree with him, therefore I

confess I think his mother has some foundation for her apprehensions about his going to a place which I take to be rather warmer than America. From the greatest reliance upon your friendship to this boy, and upon your humanity and good nature, I now request a favour of you, which is, that if, upon your arrival at the West Indies, you observe that the climate in the least disagrees with him, you will be so good as to send him home. I also beg that you will not mention to William the having received this letter, because I know his heart to be so much set upon remaining with you, that if he thought leaving you would be the consequence of his being ill, he would conceal any ailment he had till perhaps it might be too late to give him relief. I beg leave to offer my best wishes (which you are entitled to if I was not so nearly concerned as I am at present) for your happiness and success wherever you go."

EARL CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1778], December 22. Mansfield Street.—Finds Lady Cornwallis in a very weak state indeed, but she thinks herself better. His mother seems better than when he went to America.

The SAME to the SAME.

1779, May 5. London.—"I have not wrote to you lately, as I knew you would hear everything about me, and my letters could only have given you uneasiness in reading and me pain in writing. I am now returning to America,* not with views of conquest and ambition, nothing brilliant can be expected in that quarter; but I find this country quite unsupportable to me. I must shift the scene; I have many friends in the American army; I love that army, and flatter myself that I am not quite indifferent to them. I hope Sir H. Clinton will stay, my returning to him is likely to induce him to do so. If he insists on coming away, of course I cannot decline taking the command, and must make the best of it; and I trust that good intentions and plain dealing will carry me through. I most heartily wish you all possible success, and that you may have an opportunity of acquiring great honour and some money. I don't think it impossible that we may meet in the West Indies, as I have signified my willingness to go thither, if any occasion should present itself, and there are not amongst our generals many volunteers for that service. My children are, thank God, vastly well; may all happiness attend you."

CAPTAIN J. LEVESON GOWER to ELIZABETH, COUNTESS CORNWALLIS.

1779, October 2. Elden.—"I shall certainly do myself the honour of waiting on your Ladyship as soon as I get to town the latter end of next week, but I must tell you now that I have shown Captain Cornwallis' account of his proceedings to Admiral Keppel, who is clearly of opinion that he has gained great honour to himself,

* After the death of his wife.

and that the most malevolent person cannot have the smallest cause for finding fault with him. I very sincerely and most heartily congratulate you on his safety, and the glory he has acquired."

The Hon. and Rev. James Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis, *Lion* Man-o'-War, Jamaica.

1779, October 3. Canterbury.—"We are at last fully relieved from our dreadful suspense about you, and I most heartily congratulate you upon having gained so much credit in the late engagement. Middleton, who was so good as to call upon me at Wrotham on purpose to assure me of your safety, spoke of your conduct in these terms. I have seen Admiral Barrington also, who said you were certainly gone to Jamaica, and in the most honourable way. You have gained one object then, and that certainly the first; but I cannot help now expressing a wish for the secondary one in your profession, that is, a good rich Spanish prize.

"Admiral Barrington is come home in very ill-humour, and represents our situation in the West Indies as truly lamentable, where we thought ourselves strongest. Upon the whole, nothing can look worse than our affairs, although we have not yet had any great loss excepting Grenada, we are every day in apprehension of some bad news. How different from last war! when we were only accustomed to hear of victory. My brother, you must have heard long ago, is gone to America again.

"As to your friend Leveson, Admirals Keppel and Harland, I find it to be the general opinion of all unprejudiced persons that their names ought no longer to remain in the list of Admirals and Captains. Admiral Keppel, who was the idol last January, is now very unpopular. Lord Howe's character is as much respected as ever, but General Howe's has suffered much by the enquiry last winter before the House of Commons, which he was weak enough to wish for. You know I am of no party, I therefore only write what I upon the whole collect. Whether my brother will be Commander-in-Chief is uncertain. But I hope there will be no occasion for such an officer in America, as I heartily wish for peace."

Elizabeth Countess Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1779, October 7. London.—". . . I have been in great anxiety for you and had no joy in the great commendations you have had here, until I was certain you were safe at Jamaica. Barrington came to me immediately upon his coming home. He said he was sure you were gone to Jamaica; by the situation your ship was in, it was he thought impossible you could reach any of the Leeward Islands, the current and wind would carry you to Jamaica in seven days. I believe he has done your behaviour great justice, for before any other accounts could come, never anybody received more general applause, nobody's conduct was ever more celebrated I have had congratulations from all kinds of people. Lady Mornington had the other day a letter from Lord Longford, in

which he said that a person that was at Portsmouth was on board the *Lion* during the action, described the behaviour of the Captain and the ship, nothing could be more honourable than their conduct. I have heard from other hands that you are talked very highly of by our whole fleet, which has not yet been out again since they were chased up the Channel by the combined fleet. People were diverted with the humour of the sailors belonging to Admiral Ross's ship, which has a bust of George the 2nd upon it. They wrapped their clothes round the head of the bust, and said George the 2nd should not see an English fleet chased up their own Channel. However all thinking people say it was right not to run the risk; they were vastly superior, and had we been beaten, the consequence would have been terrible. They wait now till the French fleet comes out; they were ordered to avoid fighting before; now people think they are to fight. Ours is increased to 42 of the line. The combined fleet is said to be considerably lessened by sickness. Rodney is to command in the West Indies. . . . .

"I had a letter from your brother two days ago dated August the 23rd; they had only heard of your action by a letter from Grant to Sir H. Clinton. He hopes I am, before I received that, made easy about you, and he is sure I must have heard you much commended. The Dean [of Canterbury, James Cornwallis], came to town on purpose to inquire after you."

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Frederick Cornwallis) to his nephew, Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis, *Lion*, Jamaica.

1779, October 9. Lambeth.—"Though I am pressed in time, having only just now heard that a mail is to be made up this night for Jamaica, I cannot let slip the opportunity of sending you a few lines in return for your very kind letter. After having been long under anxious doubts about your safety, it gave me the utmost satisfaction, I assure you, to hear that you had got safe to Jamaica. It was certainly very unfortunate that your ship should have been so early and so greatly damaged in the engagement. But it is no small comfort to us to hear from every quarter your courage and conduct throughout the transaction so highly extolled, as to establish your character of a brave and able officer among all ranks and degrees of people. I most heartily pray for success to you in all future operations, and that your laudable endeavours may meet with the encouragement and recompense they so richly deserve.

"I saw your mother yesterday, and have the pleasure to acquaint you that she is full as well, if not better, than when you left her. I was glad to hear so good an account of my friend Wesley,* pray give my love to him."

Earl Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1779, October 21. New York.—"I have wrote to you several times from different places, but whether you have heard of me or

* William Wesley or Wellesley, 2nd son of the 1st Earl of Mornington; took the name of Pole on succeeding to his uncle's estates in 1778; afterwards Baron of Maryborough and 3rd Earl of Mornington.

from me since you left England is I think uncertain. On recollection, however, you must have heard from Lieutenant Stone of my fatal loss, which has effectually destroyed all my hopes of happiness in this world. I will not dwell on this wretched subject, the thoughts of which harrow up my soul.

"Although I sincerely lament the miscarriage of Admiral Byron's squadron, the reputation which you have gained has given me the greatest satisfaction. Perhaps you have heard that I was near visiting Jamaica. Where D'Estaing is we know not, he certainly has been on the coast of Georgia, where I fear he has taken our troops. By a packet which we intercepted from Havanna to Old Spain, we find that after he had done his business in Georgia he was bound to Halifax, and then that La Motte Piquet was to return with his squadron to Cape François; we know not where the remainder of D'Estaing's squadron is to winter. Pray let me hear from you by every opportunity. I heard from my mother the 26th June; she was then well, my children vastly well, and really I must say, although I am their father, they are charming children. James's family very well, his boy who was long in a very doubtful state, vastly better. God bless you; may success, honour and riches attend you; mind, I put honour first, which you will approve of."

Captain J. Leveson Gower to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1779, October 28. [London.]—"I thank you a thousand times for your letter from Jamaica, which you wrote immediately after your arrival there, and gave me very great satisfaction in knowing you had escaped the millions of shots which you had fired at you. We long before had heard of the great share you had in that very severe action of the 6th July, and of the shattered condition of the *Lion*; but were kept a tedious length of time before we were relieved from our anxious suspense of knowing of you personally, except from Fanshawe, who had not an intercourse with the *Lion* sufficient to satisfy us so fully as we wished in regard to you. Lady Cornwallis sent me your account of the action, and of what happened to the *Lion* after it. I was then at Elden in Suffolk, and shewed it to Admiral Keppel, who spoke so handsomely of you upon it as quite quieted all those fears you had raised in her mind of any possibility of your being blamed for bearing up for Jamaica. Since Fanshawe came to England I have had a letter from him in which he says that, after he had lost company with you, he found a most extraordinary windward current, without which he could never have got up to St. Kitts. More pleasant scenes I hope will present themselves to you, but more glorious cannot, for it is not possible for man to acquire more glory at any one period than you have acquired. At home we are in much the same way we long have been, without exertion, and scarce thinking of anything but to save appearances. I thought it was impossible that they could have trusted our fleet to Sir Charles Hardy, and could not doubt what I heard that Lord Howe would be called upon, knowing their hatred of Admiral Keppel was such as was not to be got the better of;

to Lord Howe therefore I went and begged he would give me leave to serve with him as a volunteer or in any other manner he should think proper to employ me. He was indeed most obligingly civil to me, but he has not been called upon, not even in the moment when they were really frightened, I mean at the time the combined fleets were upon our coasts; nor was he the least taken notice of then when he went to shew himself at Court. At this time I thought it right that every living creature should do whatever he could for the salvation of this now poor country, accordingly I wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty desiring him to acquaint the Lords Commissioners that, if they thought my service could be of any use in the present critical situation of affairs, I was ready to go on any service and in any manner they would employ me. The next day I received a letter from Mr. Secretary saying he had read and communicated my letter, and was my humble servant, and I have heard no more. I wish I could serve under anybody of character, but no such are now employed, and by not being employed I have avoided being an eye-witness to the very disgraceful retreat our fleet made from the combined fleets; and sorry I am to say that many disgraceful circumstances did attend that retreat or more properly flight. . . . Your old shipmate, Mr. Walter Young, has got himself made Post. He is Captain of the *Sandwich*, in which Rodney is said to be going to command in the West Indies."

Earl Cornwallis to Elizabeth, Countess Cornwallis.

1779, November 11. New York.—"I informed you by the *Daphné* that I had received your letter of the 7th of August; since that time no event of consequence has happened here, nor have we heard from the West Indies. D'Estaing has certainly been on this coast, but we have had no certain accounts of him lately. I have wrote several times to William, and, though the communication is very uncertain, hope one letter at least will reach him. The accounts of my children give me the greatest satisfaction. For myself I have in this world neither hopes nor fears; I will endeavour to do my duty to my country, and be honest, and then, with perfect resignation to his will, I put my trust in God's mercy."

Elizabeth Lady Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1780, February 2.—". . . . I am constantly in a fret that I have wrote something I did not design in my letters to Jamaica and the same to those in America. I am too old to write. . . . Governor Johnson (they say to prevent his being in the House of Commons, where, although he means well, from liveliness he sometimes draws them into scrapes) had, when our home fleet was laid up, a command given him of five or six frigates, the *Medea* I believe was one, upon the coast of Portugal. I have never heard of their getting any prize, and Rodney has taken them with him to Gibraltar."

ELIZABETH LADY CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1780, June 4. London.—Her great sorrow on the loss of her brother [the Hon. Thos. Townshend]. "The hopes of seeing you in the autumn, and the commendations I have heard of you, has done me more good than all Mr. Partridge's drops and julips. I am quite well. It is impossible for anybody of your rank in the navy to stand higher in character than you do. I hear this from all sorts of people. I have kept a letter of Lord Townshend's upon this last affair with La Motte Piquet, to shew you when you come home. This has struck him certainly more than anything you have yet done. as it is the first time he has taken any notice of any of your actions to me. I think in general it has been more talked of, I suppose your having had the command is the reason; and indeed I think you deserve more commendation, as in this affair both courage and conduct was shown in a very high degree. The Dean has been in town ten days; he says he meets with congratulations from everybody. He is the only person I have entrusted with the great hopes you have given me of your coming home. I was afraid if it got about some stop here might be put to it. Mr. Westley [Wesley] mentioned it in his letter, but as I said nothing of it they do not believe it at Lambeth. . . .

"Politics has been in a strange way, and with those friends everything gives place to them. Rodney's character is very high at present, I shall enclose the abstract of his letter as inserted in the *Gazette*. As some of the Captains under him must have done very well, or we could not have had the advantage, it seems hard their names should not be mentioned. Captain Uvedale, from whom the intelligence should have come, particulars being referred to him, they say by something of great weight falling upon his head during the action has lost his memory. I am glad you were off of that station. The friends of the Captains in that fleet are in a very disagreeable situation, until the Admiral writes a more explicit letter. . . .

"Nothing is yet known of the dissolution of the Parliament; it is rather supposed to be designed. I am told Westley is a Lieutenant on board the *Lion*, I suppose Cornwallis is preferred. You will be surprised to see how stout I am grown; drinking no wine and eating no meat suits my constitution vastly.

"Lord North's having two questions carried against him made them determine upon dissolving the Parliament. He has now got a majority again, and people now think that design is laid aside. The Dean and his wife, who have been in a lodging in this street for a fortnight, go out of town to-morrow. I suppose you have seen Sir P. Parker's letter upon your action with La Motte Piquet, therefore do not send you that *Gazette*. I have put it up in my pocket book, and shall keep it with care."

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1780, July 4. Charlestown.—"I am very doubtful whether this letter will ever reach you; I shall therefore only thank you for

your letter of the 24th of May, which gave me the greatest pleasure and satisfaction. I am sure the action will do you the greatest honour. I hope, as soon as you have got upon copper, you will return to Jamaica, unless some more eligible service should offer; at all events let me conjure you to continue serving as long as the war lasts. I gave Admiral Arbuthnot a letter about a month ago, which he promised to forward to you.

"My last letters from England were of the 17th of March, and as I am now stationed out of the regular line of the packets, I expect to hear very seldom. The Province of South Carolina has totally submitted, and American affairs wear a better aspect than they have done for some time. The people of the back country, who are very numerous, seem most sincerely happy at returning to their union with Great Britain, and execrate the tyranny of their late rulers. Don't omit any opportunity of letting me hear from you."

EARL CORNWALLIS to ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS.

1780, July 14. Charlestown.—"I write this at a venture to New York; it is very uncertain when you may get it. I wrote about a fortnight ago the same way. We are here quite out of the world and hear nothing, and never shall, I fear, get our letters. I wished you joy before of William's very handsome action with La Mothe Piquet, and of his being to go home this summer; at the same time expressing my fears that some of his discontented friends would put him out of humour with the Admiralty and try to hinder his serving. As his reputation is now getting very high, and that he appears to be in the road to honour, and perhaps to fortune, I sincerely hope that will not happen."

SIR G. B. RODNEY to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1780, July 20. *Sandwich.*—"Nothing can make me more happy than having an opportunity of congratulating you on your gallant behaviour against La Mothe Pique; all the letters I have intercepted acknowledge his great superiority, and allow that he was fairly beat by an inferior number. To have you with me will make [me] very happy, as I should then be certain of being well supported. I hope Sir Peter Parker will let you go home with the next convoy, your ship will then be in time to be coppered and to join me by January. The enemy mean for certain to have all their naval power in these seas; here Britain must rise or fall. I dare say you have read my letter. I wish all had been published. I meant it should, and was it to be wrote again, I would not alter a tittle. Had you been with me you would have been shocked, it was really too bad. Once more I can only say to have you with me will be the greatest favour the Admiralty can shew me."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1780, November 11. London.—"You know the impatience of my temper; the wind is consulted every hour of the day; and my good or ill humour depends entirely upon the going of the smoke.

I have had two letters from you since you met with Ternay, which made me give no credit to the applause given to your behaviour upon that occasion by the newspapers, until Mr. Pollock sent me the *Gazette* with your letter. I do not know which has been most commended, your conduct as an officer, or your manner of representing the affair. Both most highly I do assure you, and why did you not mention this event in your letters to me. I believe you feared I should grow too vain. Your pocket will not be much the richer for what you have been doing these two last years, but you are a great gainer in reputation, which in my opinion is much more valuable. No unlucky accident in your voyage home and I shall think the two years well spent.

"Your brother, with about 1,500 troops, has completely beat Gates, who had 6,500. It is impossible for anybody to have gained more honour than he has done; nobody talked of anything else for a fortnight. Ross, who came with the news, left London yesterday to return to America in the Packet.

"I hope this northerly wind will not blow you too near the French coast."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1780], November 20. Friday.—"The wind has been in all points of the compass to-day, my head and heart is full of you. . . . The more I think of your present employ, the worse I like it. Upon looking in the Red Book, I find a 40 and two 28 gun ships is all you are to have after you have passed the Bay, and the care of above two hundred merchantmen is not a very pleasant thing, when the French must know how small your force is, most likely they will send a much stronger to intercept you. They know exactly how far the large ships are to go with you. Without this alarming circumstance, the season of the year when storms must be expected which will probably separate them, would be full vexation enough. [I was so uncharitable as to think that if any accident happened to the convoy, it would be a great aleviation to the person who appointed it if any blame could be laid upon you.*] I fear all the care in the world may not be able to prevent some misfortunes happening. . . .

"When I got so far the Archbishop came in, wondered I could have any fears. He said the Ministry must know what ships the French had out, and where they were, that it was provided accordingly. He said Lord S[andwich] at dinner the other day, talking of this convoy, said you were the most promising young man in the service. The Archbishop said Lord North was present. Upon hearing of this I have scratched out all my uncharitableness, for so it must certainly be. He could have no view or interest in saying this when there was nobody belonging to you in company. I am quite reconciled to him, he has chosen you for this material convoy from the good opinion he has of you. May all my fears for you prove foolish and unreasonable."

* This sentence is erased.

The Earl of Sandwich to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis, the *Lion*, Portsmouth.

1781, June 15. Admiralty.—"Though I am overwhelmed with applications, and involved in innumerable difficulties with regard to the promotion of Lieutenants to the rank of Master and Commander, yet I think your title to every mark of favour in consequence of your great merit as a sea officer is such, that I will endeavour to oblige you in the object you have in view, by taking an early opportunity to give promotion to Mr. Stone."

The Same to the Same.

1781, June 20. Admiralty.—"As the *Canada* is at present without a Captain, I do not lose a moment in informing you that she is at your service; the enclosed letter will shew you the estimation in which [s]he was held by her last Commander; and as I understand from other quarters that she is the best ship in the navy of her rate, I am sure I cannot do my duty better than by offering her to one of the most distinguished officers in the King's service.

"It is intended that the *Canada* shall go with Admiral Digby instead of the *Valiant*, which, upon consideration, is found unfit for the coast of America on account of her very great draught of water. We shall therefore give immediate directions for her being fitted for a foreign voyage."

Sir Sam. Hood to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis, *Canada*.

[1781, October].* Tuesday evening. *Barfleur*.—"Major Cochran got safe to Lord Cornwallis, and the boat in which he went is come back. She left York the 9th, at night. The *Charon* is burnt by red hot shot, and the enemy throw shells into Lord Cornwallis's works, but cannot move his Lordship, who is in high spirits, has plenty of provisions, and the only man he has lost of any consequence is the head commissary. This is all I yet know, which I thought would be some satisfaction to you. I expect to hear more to-morrow from head quarters. The ships are mostly at Staten Island and will be here to-morrow if the wind permits."

Charles Townshend to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, February 6. Old Burlington Street.—"I am much obliged to you for your kind letter. The disagreeable news which it contained had arrived here before. I have the satisfaction to tell you that very few disapprove Lord Cornwallis's conduct, though Mr. Galloway and some of the refugees are endeavouring to write him down. The Duke of Chandos has moved for an enquiry into the causes of Lord Cornwallis's ill success, not with any ill intention to him. If this enquiry is not premature, it will turn out very much

* Cochrane reached Cornwallis on Oct. 10. See letter from Cornwallis to Clinton of Oct. 11. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 124.

to his Lordship's advantage, because the disapprobation of the few who condemn him is founded on false facts and the grossest misrepresentations, which however can not be confuted without producing authentic documents to disprove them. Lord Cornwallis is very well and in good spirits. He left my nephew H. Brodrick in North America, posted to a battalion of Grenadiers.

"The only public news which I have to send you is that Lord G. Germain is retired, and a peer. His removal does not yet appear to be attended with any change of measures, if we can credit reports. Arnold is to go out with a considerable command, and the American war is to [be] carried on with great vigour. The Commander-in-Chief is not yet appointed in the room of Clinton."

Captain Lord Longford to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, March 3. *Alexander*, 200 leagues west from Madeira.—"The *Agamemnon* and *Magnificent* being to part from us soon for the West ndies, I take that opportunity of sending my best wishes to my friend. I have the pleasure to tell you that I saw your brother Lord Cornwallis well in London the beginning of last month. We sailed to strengthen Sir Richard Bickerton and the India convoy the 7th of last month, and we have been so fortunate as to escape the French and Spanish fleets, both of whom we have reason to think have been out looking for us, the former 19 or 20 sail, and the latter 40 sail of the line and 15 frigates. The providential dispersion of the French fleet in December we are in hopes will save the West Indies, but with the force of French, Spaniards and Dutch, what is to become of Europe. I expect to return in a day or two with the *Renown* and *Assistance* under my orders, so I have a chance of picking up something in my way home; indeed, a little privateering seems to be all we have left to do. Pray tell Westly, if he has not heard it already, that his uncle Mr. Pole died in December last, and has left him his name and his estate. Times are so altered, my dear friend, since you and I went first to sea, that I find this is not what I bargained for; and as I see no prospect of things mending this war, I wish most sincerely we were well out of it; so wishing you patience and potatoes, and greens and good health, I remain, &c."

James [Cornwallis] Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to his brother, Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, April 1. Wimpole Street.—"I have received your two letters; and am sorry to find that after all your endeavours St. Kitts is gone. But although the public have sustained a loss by this expedition of the French, you have gained: I mean by a farther increase of reputation.

"The great inattention of the late Ministry to public affairs, and our many consequent disgraces, at last overturned them in a constitutional manner, and I have conceived great hopes that we should now have more vigour and activity. I am certain we cannot have

less; and that we must have been totally ruined, had not our drowsy rulers been displaced. Some of them are rewarded, although most of them are bewailing their diminished consequence and receipts.

"My secretary received what was *due* to you last Christmas; and there is an end of *that* business. You will be member for Eye in a few days. My brother upon a supposition that Lord Sandwich would make a promotion, before he quitted, of Admirals, wrote to him for the Marines for you; he answered, that there would be no promotion. Skelton is to have or rather has a pension on the list, for it was done by Lord N[orth]. You are at present without any appointment, but entirely *at liberty in Parliament* and I have no doubt will be honourably taken care of, although some time may be required for it. I know your mind so well that I ventured to encourage my brother in this.

"It was absolutely necessary for him to get rid of Skelton, as he had entangled himself with him, and I have nothing now to regret, but that you should at present be without any appointment. It is, however, much better now that things were not attempted before. My brother stays in, but very few others, as the sweep is very general. I want you either to be in the Admiralty, or to have the Marines, which is most desirable.

"The King spoke very handsomely of you the other day to Tommy Townshend, the present Secretary at War."

Elizabeth Countess Cornwallis to the Hon. William Cornwallis, commanding the *Canada*.

1782, April 2. London.—"I received your two letters dated the 4th and the 7th of February, and had the great pleasure of seeing your name in the *Gazette* (in consequence of the accounts that came at the same time with those letters) mentioned in the most honorable manner, but my vanity was flattered before that paper came out. Your brother had a note from Lord Mulgrave in which he said you had distinguished yourself as usual; and he likewise had seen both Admiral Hood's and Affleck's letters to their brothers, who both spoke of you in most honorable terms, which soon circulated all over the town, and I had many congratulations before the *Gazette* came out. I have received your letter of the 21st of February, which gave me great pleasure to find you continued well. We had hoped Rodney might have been with you before the date of that letter; they say here that he stopped at the Madeira to take in wine, which people are angry at. Our continual losses and heavy taxes has put the people and Parliament so much out of humour that upon a question being moved which meant to address the King for a total change of Ministers, the Court had but nine majority. His Majesty then thought it proper to dismiss the administration and put it into the hands of Lords Rockingham and Shelburne; there is to be a total change in all the offices. Before I finish this letter probably all the new appointments may be made. The Boards are already fixed; Keppel at the head of the Admiralty, Harland, Pigot, T. Townshend, Lord Duncannon, Hopkins, Bret.

This last is reckoned particularly conversant in naval affairs. Leveson has called on me since this was fixed. I was not alone; those that were with me thought he did not express the joy in his countenance they expected. I will endeavour to get a list of all the changes before this letter goes. You mention the receiving but one letter in December. I have written two by every packet. When Minorca was taken from us some years ago it made a great noise; we are now so used to lose islands, we heard of its having capitulated without being the least concerned.

"Since I wrote the above Leveson has been with me again and seems in very good spirits. He is to have the *Bombay Castle*, which will be ready in six weeks, without some other ship he likes better should become vacant. I asked if Lord Howe was to command the great fleet, he said nothing as yet was settled. In his manner of answering there was nothing that looked like any suspicion of Lord Howe's objecting to it. In the course of the conversation, after having told me Admiral Keppel was very particularly pleased with my card of congratulation to him, he then talked of what it was probable the French would do when Rodney had joined you. He said they would either go to leeward (by which I suppose he meant Jamaica), or to America, or come home, which last he thought more likely; in that case, some of our West India fleet would come home. He then asked me if I wished the *Canada* to be one of those? I answered 'I shall always be happy to see him.' You have told me often never to meddle with your destinations; I cannot ever give a greater proof of my obedience than I have done in this case. Perhaps he meant nothing by this question; but it was a subject my heart was so interested in, that if my fears of disobliging you had not been very great, I could not have conquered the extreme desire I had of knowing whether it was a thing thrown out by chance, and likewise eagerly expressing the happiness it would give me, but I withstood this great temptation. I suppose you will write by the first opportunity to congratulate perhaps both Admiral Keppel and Mr. Leveson, most certainly to the latter; and then, if you think it proper, you may tell him how much his question (from my fear of offending you) perplexed me. My answer would have come with great alacrity had I only consulted my own inclinations upon it. Leveson talks of you always with the most cordial friendship. Barrington as usual made me a visit upon the accounts we had of your action with the French. He told me if there was a possibility of distinguishing himself Captain Cornwallis would always do it. He was ordered down to Portsmouth the end of last week, by which it is plain he is now to serve. . . .

"Only a very few which were particularly named by the King keep their places. . . . Lord North is well off; he has the Cinque Ports for life made up to him 4,000*l* a year, and this likewise gives him the bringing in four members of Parliament. If our new Administration can give us a peace they will be very well with me.

"Your brother talks of writing, but he has got his children with him in Albemarle Street, and I wish they may give him time. They are always with him when he is at home."

ELIZABETH LADY CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, April 3 [London].—"My letters will discover how stupid I grow, indeed much too old to correspond with any one that will pay any further regard to her letters than the inclination she has to show her affection. . . . The first audience Mr. T. T[ownshend] had upon his being appointed Secretary at War, his Majesty was very gracious, and talked a great deal to him. He commended your brother and you, but what surprised me very much, spoke handsomely of me, so I was told. I suppose my merit was producing two such sons. Lord Shelburne and your brother have been upon a very friendly foot ever since he came from America. Lord S. has the Home and Colonies province, C. F[ox] the Foreign. Lord de Ferrars is much pleased with Lord Shelburne. He had never applied to him; his Lordship sent for him, inquired what he wished to have, which was the Band of Pensioners; he had it the next day. The spirits of the people, they tell me, are much raised with the change of Administration; if they can bring about peace, they will be very popular. The money by the last Administration was little attended to; they had not the least thought of preventing everyone squandering what they pleased. The people who felt the weight of the taxes resented this neglect so strongly, it is the opinion of many we were in danger of having commotions at home, had the ministry not been changed. . . . I suppose they are not pleased at Lambeth with this change of the ministry. The Archbishop told me he should support government, which I was glad to hear. The Duke of Portland is to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Carlisle is to have Lord Talbot's place, Steward of the Household. You do not care a farthing about all this."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, April 6.—" . . . Lord Howe has not kissed hands, but I believe it is very certain he is to be an English Peer, and it is confidently said he will have the command of the Home fleet. Everything here is so changeable that what is truth to-day may be false to-morrow. Keppel's advertisement was published in the newspapers for his re-election for Surrey, for two or three days; so sudden was the determination to make him a peer. I have been told, upon mentioning Lord Howe's being made an English peer, his Majesty of his own motion proposed making Keppel a peer. Lord Altrop stands in his room for Surrey. Lord Spencer has a large estate in that county. Your election at Eye was upon Wednesday last. They were all in high good humour upon the occasion . . . Duke of Portland is to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and General Burgoyne to be Commander in Chief in Ireland."

[1782, April.]—Verses on the fight between Rodney and De Grasse.

On April the twelfth, by the dawn of the day
The French fleet were discovered to have borne away ;
The loss of a foremast to one of their fleet
Gave cause to us Britons our prospect to greet.
We formed our line, boys, in haste to be sure,
For a sudden attack is the dread of Monsieur.
Our tacks they were different, the French on the larboard,
With a full sail to meet them, we stood on the starboard.
Drake commanded the van, whose ships were all good,
The rear (some of whom had suffer'd the ninth) under Hood.
The French suffer'd most in passing the tack
And the *Glorieux*, a 74, lay a mere wreck ;
The top-sails of the French Admiral* were both of them shot down,
And he seem'd then to lie ready our honour to crown.
Many more of their ships were brought very low
And with their wood bottoms scarce able to go.

It was now only ten, my brave boys, 'twas no more ;
Had e'er England a prospect so glorious before ?
Our Admiral seized the moment a maintopsail to bend,
But for masts, sail and rigging, there seemed no need to mend.
The *Formidable* look'd all so spruce and so new
A bold leader she wanted and seem'd to call for Sir Hugh.†
This maintopsail when bent, my brave boys, alack,
What use did they put it to ? Why laid it aback!
The French fleet were beaten and put to the run
And the English with copper bottoms look'd on the fun ;
To larboard a sweep did Hood's squadron make
And the *Cæsar* and *Ardent* did both of them take.
Our Chief he lay quiet, with good ships around him,
Some willing to move, but, the devil confound him,
He made no signal to chase nor would let others go,
Those who were willing to follow the foe.

Cries Fanshaw, Sir George, pray let me stretch on ;
My men are willing, my ship in condition.
No, no, cries Sir George, I'll be supported i' faith ;
What, leave your own Admiral, a Knight of the Bath,
To follow a Frenchman with the Cross of St. Louis ?
Lay all aback or by —— I'll undo ye.
A ship or two push'd on, whether he would or no,
Intent upon honour and to conquer the foe ;
By which the French Admiral and *Hector* were taken,
And this perhaps may save our *brave* Admiral's bacon.
At night he lay to, in the victorious field,
Tho' the poor beaten French were ready to yield.
Had a chief worthy Britain commanded our fleet,
Twenty-five good French ships had been laid at our feet!
In Captain William Cornwallis' handwriting. [*Printed in* Blockade of Brest, i., xvii.]

* The *Ville de Paris*. † Sir Hugh Palliser.

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, May 1. Wimpole Street.—". . . I shall entirely support the new Ministry; to-day the Contractors' Bill comes on in the House of Lords, which I hope will pass. The last Ministry have brought this country to the last stage of misery and dispair. The present set out well, and I hope will exhibit the rare instance of honesty in power. Nothing but the united efforts of the good and great can save this country. We have done well in naval matters, since the change in the Admiralty. Barrington has been very successful, and a few Captains will get great wealth. Your name stands very high, I assure you, and I hope you will soon be rewarded as you ought. . .

"My brother is in good spirits and has a prospect of being very soon exchanged, perhaps in a fortnight. We are very apprehensive for Jamaica."

Earl Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, May 1. London.—"I wrote to you by the last packet to inform you of your being chose for Eye, and to request in the strongest manner that you would never look to my conduct in the political line, but act entirely for yourself, and consider yourself, as you really are, as independent as any member in the House of Commons. I likewise repeat, in case my former letter should have been miscarried, my warmest congratulations on the distinguished figure which you made in the action off St. Kitts. I have now a prospect of being speedily exchanged, and, if any service offers, of being employed, as there are few of our Generals who wish to quit their easy chairs, unless it is to command an English camp."

Elizabeth Countess Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, May 27. London.—"Your victory has been paid great honour to here, guns firing, lighting up houses, *et cetera*; if everybody had been as silent as yourself, the great share you had in it would still have been a secret. However, I was early made happy by your brother's being informed by Mr. Stephens very soon after the arrival of the news of your safety, and the having most honourably distinguished yourself; this was his note. Mrs. Leveson, a few hours afterwards, sent me a paragraph out of a letter which she had read, with very glorious particulars of your behaviour. When I shewed it to Mrs. Cornwallis, she said my Lord Lisburn had brought a letter to Lambeth, that still raised your behaviour higher, which I thought impossible. The newspapers have contributed their parts very amply in doing you justice. When your brother brought me Stephens' note, tears of joy came into his eyes. He has appeared to me to feel this happy event full as much as I did. I had, very soon after the news came, a card from Lady Howe, of congratulations for your safety, to which was added the strongest applause for the gallantry of your conduct. The Bishop of Lichfield was

at the levée the Friday after the news came. His Majesty made your praise the subject of his conversation to him. The Bishop of Lichfield saw Captain Biron at the levée who spoke of your behaviour in the highest terms, and I am told Rodney in his private letters has been very lavish in your praise. Most certainly no one can stand higher in the opinion of all people in your profession than you do, which is a great happiness to me, but why would you not accept the Admiral's offer of the *Ville de Paris?* By all the accounts we have had here you had a very considerable share in the taking of her; the coming home in her would have been an *éclat*, and what is more material to me, I should have had the comfort of seeing you soon, as she will be sent home I imagine in a few months. Perhaps that would have been an objection to you; if so I withdraw my wishes, for they are always governed by what you like. Myself is always out of the question where you are concerned, and I should be more happy with your being in the West Indies than nearer me, did I know that it was your own choice.

"Admiral Pigot had been some time waiting for a wind at Plymouth; as soon as the news of your victory arrived an express was dispatched to stop him, but he sailed the very day that Cranston came to London. I fancy Rodney will be glad it so happened; all his friends here were impatient to hear Pigot was sailed, as nothing could be more fortunate for Rodney at this time. He will find himself very popular again, for he had lost that very much after the taking of St. Eustatia. An English peerage, his circumstances now are I suppose very good, and high in favour with the people, he seems to have nothing further to wish for but to come home and enjoy his good fortune. Hood is to be an Irish peer, and Affick a baronet. Just a week after the arrival of Lord Cranston came the *Euridice* with the duplicates of the Admiral's letters; she likewise brought in a letter from Sir James Wallace that Hood's squadron had taken two line of battle ships and a frigate. . .

"Lord Howe was sent in hopes of catching a Dutch fleet, but they are still in the Texel. At present he is blocking them up there. . . . Admiral Drake is to be a baronet, as well as Affleck."

Earl Cornwallis to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, May 27. London.—"I most heartily congratulate you on the glorious victory of the 12th of April, and on the very conspicuous share which all the world acknowledges you had in the honour of that memorable day. It has been the greatest victory since *Tourville's* [defeat] and I hope has saved us from the jaws of a most humiliating and ignominious peace. The loss of poor Lord Robert Manners gave me the most sincere concern; he seemed determined to walk in your steps, and it is in vain that we have ships and seamen when we want officers.

"I have now a thing to mention to you in regard to myself, which is a secret to everybody except my brother James. There is great reason to hope that my exchange may be immediately managed, and if that should be the case, it is however doubtful, I am to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief in India. The

military part of the prospect is not brilliant, but what field is now open this war to a soldier. My appointments will be great, and, without deviating from the strictest honour, I must have it in my power to put my children in a better situation. If you was to come home, I think it not impossible but that I might be able to procure the offer of the naval command for you in that part of the world. I have, however, no authority for this opinion, but my general idea that those who would think me proper to be placed in so delicate and responsible a situation, would wish to give me every means of carrying on the service to advantage. If this either should not be the case, or that the service should not be agreeable to you, I think there can be no great objection to your coming home. Your reputation is now so high in your profession that I think with any Admiralty you might choose your ship and station, and with the present you might probably get some command. All this, however, I still submit to your judgment, which in what concerns your profession must be better than mine. There are three points doubtful—1st, whether I go to India, 2nd, whether I can procure for you the offer of the naval command; and 3rdly, whether you would like it, and whether you would not think our both taking a probably last leave of my mother would not be too severe a stroke to inflict on her; and then you are to consider whether the West India station is likely to be more eligible for you than the Home station with Keppel at the head of the Admiralty and Lord Howe commanding the squadron. You will not, of course, mention a word about India. My mother has been wonderfully well this winter; she has now a cold that has attacked everybody, but is recovering. I hardly know a house in town in which two-thirds of the inhabitants are not sick.

" Rodney is to be an English Peer, Hood an Irish one. Drake and Affleck, Baronets, and Jarvis a Knight of the Bath. Pigot's sailing from Plymouth the day that the news came to London was critically unlucky; whatever may be the intrinsic merit of the individuals he certainly assumes the command under every disadvantage, and you may easily conceive how unpopular the measure of recalling Rodney is grown among the populace."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1782, May 27. London.—" We have again to congratulate you upon the conspicuous share that the *Canada* had in our last glorious victory. The King on Friday spoke very highly of your conduct, and to-day his first Minister, Lord Rockingham, was as strong in his commendations of you to me. Fame, I know, is your first object, and you have happily obtained as full a portion as you could have wished of it. We have had four hours' conversation upon this subject in the House of Lords to-day. Lord Sandwich wanted to make Rodney an Earl, or at least a Viscount, and to settle 2,000*l*. per annum upon the title. Lord Keppel did very well and supported his arguments exceedingly well. Hood will certainly at least be an Irish peer; all sides were very loud in praises of him."

ELIZABETH COUNTESS CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1782, May 28. London.]—"I sent yesterday a very long letter to Mr. Rogers to put up for you, so full of people's general applause of your behaviour in the late action that I doubt your modesty will be offended and perhaps my letter may have a chance of not being read to the end, therefore I shall name but one person upon the same topic in this. Lord Rockingham came up to the B[ishop] of L[ichfield] yesterday in the House of Lords, on purpose to say all the fine things that could be said of your behaviour, and now I will not tire you any more upon that subject; to repeat all I have heard would be endless.

"Bateman came to London three weeks ago, and married Betty. . . . Daniel now is the oldest servant I have. My Ministry is entirely changed as well as His Majesty's. I shall think the latter a happy change indeed if it should occasion a peace; it is strongly their desire. The late Ministry was certainly exceedingly wrong in commencing the war with Holland, when we had so many enemies upon our hands; watching the Dutch alone takes up a great part of our fleet. . . .

"Both your brothers and C[harles] T[ownshend] had your letters. The Archbishop did not mention having had one when he came to congratulate me upon your account. I suppose therefore he had not received one, but I cannot tell; he has been ever since confined with the gout. Last night I had the pleasure of receiving yours that came by the *Euridice* dated April the 21st. We have heard nothing of Mr. Pole yet. Coming away at the time he did I think has entirely destroyed all that passed between him and Mr. Pole (*sic*). I cannot now suppose he was so fond of the profession as really to run the risk of losing such an estate, rather than leave it improperly. His mother was sorry, she said, that he came away. I told you in my last that Cornwallis was come home. I must send my letter for fear of not catching Mr. Stephens. How heartily *do I wish for peace?*"

C[AROLINE] CORNWALLIS, wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, May 29. Lambeth House.—"Though both your mother and Lord Cornwallis write to you by the present opportunity, yet I can not forbear sending a few lines to return you the Archbishop's thanks as well as my own for both your kind letters, and to congratulate you most heartily upon the glorious victory, in which we have the pleasure of hearing from others, though not from yourself, you had so large a share. I am sure Wesley will be very much mortified that he left you at so critical a time, and lost his share of the glory. He is not yet arrived, and I have not seen Lady Mornington since she knew of his coming, so cannot tell what she thinks about it; but it seems to me to be great pity that he should not have stayed out at least this campaign.

"The Archbishop would have wrote to you himself, but has got

a slight touch of the gout, just enough I hope to be wholesome for him, as it is in a very regular way, and he is otherwise perfectly well. He desires his kindest love to you. . . .

"You may easily imagine what general joy your late victory has spread over the whole nation; at least in that we were all united."

EARL CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, July 3. London.—"I have written several letters to you, in confidence, relative to my going as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to the East Indies; that event seems now more probable than it did, but I fear the naval command is out of the question, as Keppel insists on an Admiral, and has named old Parker. Lord Shelburne will, I am sure, exert himself to procure you a broad pennant as second in command, but, as the new Ministers do not always draw together, I can not answer for the Admiralty. Keppel, however, joins with all the world in doing you justice and speaking of you in the handsomest manner. I have already stated the case fully to you, but for fear of accidents I will repeat that your character is now so high that you cannot be hurt by coming home if you like it, that there is a possibility of your going to India in an agreeable manner, and that otherwise you may choose your ship and station, let who will be at the head of the Admiralty Jarvis spoke of you in the highest terms to Lord Shelburne, and said that it would be a disgrace to the Administration if you did not receive some distinguished mark of favour."

I will not write any more, thinking it probable that the fleet may have left Jamaica before this letter arrives, and that you may possibly be on your way home.

LORD RODNEY to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, July, Saturday morning.——.—"I cannot have greater pleasure than my having in my power to comply [with the req]uest that you honour me with. I think after getting through the gulph, the convoy for the West India trade will be sufficient for their protection, and therefore the *Canada*, *Resolution*, and *Montagu* should make the best of their way for England, where in all probability, they will be much wanted."

LORD LONGFORD to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, October 29. *Alexander* at sea, off Cape St Vincent.—"I take the opportunity of our friend Onslow going to the West Indies to send you my best wishes and congratulation upon the success of our fleet in the West Indies, and the very conspicuous and honourable share you had in it. Onslow will tell you of our having relieved Gibraltar and of the many fortunate circumstances which enabled us to do it in the face of a superior fleet, with whom we have had a brush of so extraordinary a kind that I will not attempt to describe it lest you should not believe it. It is enough to say that after

having chased us, they were afraid to come near, and we had a distant cannonade by moonlight, in which I had three men killed and a few wounded. I hear your ship is bad, and that we may hope soon to see you at home."

VISCOUNT KEPPEL to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1782, November 6. Admiralty.—"I am favoured with your note, and shall be at your commands to-morrow at twelve o'clock. The intimation in your note relative to your feeling neglected since your return to England, I could not read without a degree of an uneasiness lest what you say is directed to me personally. It is not from every officer I should feel as I must ever do towards you, for, believe me, I have without deviation constantly considered you amongst those I wished most sincerely well to, and whose good opinion I much coveted. Your services and peculiar merits in the full execution of them needs no comment and praise from me; the whole fleet have universally given the strongest testimony to the world of it."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 18. Admiralty.—"I am favoured with your letter of this day, and cannot help in my reply assuring you of my concern at your still conceiving me to have treated you improperly. I stated myself when you called at the Admiralty without reserve, and I hoped so as to have been credited, that I had not intentionally wished to have shewed neglect towards you. The bad condition of the *Canada* required her being dismantled; and I am ready to own your constant and excellent services gives you, in justice, claim to the attention of every First Lord of the Admiralty less acquainted with you than I have been, at least have considered myself; much more should it be my duty and will be to shew you, when in my power, the value I set upon your merits. Your friendship and good opinion I must ever wish, consistent with my character as a public and private man. My regard to truth, as well as esteem for your merits, will never permit me to mis-state you anywhere, but most especially if questioned by His Majesty at any time upon the subject of your being at present upon half pay.

"I cannot close my letter without venturing a thought, which is that some enemy of mine has used pains with you to create in your mind the opinion of my intentional neglect towards you. It is a matter which will ever be a concern to me."

The SAME to the SAME.

1782, December 26. Admiralty.—"Captain Sir John Jervis is likely to be employed immediately upon a particular service, which will most probably occasion the *Foudroyant* at Plymouth to become vacant. Sir John will leave her without dismantling of her, in drafting any of her seamen. She will be tolerably perfect in

her complement, except marines, which will be taken from her, as is done to almost every ship serving at home at present except the *Victory*, and one or two ships hurrying upon immediate service. Having stated the particulars of the *Foudroyant*, I cannot think of offering the command to any officer till I know your inclinations. Whatever they are, I shall wish to show you my readiness in being as useful as my power may permit."

The Same to the Same.

1782, December 30. Admiralty.—Will give directions for the drawing up of his commission as Captain of the *Foudroyant*.

The Same to the Same.

1783, January 6. Admiralty.—Much fears that poor Charles Fielding cannot live long, in which case the *Ganges* will be vacant. Prays him to call at the Admiralty to speak with him on the subject.

Viscount Howe to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1784, March 31. Admiralty.—"I am now enabled to inform you of everything that could be done in conformity to your intimation of the opposition said to be intended against you last night. Lord Hood, I acquainted you before, is engaged by the commencement of his own poll to-morrow. Lord Barrington writes by this post to let you know why he is prevented from being present at yours; and Admiral Rowley is confined to his bed by a feverish complaint. But Major Varlo set out for Portsmouth to-day, and he assures me he shall be able to engage 10 or 12 votes. I shall be glad to know hereafter how far he may be able to succeed in that expectation, as it is desirable to know the *extent* of the obligations we may be under to our different friends. Mr. Rickman sets out this evening, and lies upon the road to be down in time for you to-morrow morning. Mr. William White called upon me this morning to acquaint me he would begin his journey also, to-day, but expressed indecision on the part he should take at the election, though he by no means expressed himself in hostile terms. I believe he waits to see what part the Messrs. Carter take, to regulate his own conduct by their example if a third candidate should start at the post. I hear Mr. Erskine is in town to-day, but whether in view to go off also this evening, to offer when the poll opens, I have not been able to find out."

Captain Horatio Nelson to Captain the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1784, October 25. *Boreas*, English harbour, Antigua.—"My dear friend—By the *Zebra* sloop of war who sails for England to-morrow, I can't help asking how you do, and to shew that I am alive. This place during the hurricane months has been hotter

than I ever felt it in this country. Poor Jamaica, what a sad calamity; I wish any vessel was going from this place that I might send something to poor Cuba, for provisions are in great plenty here, and I suppose very dear at Kingston. As to this station I dislike it as much as ever. The Admiral I shall say nothing about; his aptain's name is Kelly, was Gardner's first Lieutenant in the *Sultan*, an ignorant self-sufficient *man*; the others are *ignoramus's* except Collingwood, who is a very good officer and an amiable character, but unfortunately he has been at Grenada during the hurricane months, therefore I can have no wish to remain upon this station, for the Commissioner I hear is to be recalled, and then I shall lose my only female friend in these islands (Mrs. Moutray). You know her, and I think her a very amiable woman; there [their] house has been open to me, with a bedchamber, during my broil at this place. Lady Hughes I detest, but, after all, in my ship I am very comfortable, very good officers are the Lieutenants. *Apropos*, young Beale, the gunner's son, is on board; he behaves vastly well. I say this as you may wish if he deserves it to do something for him; he is a very attentive, sober young man as can possibly be. I have sent a small cask of haddocks, which I hope you [will] accept from your faithful, affectionate friend, Horatio Nelson.

"Pray remember me to Capt. Gardner, or any other our mutual friends. Compliments to Capt. Leveson. We all sail from this on the 1st of November for Barbadoes. I understand we are all to dance attendance upon the flag-ship."

LORD HOWE to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1785, November 17.—". . . I am sorry to hear from Mr. Leveson that you are a fellow sufferer with me. . . . I flatter myself I have not frequently trespassed against the rules of temperance, but when you, who are the pattern of self-denial, don't escape this tax upon luxury, I am taught to bear my lot with greater patience."

The SAME to the SAME.

1787, September 24. Admiralty.—Informing him that the King had appointed him Colonel of Marines at Plymouth.

HENRY DUNDAS to CAPTAIN the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1788, September 22. Edinburgh.—"Lord Chatham has communicated to me the intention of sending a squadron to the East Indies under your command. . . .

"There is a young gentleman, Mr. Robert Grant, whom I would ask the favour of you to take as a midshipman under your command. He was educated by Admiral Duncan, at whose suggestion I write to you, as he is a young man in whom both he and I are interested. He has passed as a lieutenant, and from what Admiral Duncan

states to me, he is worthy of my protection. If he was not so I would not recommend him to yours."

Postscript.—"If there is anything in my official situation that can enable me to render either your voyage or your residence in India more comfortable to you, I hope you will favour me with your commands. I was already successful in prevailing with the Directors of the East India Company in making allowances to the commanders of His Majesty's ships in India, in addition to what they receive from the King."

Captain Horatio Nelson to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1788, October 8. Burnham, Norfolk.—"My dear friend, although I am set down here in a country life, yet (and although happily married) I always shall, as I have ever done, be ready to step forth whenever service requires or my friends may wish me to serve. Fame says you are going out with a command. If in either actual service, or a wish of yours to accept of me under your command who reveres and esteems you, I am ready and willing to go forth, and, by a strict adherence to your orders as my superior and wishes as my friend, prove myself worthy of the friendship you have honoured me with, for indeed I am, with great truth, your sincere and affectionate, Horatio Nelson."

The Same to the Same.

1788, October 13. Burnham.—"I received your kind letter on Saturday, and was sorry to think that you could suppose any situation in life could ever diminish the ardour, I trust it has been always conspicuous, I have to serve my country (although I am as happy in domestic life as any person can be). My wish has been (for I may now say a series of years) to serve under you. However I trust you have selected officers who will do credit to your choice more able ones I am sensible are easily met with, but one more attached or affectionate than myself I will not so readily yield to. Such things has been that officers have not liked to go to India, although I have no doubt but your penetration is too good to have made a choice where such a thing could happen. But should any event take place which should increase the number of ships, or prevent any of your present choice from going, and none presenting themselves who you will wisely prefer to your rural friend, always recollect that I can leave my humble and peaceful cottage, and believe me as ever your faithful and affectionate, Horatio Nelson.

"Pardon my sending the enclosed. If it is of any use, it will give me satisfaction."

The Enclosure :—

"Our master in the *Seahorse* was a very clever man, and we constantly took the lunar observations; therefore I have no doubt but you will find the *Seahorse* log book almost (if not the) best of

any in the Navy Office. It would be impertinent of me to say much on this subject. We went the outward passage, made the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam before we haul'd to the northward. The only caution in approaching the peninsula of India is to be assured you are well to the eastward, for in April, May and June the currents often sett so strong to the westward that ships fancying themselves far to the eastward and to the northward of Ceylon haul up westerly and get foul of the Moldivas, or are so far up the Malabar coast that great risk is run in getting round Ceylon again. There is no danger whatever in keeping well to the eastward, and with the S.W. monsoon, which then blows half way up the Island of Ceylon, 100 or 150 leagues is very soon run, with the wind a point free or clean full."

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1788, October 14. Send Grove.—Thanking him for his promise to take young Mr. Christopher Cole under him in the *Crown*, and recommending the Rev. Christopher Wells (who was with himself in the last war) as chaplain.

THE BISHOP OF LICHFIELD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1789, January.] Wednesday. Eccleshall.—"We are very sorry to think that the time of your departure draws so near,* . . . but there is not the least possibility that the new ministry will make any alteration in the naval command in India. Some public matters which have lately come out tend to confirm my opinion of the duplicity of a great man. . . . I do not care whether I ever receive any future ministerial favour whatever, but nothing shall induce me to join the two generals in a factious opposition to serve the ambitious purposes of any man, after government is maimed and weakened to a great degree. You will be returned for Eye with Phillipson if he chooses it, but last spring he talked of declining. As he is a good deal influenced by Goldsworthy, I conclude he will continue very violent. . . .'

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, January 29. Calcutta.—"The *Swallow* packet arrived on the 22nd instant, and relieved the anxiety I had so long suffered about Brome. I acknowledge with many thanks for your kind attention, your letters dated June 1st, July 12th, 16th and 21st, and August 21st. The accounts you give of politics is by no means pleasing, and from every consideration, both public and private, I feel the most sincere concern at Lord Howe's going out. Bathurst's voting against him has hurt me exceedingly, but it is one of those plagues that a man must make up his mind to.

* Cornwallis sailed on February 13.

"I am very sorry to hear that you have returns of the complaint in your eyes; for God's sake beware of quacks, it is too serious a stake to trifle with the eyesight. I think it is a gouty humour, and wish you would always suggest that idea to the consideration of any medical person whom you may consult. I have enjoyed most perfect health in this country, and hope I shall have no cause to repent of my arduous undertaking. My savings with the utmost propriety of living are vastly beyond my expectations, and by the 1st of January, 1791, will exceed 90,000*l*.

"I hope by this time I am Master of Fernham; I have worried the Bishop pretty well on that score."

The Same to the Same.

1789, March 10. Calcutta.—"I wrote to you some time since about your coming into Parliament. In regard to Portsmouth you must judge for yourself, there is no advising you about it, but I own I should be very sorry that you should decline Parliament altogether. Eye is entirely at your service, and need be no restraint upon you in point of attendance, or any other consideration.

"I have had so much plague with that borough that I should not wish to engage hastily with a stranger. I have therefore wished that Ross should fill one seat, and that either you, or if you should be chosen for Portsmouth, and have difficulties about making your election before I arrive, that Phillipson should lend his name for the other, and then take the Chiltern Hundreds. It would be very unpleasant at my time of life to be closely connected with a man for seven years that would be disagreeable to the borough or plaguing to myself.

"I hope the Bishop has dashed at Fernham, indeed I wish he had bought both Sir Charles Kent's estate and Saxham. It can never be a good plan for a man in my line of life to keep a large sum of money in the funds, and there is no mode of disposing of it more rational or agreeable than securing a considerable property and command near the family mansion.

"James talks of buying little copyhold farms, as he would for a sugar-baker who was retiring from business. I should, however, be very ungrateful to abuse him, for he has taken infinite pains about all my affairs, and particularly about Brome, the dearest concern of all.

"Our affairs here go on as well as I could reasonably expect, and I hope to bring home some remains of constitution in the year 1791."

The Bishop of Lichfield to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1789, March 25. Wimpole Street.—". . The King continues well, but has not yet appeared in public. To-morrow the Queen will have the first Drawing-room, which will be crowded to a great degree. Everything goes on quietly; the King and ministry very popular. . . . Lord Lothian is turned out. He might have had an Irish regiment and a pension for his daughters, but refused

both. The Duke of Queenborough is also out. Eden is talked of for the Hague and a peerage. . . . Nothing going forward but addresses, rejoicings, &c."

MRS. C. CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, April 29. Seymour Place.—". . . We have nothing here now but rejoicing, feasting and dancing; you left us in a very different situation. The Thanksgiving day at St. Paul's went off extremely well, and without any accident, which, considering the immense crowds everywhere, was very fortunate. I kept quiet at home; and contented myself with going to my own little chapel at May fair. The illuminations the night after were the most magnificent that ever were exhibited. It is said pretty confidently that the King is to go to Hanover this summer. . . ."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1789, June 27. Calcutta.—" It gave me great pleasure to learn yesterday by the arrival of the *Melville Castle* Indiaman that your squadron had actually sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th of February, and my private letters assured me that you was then in perfect health. I sincerely hope that your command may not prove disagreeable to you, and that it is put on such a footing as to enable you to save some money.

" I conclude your first destination will be to Madras, but I trust I shall very soon see you here, for you know I cannot go to you. You will be the best judge of the properest time for coming, and of the disposition of your ships; I can hardly think however that you will bring the *Crown* hither, and indeed it would require great care and attention to bring in one of the large frigates; by notifying your intentions to me you shall have the best assistance we can give. In spite of Mr. Lacam this can never be a man-of-war's port.

" I, last winter, sent two vessels under an intelligent officer of the Bombay marine, to survey and examine the great Andaman, who discovered two good harbours, one of which on the east side, near the south end of the island, appears capable of containing all the fleets of Europe, and is so circumstanced as to be very easy to repair to or to depart from at any season in the year, and during either of the monsoons, and may be supplied with provisions from hence in a very short time, especially in the north-east monsoon. The inhabitants are Caffres, and although they are by no means inclined to be civil to strangers, are not of so ferocious a disposition as they have been reported; they live entirely on fish, and there are no animals but wild hogs, and no appearance of cultivation. I intend to send the same officer, Captain Blair, in August, to take possession of the island, and in particular of this harbour, and I should hope that in the course of the winter you would either go in person, or send some officers on whom you can depend, to pass a final judgment on this very important business. If it should be found to answer, I should remove the establishment from Prince of Wales's

Island thither. I have kept this discovery as secret as I could, and of course you will do the same.

"The King's recovery has made me very happy. I shall continue to write to you as anything occurs to me that I think you would wish to know. Matters here go on prosperously, and you will hear at Madras that the French are going to withdraw their military establishments to Mauritius and leave only a factory at Pondicherry. If it should come in your way to be personally civil to the Comte de Conway, I beg to recommend it to you, as he has uniformly shown me the greatest attention. I cannot express how happy I shall be to see you."

The Same to the Same.

1789, June 29. Calcutta.—"I heard yesterday that the *Sulivan* Indiaman had arrived at Madras on the 11th instant, and reported that you was going into Madeira Road on the 26th of February, where you meant only to stay a week, and then proceed without touching at any other place to Madras.

"I am afraid I was too discouraging in my letter of the 27th about bringing your large frigates hither; there can be no danger if proper care is taken, as they do not draw so much water as an Indiaman. I recollected that the *Venus*, a French frigate of 36 guns, struck and suffered considerable damage in the year 1786, but, on particular enquiry, I learned that it was entirely owing to their own carelessness in not observing the directions of the pilot about their cable when they came to an anchor.

"I think you will find Madras very disagreeable, and I am sure on every account you will be glad to come here as soon as possible. Any of your ships will lay very well at Diamond harbour, at which place the seamen of the India ships, who are not taken much care of, have by no means been sickly, and you shall have as much quiet here as your situation will admit of."

Lord Hood to the Hon. William Cornwallis, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies.

[1789], August 18. Plymouth Dock.—"I cannot write to you so fully as my inclinations lead me to do, being in attendance upon their Majesties. I arrived here on Thursday, to see all was right for the royal reception. The King, Queen, and Princesses came to Lord Borringdon's at Saltram Saturday afternoon, and are expected every moment in this dock-yard. To-morrow the King reviews the Evolution squadron of seven sail of the line, wind and weather permitting, and it is understood his Majesty will remain in this neighbourhood until the 24th.

"I flatter myself you will be pleased to see Sir Richard Strachan's orders signed by our mutual friend Sir F. S. Drake, whose seat at the Admiralty Board is highly gratifying to me."

Earl Cornwallis to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1789, September 5. Calcutta.—"As the length of your voyage has exceeded my expectation, I will not pretend to calculate the

time when you may arrive, but in case you should not have determined how to dispose of your squadron, which must leave the coast of Coromandel by the 14th of next month, I wish to give you every information I can to assist your decision. If you mean when you come hither in a frigate to order the rest of the ships to Bombay, I know of no political objection to it; you will hear much at Madras of Tippoo's intention to attack our ally the Rajah of Travancore, but the same reports have prevailed for these last two years, and I think it highly improbable that he would adopt so rash a measure, at a time when his tributary Rajahs on the coast of Malabar are nearly in a state of rebellion, when he can expect no possible assistance from the French, and when he must be assured that our whole force would be employed against him, and has the greatest reason to apprehend that we are sufficiently connected with the Marattas and the Nizam to induce them to attack his northern frontier. But even in the event of Tippoo's commencing hostilities, I should conceive in the approaching season that the fleet might co-operate as usefully on the Malabar as on the Coromandel coast. If you should wish to keep the ships on the eastern side of the Peninsula, you may either send them to Trincomalè, of the convenience of which place you will get better information at Madras than I can give you, or, what I should think preferable, to Prince of Wales's Island, where the climate is good, and the ships will lay in perfect security; and where I am assured they will find provisions of all sorts in abundance except wheat, of which we can send supplies from hence to any amount.

"I have sent Blair again to the Andaman Island, but shall keep the *Viper* sloop, which is to follow him, as long as I conveniently can, that you may have an opportunity of conveying any orders or directions that you may think proper to give to Lieutenant Blair.

"My last letter from the Bishop was dated the 27th of March, all well; they foolishly sent on a letter hither from him to you, which came by the same ship, and was directed to Madras."

The Nabob Wallajah Behauder to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1789, September 22. Chepauck.—Praying him to represent to the Governor General the inconveniences under which he is suffering and obtain him relief. It is impossible for him to pay the July kist as stipulated, his treaty made with Sir Archibald Campbell having far exceeded his abilities of payment, and he therefore prays either for a reduction of the amount or indulgence in point of time. The late treaty sent out by the Court of Directors administers some relief, but being accompanied with requisitions degrading to his dignity, he cannot accede to it as it now stands.

W. W. Grenville to Commodore the Hon William Cornwallis.

1789, November 2. Whitehall.—"Mons. de Mollinedo, secretary to the embassy from the Court of Spain, having represented that it is his Catholic Majesty's intention to fit out two frigates, under

the command of Don Alexander Melaspina and Don Joseph Butamente, for the purpose of making a voyage round the world, . . . I have the King's commands to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that in case the said ships should arrive within the limits of your command, you are to show them every degree of attention, and to afford to the commanders of them any assistance which they may stand in need of." *Signea.*

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, February 8. Calcutta.—"Everything in the Carnatic and in Travancore by my last advices remained in the same situation as when I last wrote to you.

"It Abercromby should be able to attempt a diversion on the Malabar coast, you will I am sure give him all the assistance in your power. It may likewise be proper, so long as the weather on that coast will permit, that some cruisers should prevent the importation of troops, arms, or military stores into Tippoo's territories. I should hardly think that the Compte de Conway would interfere, or afford assistance to Tippoo of any kind, but if, on the contrary, any French vessels with a considerable number of troops or quantity of stores should come upon that coast under pretence of going to their settlement at Mahie, I think they should be told that they may proceed to Pondicherry, but that as Mahie is only an inconsiderable factory and not a place of arms, and that consequently the troops and stores can only be intended for the use of our enemy *Tippoo Sultaun*, we cannot permit them to be landed at Mahie, or at any port upon the coast of Malabar."

ADMIRAL J. LEVESON-GOWER to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, February 19. Charles Street, Berkeley Square.—"Soon after you left this country I was obliged to resign the Admiralty. I had before Christmas met some things which were very disagreeable to me, but on my return to town after those holidays, I found so much of what might really be called incivility, that as soon as his Majesty was said to be well enough recovered to do business, I gave in my resignation. It was, however, August before a new patent was made out, when Sir Samuel Drake's name appeared. He has been worried out of his life by a wife, and our friend Gardner is now there. I hope he will long remain there, for he is a most worthy and honourable man. He has been chosen for Plymouth without opposition, but Macbride threatens mighty things against him at the general election. . . .

"As soon as I found myself totally at liberty I set out for Staffordshire and visited Trentham, where I had not been since 1753. It is very much improved; more so indeed than any place I have ever seen altered. . . . I forgot to tell you that upon Drake's death the Admiralty was offered to Hotham, who would not accept it. You may depend on this being true, because he told me so himself, and you know he is always very correct in what he says.

. . . My Edward was perfectly well on board the *Eurydice* at Villa Franca, the 22 of December. He is said to have taken kindly to his profession. Mrs. Leveson and the six others are perfectly well."

EARL CORNWALLIS AND COUNCIL to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, February 26. Fort William.—" The unprovoked hostilities which Tippoo Sultaun has commenced against our ally, the Rajah of Travancore, . . . can be considered in no other light by us than an open declaration of war, and we have accordingly sent instructions to the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay to attack the territories of Tippoo, and to use every means in their power to oblige him to desist from his present violent and unjust undertaking, and to obtain reparation to the Rajah. . . . .

" We cannot at present determine how far any of the military operations may stand in need of the assistance of his Majesty's squadron, but we are well assured that if the governments of Fort St. George or Bombay should make application to you for such aid as you may think it in your power to afford, you will be perfectly well disposed to comply with their request.

" We have every reason to believe that the French government in this country will not be disposed to countenance the unwarrantable conduct of Tippoo, but if, contrary to our expectation, your cruizers should fall in with any vessels of that nation with a considerable number of troops on board or with a large quantity of military stores, on the Malabar coast, the commanders of which may pretend that they are going to their small factory at Mahie, we are of opinion that they should be informed that, if they please, they may proceed to Pondicherry, but that they cannot be permitted to land their troops or stores either at Mahie or at any port on the coast of Malabar, as we are convinced that, in that case, they must be intended for the use of our enemy, Tippoo Sultaun.

" The letters which the Governor of Columbo, Mr. Vander Graff, has written to the government of Fort St. George, express not only a friendly disposition towards us but an earnest concern for the protection of the Rajah of Travancore, on which perhaps the safety of the Dutch Settlement at Cochin may in great measure depend. He likewise mentions some intelligence which he has received of the number of troops at the *Isles de France*, and seems to give more credit than we do to the probability of a French interference.

" We have requested him to keep a watchful eye on the French, and to forward to you any information which he may acquire." *Signed*—Cornwallis, Chas. Stuart, Peter Spike.

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, March 1. Calcutta.—" . . . The Dutch have reinforced Cochin, and seem much afraid of Tippoo; they say he can get by water to Cochin without taking the formidable Travancore lines. If so mad an attempt was to be made by Tippoo, I think we should

be fully justified in sinking his boats if we could get at them; but I am told the water is very shallow, and that there is a dangerous bar off Cochin."

CAPTAIN JAMES CORNWALLIS to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander in Chief, &c., East Indies.

1790, March 3. *Crown.* Bombay Harbour.—Resigning his post as Captain of the *Crown*, on the ground of ill-health.

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, March 8. Calcutta.—Private. "The *Vestal* arrived here on the 4th instant with our Europe letters, and this morning Captain Delgarno brought me yours dated the 30th of January and 1st of February from *Noncowrey harbour*.

"I shall not at present enter into the merit of the different harbours, although upon the whole I am glad to find that you are disposed to think favourably of Port Cornwallis.

"Sir Richard Strachan's orders leave it to me to send him back to Europe or to China; the latter I by no means think advisable, and I propose to desire him to carry some treasure for us to Masulipatam about the latter end of this month for the use of Cockerell's detachment; and I shall direct him to proceed afterwards to Madras, where he will wait for the receipt of your orders. If you should be of opinion that it will not be necessary to detain him in this country, on account of our breach with Tippoo, we may perhaps find it convenient to send him home in lieu of an August packet.

"I should suppose that as soon as you may think your stay no longer necessary on the Malabar coast you will proceed to Madras, and consult with Medows whether the fleet can give any assistance to his operations, which I should hardly think probable, and you will then take your measures in regard to going to the Andamans or Prince of Wales's Island as you shall judge most proper. I shall of course write to you about the time that I guess you may arrive at Madras. Delgarno may still follow your instructions, except in leaving Madras with your letters until he shall have very good reason to believe that you will not touch at Madras, when you leave the Malabar coast.

"We have the most flattering accounts of the good disposition of the Marattas and the Nizam.

"I have sent you some Europe letters, but I hope you received some at Bombay. Our friends are all well, and the Bishop has set about altering Culford House in good earnest."

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Bombay.

1790, March 30. Madras.—The Nabob having taken no means to liquidate his debt, "though the late Governor had indulged him with forbearance *upon being well paid for it*," General Medows has

put his territories under a sort of sequestration, and appointed four receivers of the revenues.

Some months ago I gave you some information respecting Cheil Naig, the Polygar, who was committing depredations in the Carnatic, about Vellore and Arnee, to divert our attention from Tippoo's operations to the Southward. "I can now inform you from indubitable authority (from the very camp of the Polygar at the passes) that Tippoo has ordered that Polygar Cheil Naig to be the instrument to execute the most barbarous and cruel commands of that monster in the Carnatic. He has absolutely sent him a reinforcement of 2,000 horse, with positive orders to place emissaries in our camp near Wallajoubad, and the moment the army begins to move, to pour his horse and banditti into the Carnatic, and carry fire and sword in every direction. I trust, however, that this government will in part prevent the evil, as I know there is this moment before them a proposal *from a confidential servant of Cheil Naig* for *securing his person* and *putting him in our hands*, upon the condition of appointing the man who sends this proposal a Polygar . . . but if the reply is not sent this day, the opportunity will be lost. . . ."

Postscript.—"The assumption of the Nabob's territories into the hands of Government will decidedly put a period to those pecuniary speculations at the Durbar which have long disgraced this Presidency. Those who have *lately* been concerned in transactions of that [kind] will get neither principal nor interest, and even the former creditors of the consolidated debt cannot expect any interest till the war is over."

Postscript, Tuesday evening.—I learn by a letter from Col. Ross that Lord Cornwallis is satisfied with the information I have been able to send him, and wishes me to continue to transmit it. As I see no hopes of joining you immediately, I intend to take the field with the army; the General having been pleased to commend my doing so, "as a clergyman in the field gave a decorum to several necessary and unavoidable occurrences. . . . The person who laid before Government Rhangapati Nauk's proposal concerning Cheil Naig is ordered to attend at the Governor's house this evening. Tippoo is moving to the centre of the Mysore country, and thence towards the passes between that country and the Carnatic."

EARL HOWE to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, &c., East Indies.

1790, April 24. Grafton Street.—"Your favour of the 10th of last November was not received until yesterday. And in acknowledgement of your obliging sentiments, I take the earliest opportunity to assure you I shall be always happy when any of my suggestions and services can be made acceptible to you.

"The plan you have formed for obtaining a pertect knowledge of the navigation and circumstances from whence advantage may be derived by an intelligent naval commander on your extensive station, will supply you with materials which I am inclined to think few of your predecessors have been equally studious to

acquire. And I shall have very great pleasure in the communication of any such particulars as you are at liberty and have leisure to transmit.

"Diego Garcia I always understood to be little more than a barren sand, affording anchorage perhaps, but not water to be otherwise collected (and in small quantities) [than] by sinking wells on the beach. The Andamans and eastern coasts contiguous may possibly contain many much more desirable situations for shelter and refreshments. But I have always been of opinion that no more settlements should be made in such posts than we are able to occupy with such force as is competent to resist almost every attack that could be made upon them. *Establishments* less considerable seem to me of little more effect than to point out to an enemy the extent of our resources, and subject us to disappointments.

"Your efforts, my estimable friend, to abolish corruption, will be an Herculean labour, unless you can find purity in the natives. I did propose a coalition with the India Directors, on the last prospect of a rupture with France, that the India Company should assist us with stores to be furnished here by the Crown; but the conference did not proceed far enough to take any substantial form. But be not discouraged in your most commendable pursuit. The disinterested principles of the commander will most assuredly operate with good effect to check the peculation which cannot be wholly prevented; for you cannot take the direction of all the inferior branches of service upon yourself.

"You say that 'all ideas of common honesty are supposed to be left behind, on passing the Cape.' If they are understood to have been deposited with our good allies in that vicinity, I fear the portion of that good quality we had to boast was not great in quantity. It did not appear so at least by their conduct towards us in the passage of our ships out and home, consequent of the late war.

"The reports you had heard of Lord Sydney and Leveson's removal you will have had confirmed long before this can come to your hands; and, also, that those limited changes have not in any respect lessened the stability of Government here. You will hear, I conclude, from the latter, his motives for quitting his situation.

"The commotions in France, which do not seem likely yet to end in any settled Constitution and established Government, promise to give you opportunity to pass the season of your continuance in India free from foreign disturbances; and as you give me the pleasure of knowing that Lord Cornwallis is in perfect health, I hope for your sake, as well as the public benefit, that it may be agreeable to him to prefer taking his passage to Europe in the *Crown*, rather than at an earlier period."

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, April 26. Admiralty.—"I give you a thousand thanks for your very obliging letter of November 6th, and am happy you carried the squadron under your command in such high health to

Bengal. The length of the passage was of no consequence compared with the healthy state of every ship.

"I rejoice exceedingly at the good account you give of Lord Cornwallis. I had the honour of seeing the Bishop of Lichfield at St. James's the day I had the pleasure of receiving your letter, and his Lordship was in wonderful spirits upon the delightful contents of Lord Cornwallis's letters, as well as yours. . . .

"I am well aware that you must have much to do to guard against the impositions a Commander-in-Chief is liable to at such a distance from England; but you may rest assured of the most perfect satisfaction of this Board that, upon every occasion, you will act for the true interest and advantage of the public. Naval stores were sent to Bombay in —— last, and I hope and trust you will find them there upon your arrival.

"You will ere this know that our worthy friend Sir F. S. Drake was suddenly taken from us in October last, and that Gardner succeeds him at this Board, and member for Plymouth, Fanshawe being made Commissioner, in the room of Sir John Laforey, gone to the Leeward Island command. Sir Charles Middleton has resigned the Comptrollership of the navy, Mr. Martin succeeds him, and your friend Saxton is Commissioner at Portsmouth. You will likewise hear, before this can reach you, of the *Bounty* armed ship being run away by a part of her crew, under the direction of a Mr. Christian, one of her Master's mates. Probably you may think it right to send one of your frigates to Otaheité to endeavour to recover her.

"I am sorry to inform you of the loss of the *Guardian*, commanded by Lieutenant Riou, in Latitude 44 south, Longitude 42 East, going to New South Wales. He had left the Cape about a fortnight when she ran foul of a prodigious island of ice on the 23rd of December; and, on the 25th, the water being up to her gun deck, her boats were hoisted out for such as chose to take that chance for their safety. Some few got into the boats; and one of those boats, after leaving the ship, was taken up very providentially on the 10th day by a French ship from the Mauritius, bound to the Cape with troops. At the moment the poor creatures were so worn out by thirst, hunger, and fatigue, that they could not have lived three days longer; and there appears to me not a shadow of hope that any other in the other boats can be saved. Poor Riou was determined to take the fate of the *Guardian*, and resisted all persuasion to take to a boat. I send you a letter he wrote at the moment the master left the ship. Lord and Lady Camelford are *in the deepest* distress upon this melancholy catastrophe; their only son being in the *Guardian*, and would not quit Riou."

Enclosing :—

E. Riou to Philip Stephens.

[1789]. December 25.—"If ever any part of the officers or crew of the *Guardian* should survive to get home, I have only to say their conduct, after the fatal stroke against the island of ice, was admirable and wonderful in

everything that related to their duties, considered either as private men, or his Majesty's service.

"As there seems to be no possibility of my remaining many hours in this world, I beg leave to recommend to the consideration of the Admiralty a sister, who, if my services and conduct should be found deserving any memory, their favour might be shewn to her, together with a widowed mother." *Copy.*

On the same sheet. A list of those saved:—
Thomas Clement, master; Rich. Farquarson, purser; John Crowther, chaplain to the settlement; Arthur Wadman, master's mate; Rich. S. Trimlet, midshipman; John Somerville, gunner; William Tidd, quarter-master; and 8 seamen.

LADY M. SINGLETON to her uncle, COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, April 26. London.—Rejoices that he has found her "Papa" so well, and is so himself. Great alterations are being made at Culford, which will, she thinks, be a charming house, and which she hopes will be ready to receive her Papa when he comes home. Her brother has gone back to Eton.

MRS. C[AROLINE] CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, April 28. Seymour Place.—". . . How generous Exchequer Charles has been to give his nephew, John Townshend, 10,000*l.* upon his marriage."

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Madras.

1790, April. 29. Wimpole Street.—"Your friend Saxton is certainly Commissioner at Portsmouth, in the room of Comptroller Martin. Sir Charles Middleton enjoys his release from office very much. . . . Leveson was last Summer at Trentham and is to be chosen for Newcastle in the next Parliament. You and Phillipson are to be chosen at Eye. Erskine will be returned for Portsmouth, government having quite lost it. There is a very strong opposition for Cambridge University. Lord Euston, if he should gain his election, will owe it to Mr. Pitt, who is all powerful everywhere. There is an opposition in Suffolk by Vanneck, but a fruitless one, as all the gentlemen of the county support Bunbury and Rous. A great many Admirals have died this year, and a promotion is talked of. . . . Everything goes on very quietly in Parliament this winter. No opposition. I told you before, I believe, of the two matches in the Townshend family; Lord Townshend's daughter, Lady Elizabeth, to Col. Loftus, and Lord Sydney's eldest son to Miss Southwell, daughter of Lady de Clifford.

W. W. Grenville to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, May 6. Whitehall.—Secret. Informing him that in consequence of the capture of some British vessels on the north west coast of America by two Spanish ships of war, his Majesty has taken measures for augmenting his forces, although it is hoped that war will be averted. *Signed.*

Lady C[harlotte] Madan to her brother, Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, May 7. Peterborough.—Thanking him for the good accounts which he sends of her son Charles, who writes that he is very proud of both his uncles. The Dean of Lichfield and Mrs. Proby are full of gratitude for his kindness to their son.

Henry Dundas to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, May 9. London.—"I will attend to your representations, but, unluckily, Lord Howe has never been very cordial in the business. . . . On the approach of a general election, one must be attentive to the requests of Chief Magistrates. Mr. Glegg, the son of the Chief Magistrate of the burgh of Montrose, is a clerk on board your ship. It does not occur to me how the mention of him to you can be of any service to him, but have been requested to do it."

W. W. Grenville, Secretary of State, to Earl Cornwallis.

1790, May 12. Whitehall.—Most secret. Proposing (in case of a war with Spain) an expedition from the East Indies against the Philippine Islands; suggesting what troops might be spared, and asking Lord Cornwallis to consult with General Medows and Commodore Cornwallis concerning the preliminary steps for facilitating the execution of such a design. *Signed.*

Lord Brome to his Uncle, Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis, Madras.

1790, May 16. Eton.—"I received a letter from you the other day, together with one from *the Governor*, and am glad to hear you got safe to Madras. . . .

"They talk of a dissolution of Parliament soon, and there is a great deal of canvassing going forwards in all parts of the Kingdom. I suppose you intend to stand for Eye this time in conjunction with General Phillipson. If you are not here, he will very well do for *two*, and I think it will be no easy matter to chair him."

Mrs. C. Cornwallis to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, June 3. Seymour Place.—"I cannot let Sir Charles Oakley set off for Madras without sending you a few lines. . . . We understand he goes to succeed General Meadows, who is looked upon here as Lord Cornwallis' successor at Bengal. . . . The

Bishop will give you a good account of Lord Brome and his own boys, they have had a fine Montem at Eton, and collected above 500*l.* for the Captain of the school. . . ."

W. W. Grenville to Earl Cornwallis.

1790, June 5. Whitehall.—Stating that no formal answer has yet been received from Spain; also that the news of Tippoo Sultan's attack makes them fear whether any considerable detachment can be spared from India for offensive operations, but that, as the Philippines are believed to be unprepared for defence, it is hoped that one or two battalions of Europeans and some native troops might be spared to dispossess the Spaniards at Manilla, without looking to any further operations in the South Seas. Hopes that the European forces actually in India would be sufficient to carry on a war with Tippoo, but, if necessary, measures will be taken for sending out re-inforcements. Has written to Commodore Cornwallis, desiring him to co-operate with his Lordship in any operation against the Spanish possessions (in the event of war); a re-inforcement of the fleet will be sent out without delay; also a sufficient quantity of salt provisions for the use of five thousand men for six months. *Copy.*

W. W. Grenville to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, June 5. Whitehall.—Stating that in case of war with Spain, his Majesty has the fullest confidence in the Commodore's zeal and hearty co-operation with the Commander-in-chief of the forces, and desires him, without loss of time, to concert with his Lordship how the fleet may best assist in any expedition that may, in such event, be planned against the Spanish possessions. A ship of the line and one or more frigates are to be sent out at once; and a fifty gun ship and a frigate will be sent to Canton to convoy the China ships through the Indian seas, after which they will join the Indian squadron. *Signed.*

Lord Hood to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, June 6. Admiralty.—". . . We have been preparing for war against Spain a month, and I have the pleasure to say we have now all the guardships at Spithead completely manned, with the addition of the *Victory;* and, in four or five days more, the *Princess Royal*, *Illustrious*, *Saturn*, *Courageous*, and *Valiant* will be there also; and I imagine they will all be at sea the end of next week. Admiral Barrington has his flag in the *Barfleur*, Sir Alexander Hood in the *Victory* for the present, until the *Royal George* and *London*, the ships fitting for them, are ready. Admiral Hotham's and Sir John Jervis's flags are also flying; and, I imagine, all will put to sea together, under the command of Barrington. The *Queen Charlotte* is fitting for Lord Howe, and will be at Blackstairs on the 10th. Sir Richard King commands in the Downs, and

Dalrymple at the Nore. Should we come to blows, which at present is very uncertain, you will have full employment. Lord Chatham proposes sending to you a good seventy-four and two or three stout frigates. The *Leopard* is commissioned and given to Captain Blankett, who is meant to go to China with the *Iris*, Captain Trowbridge, for the protection of the Company's ships in January and February, and then to join you. . . ."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, June 7. London.—". . . A dissolution of Parliament is talked of for next week, and I begin to believe it. Indeed, there is so much canvassing and drinking, and other bad effects of electioneering are so spreading, that a dissolution will be very beneficial to the country. The bailiffs of Eye have expressed to me the greatest satisfaction on having you to represent them. Sir Horace Mann is a candidate for Sandwich in Kent, against Lord Parker. Both say they are sure. Pitt's popularity continues to predominate as much as ever. All your sea friends seem to be very alert upon the possibility of a Spanish war; and there is no disinclination to the service or obstruction from party as heretofore. Lord Townsend is now quite a ministerial supporter. He fell fast asleep the other day during a very composing speech of Lord Stormont, and fell down on the ground, was carried out by the Prince, recovered soon and spoke in favour of Ministry. Lord Leicester's * new place in the Mint turns out, I am told, 4,000*l*. per annum. How fortunate! But he will soon succeed his father, who is evidently declining very fast.

"The King was never better, and upon the whole, we seem to be going on very well.

"I shall go to Culford next week, and hope to find a great progress in the house. Palgrave was here the other day, I shewed him the plan of the house at Culford, of which he expressed much approbation. It will certainly be a most excellent house, and I think the whole expense cannot exceed 5,000*l*.

"Your friend Leveson stands for Newcastle-under-Line upon Lord Stafford's interest, but has unluckily a formidable opposition. You have been very kind indeed to Whitby."

Christopher Wells to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, June 20. Camp, Carour. ". . . I have (in addition to what I have already had the honour of communicating respecting the abuses in the several departments of the navy in the last war) to inform you that I find the sail-making branch afforded ample scope for peculation, and a very expensive one it was to Government. Mr. de Souza (agent to Mr. Cuthbert) *nominally* superin-

* George, eldest son of Marquis Townshend, cr. Earl of Leicester, May, 1784.

tended the business, but Mr. Cuthbert was the *principal*, and a master of a line of battle ship (I believe of the Flagship) personally directed the whole; who, besides a handsome additional daily pay from Government, actually received from Mr. Cuthbert *douceurs* to a very considerable amount. . . .

22nd. "This morning a body of the enemy's horse (in number about 600) appeared on the left flank of our camp and approached close to our outposts. The cavalry formed, and Col. Floyd, of the 19th regiment of dragoons, with two troops of that corps and five or six troops of native cavalry, marched in pursuit of them. In the meantime, these merciless wretches wantonly cut down all the poor followers of our camp they could see, who were out collecting firewood, straw, &c., and drove off some of our gun bullocks . . . burnt the stacks of straw, villages, &c., through which they passed. The enemy's horse made so precipitate a retreat into the enclosed part of the country that Col. Floyd could not overtake them. . . .

"You have been, Sir, already apprised of the manner in which I was employed at Madras for some time previous to the army's taking the field. . . . I flatter myself that the information I was enabled to transmit, contributed in some small degree to constitute that body of intelligence and *facts* which so amply authorized the change in the Government of Fort St. George (by the removal of Messrs. Hollond and Maylor from the Council) which at length enabled the General [Medowes] to take the field. *In the meantime*, the army was to be under the command of an officer inimical and unfavourably disposed towards Lord Cornwallis and Col. Ross. This fact I knew at that time . . . and I determined to join and attend the army as long as it should seem expedient, for it was clear to me that, while Col. Musgrave was at the head of it, Lord C. and Col: R. would not receive regular information. . . . The character of Col. M. seems to be a compound of pride, weakness, meanness, narrow jealousy, and peevishness added to *no small share* of *avarice*, which last propensity he was indulging in very freely when the General happily arrived.

"And now, Sir, the end for which I joined the army being fully answered, and my continuance in it no longer necessary (for the General possesses the full confidence of the Governor-General, and is, indeed, a most respectable and upright character), I am ready to obey your commands. . . .

June 24. "Advice is just received that a large body of Tippoo's horse, to the number of three or four thousand, have advanced to within fifteen miles of this camp. Some few of the enemy's horse have this moment been brought into camp, taken by a party of our cavalry. . . . The principal horseman reports that there are 4,000 horse at Avracouchee (20 miles in our front, and in our route) under the command of Seyd Sing Sahib, a confidential general officer of Tippoo's, who made a conspicuous figure in the last war in the Carnatic. Tippoo himself, he says, is at Coimbatore, about 80 miles distant. The orders to-day announce our marching in a few days . . . Heaven grant no accident befals our good and worthy General! If the command devolved on the second I fear all would not be well."

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, July 2. Camp, Carour.—". . . The army will move on in a day or two . . . If the enemy's forces have quitted Coimbatore and retired into Mysore, the opinion of the military is that we shall go immediately to the southward, into Dindigul."

I wrote to you at Bombay, "acquainting you with the wretched conduct of some of the civil servants of the Company, particularly with respect to some pecuniary transactions at the Court of the Nabob, and frauds upon the public. . . The principal in that business was Mr. Johnstone, paymaster at Tritchinopoly, whose frauds on the public, the Nabob, and individuals, amount to the immense sum of upwards of three lacks of Pagodas, or 120,000*l. sterling*. It will, I am sure, give you pleasure to hear that he is secured, and when secured, was on the point of embarking at Pondicherry. As a *public defaulter*, that government gave him up, and I suppose by this time he is in durance at Madras. . . . It would really shock you to hear a recital of all the peculations practised—during the late Government particularly—and even previous to that in a smaller degree, but latterly by *example* and permission." The hospital expences also "had been made (by Mr. Cuthbert) in the last war, the *source of great imposition*, though the surgeons were well paid by Government, and *himself*."

Postscript.—"Since writing the foregoing, I have heard something of our intended route and immediate operations. We march in a S. S.W. direction to Auracouchy [? Arava Kurichi], seventeen miles, keeping the river on our right; from thence to Ayaracottah in a S. S.E. direction. There the main body of the army will halt, while a detachment moves on to attack Dindigul Fort. When that is secured, the army moves on to Coimbatore, where, *it is said*, Tippoo's army still remains and cannot retire, as an epidemical disorder is sweeping away their carriage and draught bullocks and horses in great numbers."

ADMIRALTY COMMISSIONERS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, July 30.—Desiring him to take Captain Blankett and Captain Troubridge under his command, with their ships, the *Leopard* and the *Thames*. *Signed* Chatham, Hood.

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, August 26. Camp, Coimbatore.—"I have the honour of acquainting you that the strong and well-defended fortress of Dindigul surrendered to the detachment sent against [it] under Lieut-Col. Stuart on the 22nd inst. Our batteries (of four 18-pounders and two 12's) opened on the 20th in the morning, but made no impression that day. On the 21st, in the afternoon, a breach was made, but it did not prove a practicable one. It was, however, deemed advisable to attempt the reduction by storm

accordingly Major Skelly, with the two flank companies of the 52nd regiment and one company of the 1st European infantry and two native battalions proceeded to the assault, but finding the wall upon the rubbish still more than breast high, they were obliged, after a very hot and well supported contest to retire, with the loss of one officer of the 20th battalion, twenty-five Europeans killed and wounded, and about the same number of Seapoys.

"The next morning, however, before they could resume the attack, the white flag appeared. The garrison agreed to surrender on being permitted to march out with their private property. . . . In the Fort were found fourteen guns and a great quantity of ammunition and shot of every description and in every shape, and (what is *very extraordinary*) it appears that most of it was made up at, and must have been sent *from Madras!* Twenty thousand cullums of Padda were also lodged in the fort. A cullum is about sixty measures.

"Major Skelly had a narrow escape. A musket ball passed through his hat, but did him no injury. I had the honour in my last to inform you of the reduction of Errode, Col. Floyd, with three regiments of cavalry (the 19th, 3rd, and 5th) with a large body of infantry and artillery, have passed the river and are to reduce Sattamungalum and two other forts, and then seek Syed Sahib, who is sent back with his cavalry on this side the pass. It is expected that a force will go in a few days against Palaghautcherry. When that is reduced, it is supposed the whole army will ascend the Mysore country. The fortifications at Dindigul are new, and admirably executed."

The Same to the Same.

1790, Sept. 5. Camp at Coimbatour.—"The strong and important fortress of Dendigul surrendered to the forces under Lieut-Col. Stuart on the 22nd ult. . . . In the meantime, Lieut-Col. Floyd, with three regiments of cavalry, and Lieut.-Col. Oldham with infantry and artillery, crossed the river Bhavani, and on the 27th ult., the fort of Sattamungalum, near the foot of the Guzzelhatty (or Gudgereddy) Pass, surrendered after exchanging a harmless shot or two. And on the 29th, Lieut.-Col. Stuart, with the forces under his command, marched from Dindigul to attack Pallaghautcherry, where it is expected he will arrive on the 8th, and in the meantime, some heavy guns are ordered to march from this camp to re-inforce him. This is the only place to be reduced below the Ghauts. It is a strong and regular fortification, with a wet ditch 60 feet wide and 30 deep. It is therefore capable of making a stout resistance. But when once a breach is effected, the garrisons in this country immediately surrender, from the dread of receiving no quarter.

"In the midst of these important, active, and extensive operations, the General is directing every exertion to be made in forming a grand magazine of provisions, &c., at Erode and Sattamungalum, for the supply of the whole army when it moves on to ascend the

heights. There can, I think, be little doubt of our retaining quiet possession of these rich provinces. They will prove the greatest and most valuable acquisition to the East India Company (or the public) which has ever been made in India. I have taken some pains to ascertain their present annual value. The annual amount of the crops at large appears to be *eighteen lacks of pagodas*, or 720,000*l.* sterling, One moiety, or 360,000*l.* sterling, will be the annual *acquired* revenue to the public, and, *I am sure*, it is very improvable under able managers of integrity; and I am convinced, while General Medowes governs, no others will be employed.

"A Vakeel or ambassador from the old King of Travancore is now in our camp. That prince is to send six battalions of his veteran Nagrs or Sepoys to assist in garrisoning the forts we have taken, to prevent our reducing the strengh of our army. I wish the Nizam and the Mahrattoes were more warm and active on their parts. The business would soon be settled. Tis wonderful and pleasing to see the confidence and felicity of the inhabitants, all busy in their usual occupations. In the hands of their conquerors they find themselves in the bosom of their friends! Not *persecuted* but *protected*."[23]

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, at Madras.

1790, September 19. Calcutta.—"Private. . . . I am very sorry to hear that the sickness on board the *Phœnix* does not abate. We are getting healthier here, but the weather is growing warmer as the rains abate.

"We have sent home bills drawn by Montigny on the French government in the *Houghton*, so that the money must go to the Isle of France, as we have received value, or what we suppose to be value, for it. Things remain in the same state at Chandernagore, but I do not know the exact situation of affairs at Mauritius, or whether Conway is or is not a free agent.

"The *Warren Hastings* Indiaman . . . arrived here this morning. . . . Grenville tells me that the King is perfectly well, that he thinks we shall avoid a war, and not abet our friend the King of Prussia in any unreasonable demands, and lastly, that he does not think Pitt has anything to fear from the dissolution of Parliament. Ross had a letter mentioning some ill humour with Spain, about an intended settlement of ours on California, but I suppose it must allude to the business of the two ships of ours which were taken by them."

The SAME to the SAME.

1790, October 2 Calcutta.—"Private. I last night received letters overland from Mr. Dundas and Mr. Grenville, informing me of the great probability of a rupture with Spain, with directions from the latter for offensive operations from our settlements here, which the Mysore war, for the present at least, renders impracticable. As I conclude, from the circumstance I have

mentioned, that if the war takes place, your squadron will be immediately re-inforced, it appears to me that you will probably assemble the ships without loss of time at Bombay, and if Sir Richard Strachan should come here, I shall send him to you. . . .

"I can hardly believe that the Spaniards will go to war with us, but their active preparations and the answers they have hitherto given to our claim of satisfaction for the ships which they captured in Nootka Bay are very suspicious.

"I am sanguine enough to have some hopes of demolishing Tippoo by January next." *Signed. Fine seal of arms.*

The Same to the Same.

1790, October 5. Calcutta.—Private. "I have received a letter from Mr. Grenville, dated the 13th of May, by the way of Suez, informing me that there was great reason to expect an immediate rupture with Spain, and describing a most extensive outline of operations to be undertaken by our forces from this country, which unfortunately the cursed Mysore war renders for the present absolutely impracticable.

"I take it for granted that you will assemble your squadron as soon as possible at Bombay, to which place your orders and re-inforcements will of course be sent.

"We shall probably be able to form some guess by the middle of December, whether it will be possible to spare any troops from India this season, even if we could only undertake a part of Mr. Grenville's plan; and if, which I apprehend will be the case, it should not appear to be possible, you will very likely think it right to send cruisers.

"I shall in a few days transmit a copy of Mr. Grenville's letter for your fuller information in the Company's cipher to Bombay, and I shall desire *General* Abercromby to give you the key to it, and to direct the secretary to explain it to you. I do not see in the present situation of affairs that I can make any part of the preparation recommended by Mr. Grenville, except by salting some meat here, which may be used by the squadron to save what will be sent from England, as I understand that the meat salted here with the greatest care cannot be depended upon to last more than one year.

"If Sir Richard comes here I shall send him immediately to join you at Bombay, and he shall bring you my private cipher, which you will find much more easy and expeditious than that of Government.

"There are reports of a promotion of Admirals, including you, but as Mr. Grenville in his letter calls you Commodore, it certainly had not at that time actually taken place. Abercromby and Musgrave are Major Generals." *Fine seal of arms in garter.*

Sir Alexander Hood to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1790, October 28. *Royal Sovereign*, Spithead.—Thanking him for giving a commission to his relative, Mr. Newman, on the

recommendation of Lord Chatham, to whom he is also related, and stating that public affairs are "in a great bustle," it being said that a few days will determine the great question of peace or war.

LORD GRENVILLE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, November 9. Whitehall.—Sending him a copy of the convention between his Majesty and the King of Spain, and sincerely congratulating him "upon this fortunate termination of the negotiation . . . which has removed the apprehensions which were entertained of a rupture with that Court, and will enable his Majesty's officers in India to turn their whole attention to the prosecution of the war which has arisen there." *Signed.*

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, November 30. Calcutta.—"Private. I take the opportunity of the departure of *His Majesty's schooner* the *Dispatch* to send you a copy of Mr. Grenville's letters.

"Our whole land force in this country must for the present be employed in the Mysore war, which I consider in so serious a light that I am on the point of embarking to take the direction of it into my own hands. During the continuance of this war, which I am now, if possible, more than ever anxious to see the conclusion of, you can have no co-operation from us, and consequently no expedition can be attempted even against Manilla, unless troops should be sent out for that express purpose; as by the letter of the 5th of June, we have reason to think they have thoughts of doing, from conceiving it probable by the accounts carried home by the *Goddard* Indiaman that we should be at war with Tippoo.

"I had no reason for supposing you would assemble the fleet at Bombay, except the impossibility of your doing it at this season at Madras, and it did not occur to me that the Andamans would suit you from the want of fresh provisions.

"Sir Richard will join you as soon as he has landed me at Madras, and you shall then hear from me again, with duplicates of Mr. Grenville's letters; in the meantime, I have only to propose that you should, as long as the Spanish war is hanging over us, keep a vessel always at Madras, ready to convey the quickest advices from me, if anything important should occur, and that you will station at least one cruiser on the Malabar coast during the season, for carrying on operations there. We shall write you a public letter to desire you to detain any vessels you may meet with belonging to the Beeby of Cananore, who, as I understand, has broke off her treaty with us, and applied to Tippoo for the aid of his troops. . . . I think young Cook much improved by his command; all here desire to be remembered to King and Whitby."

[John, 2nd] EARL OF CHATHAM to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, December 19. Admiralty.—"I conclude that before the arrival of the *Minerva* the intelligence will, in some way or other,

have reached you of the happy termination of our dispute with the Court of Spain. In the expectation of some further account from India, it has been left to your discretion, in your instructions from the Secretary of State, to keep or send home any part of the naval force collected in India, as you shall judge from the situation of affairs most advisable; but I imagine that, in any event, you will keep the *Minerva*, in preference to those frigates that have been longer out. I have detained her sailing for this week past in the hope that I should have been enabled to have sent you some satisfactory intelligence on the subject of some addition to the allowance from the Company to the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's naval forces, more suited to his rank and situation, as well as an increase to the Masters and Commanders, and which business I have very earnestly pressed; but any final resolution has been again suspended from the illness of Mr. Lushington, the Chairman. I have, however, great reason to believe that it will, in the end, be satisfactorily settled; and I have strongly urged (what in justice is due) that whatever is done may take place with a retrospect to the time of your arrival with your squadron in India.

"Some promotion has taken place in consequence of our armament, and (as you will be informed by Mr. Stephens) has been extended to your station; and I hope the promotion of Mr. Schomberg, particularly, to be Post will be acceptable to you. It is proposed that the vacancies made by the Lieutenants promoted to be Masters and Commanders should be filled up by you as you please, the midshipmen promoted by the Board being ordered home. I am not so unreasonable as to wish to press any young man upon you, knowing how few occasions you have in peace of providing for your followers; but I have been so urged to mention to you a son of Captain Dickson's, that I cannot forbear naming him to you as a person in whose success I am much interested. He would have been included in the general promotion here, as well as Mr. Manning and Mr. Allen, a son of the Admiral, who I understand are with you, but that they none had passed their examination at the Navy Office.

"I cannot conclude without expressing to you the full sense entertained here of the great zeal and attention with which you have applied yourself to correct, in all transactions in behalf of Government, those abuses which had been, I fear, too prevalent in India; and from which conduct, I am sure, the most beneficial consequences to the public service must be derived."

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1790, December 20. Admiralty.—"I have received the several letters you have had the goodness to honour me with, for which I give you ten thousand thanks.

"Early in May we began to arm against Spain, and with such vigour and exertion that in five months we had such a fleet as this country never had before after being at war two years. A most uncommon zeal pervaded all ranks of people, and there was a cheerfulness and spirit in the seamen not to be expressed, which

most certainly have produced most happy results. Gardner was in the grand fleet under Lord Howe, consequently my head and hands were full. Spain had been tampering with the Northern powers; a Baltic squadron was therefore to be prepared and to assemble in the Downs. This was to be entrusted to me, and I went to Deal for three days to give a few orders and to put the squadron, consisting of sixteen sail of the line, under the command of Admiral Elliot, to get it in condition for service. Except upon this occasion, I was not out of the Admiralty Court five hours, from the beginning of May until towards the latter end of last month; and, although we have disarmed with respect to Spain, it is thought right to keep up ten ships of the line (four of which of three decks), in addition to the sixteen guardships and six sail which went to the West Indies under Cornish, since recalled; and I hope and trust we shall see a general peace in Europe in the course of a very few months. I know you will hear from Lord Chatham, to whom I communicated what you said to me respecting your leaving India about this time twelvemonth without waiting to be relieved, which he appeared to approve, but probably the present disturbance with Tippoo will prove an obstacle to it. . . ."

The King of Queda to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1791, January 26.—Letter in the Malay tongue, endorsed by Cornwallis as received on this date. Also another document in the same characters.

Lord Hood to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1791, February 2. Admiralty.—". . . I could not possibly have had a more able or more agreeable colleague in the room of our late worthy friend Sir Francis Drake than Captain Gardner, whose worth and experience I am fully sensible of; and am happy in assuring you that we are actuated by the same sentiments, to as full an extent as you can wish or imagine. Upon Sir Francis's death, I was summoned to town by a messenger, being then in Hampshire, and at once without hesitation named Captain Gardner for his successor, if an Admiral was not judged to be proper, could one be found that would be approved. For some time the vacancy was kept open, upon a supposition that Sir Charles Middleton would like to fill it, and, in that case, Gardner would have been the Comptroller. But Sir Charles acting a part not perfectly consistent, and expressing a wish to retire, he was taken at his word, Gardner made a Lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Martin Comptroller; and I flatter myself the public service has been well conducted. Your friend Saxton is Commissioner at Portsmouth. I am happy to hear you are so sanguine in your expectations of an honourable and speedy termination of the war with that tyrant Tippoo Sultan.

"I can see no objection to your leaving India in January or February next year should peace be established. I have had several conversations with Lord Chatham upon the subject, who thinks

exactly as I do, but do not find he has so expressed himself to you, which I have urged him to do, and in a particular manner, upon receiving your letters of the date before mentioned. He was then going into the country, where his Lordship still is, and will remain a week longer. He then said it was time enough to grant you the permission you requested; besides, as you was under the orders of the Secretary of State, Lord Grenville must be consulted, which I shall press him to speak to the moment he comes to town. But I think I may venture to say, that you will have no successor appointed until you arrive, and have made your report of the situation of things in that great country, and you may rest assured that not only the Board of Admiralty but every other Board you have had to correspond with, are most perfectly satisfied with every part of your conduct, and convinced that you have been unremitting in your pains for bringing the expenses of his Majesty's squadron under your command as low as possible. Should peace be established, I think the *Perseverance*, *Atalanta*, and *Ariel* will be sufficient to leave in the country, but of that you will, I trust, hear more about in due time. I am glad the Andaman Island is spoken so favourably of, and do most perfectly agree with you that it is much to be wished to have a King's port established in India, and, upon this account, it appears highly necessary, in so very important a business to the public, that you should be consulted, who must be capable of throwing so much light upon the subject. I am apprehensive some supplies have been sent from France by stealth to Tippoo, but I hope they will fall into your hands. . . .

"Notwithstanding matters are made up with Spain, we have still thirty-two sail of the line in commission, with a dozen extra frigates, in order to bring the Empress of Russia to a reasonable peace with the Turks; but I am apprehensive she will be obstinate, and persevere in the war. In that case, we shall probably arm to a greater extent. I continue the Commander-in-Chief of a nominal Baltic squadron, and it is possible I shall visit that sea, but very sincerely hope it will not be necessary; which I think cannot be finally known for some weeks, as that time must elapse before the messenger can return which was sent off with the determination of this Government in conjunction with Prussia and Holland.

"When the convention with Spain took place, it was necessary to reduce our seamen from fifty thousand to twenty-four thousand. The Admiralty thought it, therefore, a proper attention to the commercial interest of this country to give out the order I herewith send, which certainly could not mean to include any volunteer, or indeed any one who *had not* an advantageous prospect before him at the time he was impressed. But, to the astonishment of the Board, a few Captains indiscriminately discharged every man who would give in his name; the consequence of which was, that some ships were left so weak as not to have a sufficient number of men to take care of them at Spithead. And as seamen follow one another, as a flock follows a bell-sheep, the infection spread, and almost every man became anxious to be his own master. Orders were then given that the whole of the ships commissioned upon the armament should be paid off, one after another, as the

public service and convenience of the ports would admit; but such as wished to be discharged might be so, but could not have the gratuity or their wages until the ship was paid off. Notwithstanding this, pains were taken to excite a general wish amongst the seamen for their discharge; which has occasioned a rendezvous to be opened in town for volunteers, which come in fast, and I have no doubt but all the ships will be re-man'd before they can be wanted for real service."

Enclosing:

Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

That, whereas many second and third mates of the East India Company's and other ships, as well as other men, who had advantageous prospects before them, have been impressed, and cheerfully submitted to the necessity of the State, the Commanders-in-Chief at the several ports are to direct the captains under their command to discharge such men of the above discription as may be desirous of returning to the situations from which they were taken, and to cause pay lists to be sent to the Navy board, that the men may be paid what is due to them.

COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS to CAPTAIN CHARLES CUNNINGHAM, of H. M. Sloop *Ariel*.

1791, March 15. *Crown*, off Prince of Wales Island.—Sealed instructions, to be opened at sea. "You will proceed with all the expedition possible to the Mauritius, where you will ask permission to water, &c., but you must act with the utmost caution, at the same time making such observations as you are able of the force and state of the place, and whether any men of war or forces of any kind are expected from old France, or have lately arrived from thence. You will endeavour to inform yourself of this in the best manner you can, even if you should not think it prudent to anchor; and having so done, you will, without a moment's loss of time, join me at Tellicherry, or if you should learn that I am not upon the Malabar Coast, proceed immediately to Madras, where you may expect to find me."

LORD CORNWALLIS, General Order.

1791, March 22. Camp at Bangalore.—"Lord Cornwallis feels the most sensible gratification in congratulating the officers and soldiers of the army on the honourable issue of the fatigues and dangers which they underwent during the late arduous siege.* Their alacrity and firmness during the execution of their various duties has perhaps never been exceeded, and he shall not only think it incumbent upon him to represent their meritorious conduct in

* Of Bangalore, stormed on March 21.

the strongest colours, but he shall ever remember it with the sincerest sentiment of esteem and admiration.

"The judicious arrangements which were made by Col. Duff in the artillery department, and his executions and those of the officers and soldiers of that corps in general in the service of the batteries, are entitled to his Lordship's highest approbation, to which he desires to add that he thinks himself much obliged to Lieut.-Col. Geils for the able manner in which he directed the fire during the day of the 21st.

"Lord Cornwallis is so well acquainted with the order that prevails in the whole army that he could have been happy if it would have been practicable to have allowed every corps to have participated in the glory of the enterprise of last night; but it must be obvious to all that in forming a disposition for the assault, a portion of the troops could only be employed.

"The conduct of all the regiments which in the tour were for duty that evening did credit in every respect to their spirit and discipline; but his Lordship desires to offer the tribute of his particular and warmest praise to the European Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the army, and to the 36th, 72nd, and 76th regiments, who led the attack and carried the fortress, and who, by their behaviour on that occasion, furnished a conspicuous proof that discipline and valour in soldiers, when directed by zeal and capacity in officers, are irresistible.

"The activity and good conduct of Lieut.-Col. Maxwell in command of the Pettah for several days previous to the assault of the Fort, was in every respect highly commendable, but his Lordship desires he will accept of his particular thanks for the judicious arrangements which he made for the assault, which was committed to his directions, and for the gallantry which he displayed in the execution of them.

"He likewise returns his warmest acknowledgments to Major Skelly, who undertook the command of the corps that commenced the attack of the breach, and who, by animating them by his own example, contributed essentially to our important success.

"Lieut.-Col. Stewart may be assured that Lord Cornwallis will ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the valuable and steady support which that officer affords him by his military experience and constant exertions to promote the public service.

"And although his Lordship is unwilling to offend Gen. Medows's delicacy by attempting to express his full sense of the able and friendly assistance which he uniformly experiences from him, he cannot avoid declaring that it has made an impression on his mind that cannot be effaced." *Copy, by Chr. Welles.*

The Storm of Bangalore.

1791, March 24. Camp at Bangalore.—"Extract. The army arrived before Bangalore on the 5th inst., and were cannonaded on the march by Tippoo; not a shot was returned, but he was treated with sovereign contempt. On the 6th, the engineers re-

connoitred the Fort and Pettah, both found much stronger than expected. On the ensuing morning the latter was carried by storm; Col. Moorhouse and Capt. Delaney were killed, some officers wounded, but none mortally. In the evening of the same day (at two o'clock), Tippoo's army appeared in sight, and whilst he endeavoured to divert the attention of our line by cannonading it, he sent a very large force to storm and retake the Pettah, but was beat off by the 36th regiment and some Sepoy corps, with considerable loss. Lord Cornwallis, suspecting he would make a second attempt, sent a re-inforcement to the Pettah, who had scarcely got there ere the enemy stormed it again. As before, they were repulsed, but with a much greater loss on their side. Finding himself foiled in both attempts, he drew off his guns and retreated about sunset, and we saw no more of him till St. Patrick's day, when he paid us an unexpected visit between eight and nine in the morning, and threw long shot at us till near three, when he retired, not having been able to draw us out or divert our attention from the siege. In the whole of the cannonading we lost very few men, not above sixty altogether. Five batteries, having irregular approaches, having been made, but their effect not being equal to what was expected, and our provisions beginning to run short, it was determined by the Earl to storm the fort. This was done on the 21st, at night, and in two hours from the commencement of the attack the British colours were flying in it. The storming party consisted of the 36th, 72nd, and 76th regiments, supported by the European flank companies of the army and 2nd battalion of Sepoys. They descended and ascended the ditch by scaling ladders, which were of infinite service afterwards, as the breach was nearly impracticable; upwards of 1,500 of the enemy were put to the bayonet; Captain Markham and Lieut. Dark of the Artillery wounded. The force of the garrison was about 3,000.

"The Killidar, a very old man and nearly related to Tippoo, was killed (Bahawder Cawn). Upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon were mounted in the rampart, which is a double one; the Fort is remarkably strong, very extensive, and has a very deep, broad, dry ditch and glacis to it. The fort could never have been taken but by an European army; it is the strongest I ever saw in India except Madras.

"The palace is in the centre of the Fort, and one of the most superb grand buildings you can conceive; it reminds you of the castles mentioned in the fairy tales. Had the storm been delayed twenty-four hours the whole of our batteries would have been enfiladed by works he was constructing. Lord Cornwallis has shown himself a most able general, and Medows is an admirable second. They are both adored, and justly so, by every man in the army.

"*Officers killed at the siege*:—Lieut.-Col. Moorhouse, artillery; Capt. Delany, 36th regiment; Capt. Slipper, artillery; Capt. Tenot, 52nd regiment.

"*Wounded*:—Lieut. Cowan, artillery; Lieuts. Purefoy and Eyre, 36th regiment; Capt. Markham, 76th regiment; Lieut. Dark, artillery." *In Chr. Well's handwriting.*

HORATIO NELSON to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, April 4. Burnham, Norfolk.—"My dear friend, I thank you much for your kind letter of August last, which I received when a few days ago in London. We are again preparing for war, some think we shall succeed in making the Empress yield to such terms of peace as we think proper without hostilities, but I own myself of a different opinion. She has been compared, and not I think unaptly, to our Elizabeth; a high-spirited, victorious woman will not easily brook to us, and how we are to get at her fleet I don't see. If inferior to us, she will lock them up in Cronstad, where our ships cannot get, and if, as is believed, Sweden joins her in the Baltic, we may, although assisted by the Dutch (in whom I don't find we ever much benefited) not be able to cope with her. Narrow seas and no friendly ports are bad things. Lord Hood is to command, that you have heard; 29 sail of the line to be joined [by] 12 sail of the line Dutch, a very respectable fleet; Sir Hyde Parker Captain of the fleet. A press has just begun, all our seamen here (except the West India fleet) paid off, and none hardly entered again; Gardner told me he had not 40 men in his ship; *Victory* 240, *London* none, and so of the rest. Admiral Leveson, *Formidable;* Sir Richard King, *St. George; Duke*, Kingsmill; *Illustrious*, Charles Pole, are all the ships commissioned. Upwards of 12,000 men are wanted, therefore it is probable no more ships will be commissioned till these are nearly completed. Admiral Jonathan Faulkener has his flag in *Barfleur;* Elliot, report says, is somehow disgusted; Hotham *Princess Royal.*

"I hope we are not to have Spain against us, which is feared. If so we have plenty of work cut out. The Duke of Clarence expects if a fleet goes up the Mediterranean to command a division of it; I can assure you he always mentions you with the highest respect. I was not successful enough in the late armament to get a ship, I hope not to be again so unfortunate. Lord Howe has been seriously ill, and Admiral Barrington very much shook; age will creep on, and active service soon gives a shake when above 60; comfortable and strong in our elbow chairs, but feeble when tossed in the Bay of Biscay. You have heard of the opinion relative to Sir Roger Curtis when Captain of the Fleet sitting on Court Martial as a Rear-Admiral: that a Court Martial being formed by Act of Parliament it is not in the King's power by any local rank to alter its constitution, and that therefore the one Court held where Sir Roger sat is illegal. An Act of indemnity is I hear to be passed, brought forward by Sir John Jarvis, who, by-the-bye, is said not to be employed, as having very much reprobated the Spanish Convention; and his friend the Marquis of Lansdown is so strong an anti-ministerial man. Mr. Pitt, it is thought, will lose his interest with the monied men for taking the unclaimed dividends, and a great opposition is made against going to war with Russia, but as yet he holds a great majority. I assure you it would have given me infinite pleasure to have served under you, and to have zealously supported the good plans you have formed. During the little time I was senior officer at Antigua, 11 per cent. was had for bills more than before or since I understand. A merchant came and had the

impudence to offer me 5 per cent. if I would let him have the bills when money was wanted. How can stations otherwise give fortunes? I, amongst your numerous friends, will be truly rejoiced to see you in England, for believe I am, with most sincere attachment, your faithful and affectionate, Horatio Nelson."

[John] Earl of Chatham to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1791, May 5. Admiralty.—"I had hoped that, previous to the sailing of the last ships, some more decisive intelligence as to the situation of things in India than was brought by the *Princess Amelia* Indiaman would have been received here. I trust, however, at all events, that the issue of our present contest with Tippoo will be such as to allow of your returning to Europe, and bringing Lord Cornwallis, at the period you mentioned in your letter to me as the most favourable to leave India, either in December or January next. In this view, discretional orders are sent to you on the subject, and I have only to add that, as it is peculiarly desirable after the late expensive armaments which have occurred here, to reduce our peace establishment as low as prudence will permit, it is to be hoped that you will not find it necessary (if your war is over) to leave any considerable part of your force in India; but that must entirely depend on your judgment according to the actual state of things there.

"France still continuing in the same unhappy and distracted state, nothing seems at present to be apprehended from that quarter, and it is not therefore as yet in contemplation to name any successor to you. How far hereafter it may be right to have a Commander-in-Chief in India must depend, in part, on the view of things in Europe, and also, very much, on the consideration how far (whenever a new settlement for India takes place at the expiration of the Charter) any considerable naval establishment may be made in the East Indies. But, before any resolution is come to on this head, we shall be desirous to avail ourselves of all the important information you will have collected as to the propriety or utility of such a measure, as well as to concert with you what instructions in the several departments would best tend to continue that system of economy, which, till your command in India, I fear has been but little attended to. I have no doubt of your leaving such officer, when you come away, as will be most likely to adhere to this material object. What, too, may be the best place for a refitting port must eventually be decided according to your report of the several situations that have been at different times suggested for that purpose. . . .

"We have a large fleet at Spithead, in consequence of the continuance of the war between Russia and the Porte, but I trust there is reason to hope that everything will be accommodated by negotiation.

"We are all here very anxious for further news from India; and have great confidence in the resolution taken by Lord Cornwallis to command the army in person."

The Same to the Same.

1791, May 10. Admiralty.—Regretting that, in consequence of what Mr. Dundas had said, he held out hopes of increased allowances to the Commander-in-Chief and other Naval officers in India which have not been realized. He is, however, so much impressed with the propriety of such addition that an official representation has been made by the Board of Admiralty on the subject, but as yet the new Direction has not had time to bring the business forward.

Lord Hood to Commodore the Hon. W. Cornwallis.

1791, May 11. Admiralty.—". . . A messenger which arrived yesterday from Prussia, announcing Mr. Ewart's arrival, brought very favourable accounts of the disposition of that monarch to act most fully up to the wishes of this Court in every respect."

The Same to the Same.

1791, May 13. Admiralty.—". . . You will receive orders by the *Bridgewater* (which I wanted you to have some months ago . . . although I was pretty sure you would prevent the stores going to Tippoo if you could) with respect to supplies sent from France to Tippoo Sultan's army.

"We have had extraordinary proceedings in the House of Commons, which have produced a total separation of Burke from Opposition."

[John] Earl of Chatham to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1791, May 15. Admiralty.—Sending a copy of the Report of the Committee, this moment received from the Chairman of the East India Company, and which has this day been confirmed by the Court of Direction. Is sorry they have made no addition to the allowance to the Masters and Commanders, but they have obtained their promotion, which will make amends.

James McHorath to the Postmaster-General at Madras.

1791, May 16. Camp near Seringapatam.—Giving an account of Lord Cornwallis's attack upon Tippoo, on the previous day. In the end, he concludes, "the enemy gave way in every quarter, excepting a pagoda on a hill, which they seem resolved to maintain. We, however, have a post within 250 yards of it, and I suppose we will possess ourselves of it when we find it necessary. I have not exactly heard our loss, but suppose it considerable, about two hundred and fifty Europeans and natives killed and wounded. . . .

"This has been a smart business. The enemy were strongly posted, and their infantry stood to be bayonetted. But our troops, with his Lordship at the head, are irresistible. The enemy are now on the island. The river is high, which will render General Aberrombie's junction precarious. We see the island and fort very

distinct from the hill which commands the enemy's post at the pagoda. It seems very strong, and the island is a delightful plain (*sic*) beautiful gardens and fine buildings with works all over it." *Apparently a copy sent to Commodore Cornwallis, to whom the covering sheet is addressed.*

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, May 20. Admiralty.—"The *Bridgewater* being still at Spithead, I send you a newspaper or two. . . . I fancy matters will be settled with Russia by negotiation and that the fleet will in a few months be paid off."

EARL HOWE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, June 20. Grafton Street.—"You will have heard, I make no doubt, long before the receipt of this letter, that your conjectures upon the event of the armament last year have been verified. And at this time that I am favoured with your letter of the 10th of January from Prince of Wales's Island, it is the belief of such ignorant politicians as myself, that the present armament, pending our differences with Russia, will have a similar issue.

"You do me much honour in the satisfaction you express on the knowledge of my late appointment to command the home fleet, on the prospect at that time of a rupture with Spain. Though conscious of my many incapacities, yet as the King condescended to think them not a sufficient objection to my acceptance of that important charge, it remained with me only to consider how I could best endeavour to execute His Majesty's commands. If our existing disputes terminate in the same manner, the next selection of naval commanders will probably be directed to some amongst you gentlemen of more active abilities; for I am of opinion that a gouty chair, in which Sir George Rooke is said to have been confined at the battle of Malaga, is not a well adapted situation for the director of a considerable fleet in these days.

"The particulars you have had the goodness to communicate to me concerning Prince of Wales's Island confirm the doubts I conceived on the expediency of adding to our establishments in India; or of taking posts in any part not capable of being defended, exclusive of *immediate assistance* from the fleet. I rather think it preferable to content ourselves with the knowledge of places where our ships of war may find anchorage and supplies of water occasionally, than by settling in such stations to point out to an enterprising enemy the resources from whence we can obtain necessary supplies; and prematurely direct their attention to the means of frustrating our dependence on those aids.

"I did not mean to insinuate that your hopes of restraining abuses appeared chimerical by anything I suggested in my preceding letter on the subject of your desire to correct *all the* abuses which have long prevailed in the maritime service of India. My allusion was (as far as I can now recollect the particulars) to the difficulty of combating with united peculation. To moderate the

excesses to which it is extended in the various branches having reference to the naval line of service, seemed a great and beneficial undertaking. To abolish such abuse partakes of too much hazard, I should think, by early exertions, antecedent to an assured means of finding competent substitutes to replace the offenders and preventing disappointment of the object to be attained.

"Everything that upright sentiments and steady zeal to promote the public service can accomplish, your superintendence of the maritime concerns in India will not have overlooked."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, July 5. Camp, 13 miles west of Bangalore.—"I have just received your letter of the 27th ultimo, and am much obliged to you for the good accounts you send me of my family, which are the first that have reached me. I cannot proceed against Seringapatam until the rains are over on the Malabar coast, and the Cavery river falls, and I hope by that time to make such arrangements as will provide for the subsistence of our army and our numerous allies; but it is no easy task to feed between two and three hundred thousand men, one hundred thousand horses, and twice that number of bullocks, besides elephants and camels, in a country which nature intended for a desert, and which Tippoo has, with the assistance of our friends the Marattas, rendered a complete one.

"I know of no public reason for keeping you on the coast of Coromandel, and I am sure you have no private wish to stay there, but I think you should keep two frigates at Madras till the change of the monsoon. I should however wish you to go to Tellicherry as soon as the season will admit of it. Your appearance there will be of service, and it is not improbable that Abercromby will attack Mangalore before the country will be sufficiently dry to enable him to ascend the Ghauts with his guns and provisions.

"I have desired the Madras government to offer you as much of the provisions brought out by the victuallers as you may choose to take; I know of no use that we can make of any part of them, unless Abercromby should want some on the coast of Malabar. I am very glad that you will allow the *Leopard* to carry home part of the Hanoverian troops. I shall send the *Swallow* packet to England in the very beginning of September. Colonel Nesbitt writes me word from Bangalore that you are an Admiral, but as you do not mention it, I shall direct as formerly."

CHRISTOPHER WELLS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Madras.

1791, July 9. Camp near Bangalore.—". . . The army will move on in two or three days to attack the Fort of Ossore. It is conveniently situated to form a strong post to facilitate the communication with the Carnatic while we are drawing our supplies from thence." Lord Cornwallis has just appointed me "to conduct the business of Post Office despatches, &c. . . . I am to enter upon it to-morrow, and I trust the business will be executed more to his Lordship's satisfaction than heretofore."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1791, August 4. Camp, 7 miles south of Oussore.—"I enclose to you a copy of a letter from Lord Grenville to General Abercromby, from which you will see the propriety of sending some frigates to the Malabar coast as soon as it can possibly be done with safety, and indeed I am of opinion that your own early appearance there would be very advisable.

"You will, I make no doubt, order all vessels on that coast laden with military stores to be seized, whatever port they may be bound to, except they should be Dutch or Portuguese actually destined to Cochin or Goa.

"I have a thorough dependence upon the good disposition of the Governor of Cochin, and I do not believe that Tippoo is well with the Portuguese; his money may perhaps prevail with some of the merchants of those nations to afford him assistance, but even in that case the seizure of vessels belonging to either of them with ostensible papers might be attended with troublesome consequences.

"We have met with no disturbance of late from the enemy, and are very conveniently situated for receiving the various supplies of which this army is in great want, from the Carnatic; but the extraordinary dryness of the season distresses us very much in the very important article of forage.

"I have not received any Europe letters of later date than the end of November, but have the satisfaction to know that they are on their way, and within six or seven days of reaching me.

"Our weather has been for more than two months cool and very windy, and the nights and mornings are disagreeably cold. The change at first affected the health of our men, but I have the satisfaction to say that we are now growing more healthy

"I have made Dr. Wells field-postmaster, and he has been of great use in quickening the conveyance of our letters." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1791, September 10. Camp near Bangalore.—". . . Your public letter, which as far as you are concerned, is very satisfactory, I have transmitted to the supreme Government, and have given my opinion that upon the present face of the business, Mr. Taylor appears to me to be the person that should be held responsible, if the seizure and confiscation of the vessel was not authorised by the orders under which Captain Byron acted; for Mr. Taylor either condemned the vessel, or sold her without condemnation. . . .

"My letters, dated the 27th of April, from home, are very satisfactory. Brome has with the most perfect good humour consented to the Bishop's plan of staying at Eton till next Easter, and then going to an academy abroad. The Bishop (who by-the-bye seems to be a better friend than formerly to Administration) has now no grievance but *Eye*, and that, I am afraid, must be incurable till I come home. He tells me that of all my Opposition friends he liked Lord Carlisle's speech the best, as far as it regarded me. I have been unlucky about Lord Carlisle's recommendations in this

country; if Mr. Gregg is not a bad subject, and an opportunity should offer that would not interfere with anybody that you are interested about, I should be very glad if, before you quit this command, you could give him a step.

"I am busily preparing to look again towards Seringapatam, but I hope that Tippoo will be sufficiently sensible of the desperate state of his affairs, to offer such terms as we may with safety and honour accept, before the time arrives for our commencing our march.

"I am glad you approve of Sir Richard Strachan; from what I saw of him I thought you would do so."

The SAME to the SAME.

1791, November 27. Camp, 8 miles from Bangalore.—". . . . Nothing can exceed my anxiety to put an end to this detestable war, but it is no easy task to provide for the subsistence of numerous armies when they are to penetrate far into a desert country, and when the communication with the distant quarter from which their supplies must be brought, is liable to constant interruption of an active, vigilant, and capable enemy. I have already with great labour and exertion reduced some strong hill forts with a view to the security of our convoys, and I must attempt some more of this work, before I can in prudence advance to the enemy's capital.

"The violence of the Carnatic monsoon, which I find, contrary to all the information I had received, prevails entirely in this country, has considerably retarded the progress of my heavy guns, but the last division is now near Bangalore, and everything is getting right again. . . .

"I am sorry that Fortified Island is not likely to answer the expectations of the captors. I cannot help, however, being pleased with the zeal and spirit which were manifested by Captains Troubridge and Sutton in endeavouring to distress the enemy." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1791, December 31. Camp at Magri near Sewendroog.—"It was with great concern that I heard of the affair between the *Phœnix* and the *Resolve*, for although the behaviour of the French Captain appears to have been so violent and unjustifiable that it is hardly possible he should meet with support anywhere, yet, by misrepresentation and falsehood, it may make a great noise in Europe, and occasion much trouble.

"As every one of our Governments in this country may for its own security think itself interested by the commission of an act of hostility on the part of France, it might be proper that you should transmit a statement of the facts in a circular letter to the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.

"It will give me great satisfaction on every account to learn that you have found the French Commodore more reasonable and righter-headed than the Captain.

"We have been so fortunate as to take in a very few days, and

with hardly any loss, the important and hitherto reputed impregnable fortress of Sewendroog. This place and some neighbouring forts, which though strong, made but little resistance after the fall of Sewendroog, will tend in a very great degree to insure our communication with Bangalore whilst we are engaged in the attack of Seringapatam.

"The last of our stores from the Carnatic with the detachment of the Royal Artillery, whose progress has been long delayed by the extraordinary rains that have fallen this year, are now in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, and I hope very soon to advance towards the enemy's capital. I received a letter from Abercromby, dated the 16th of this month, at the top of the pass.

"I am sorry to tell you that we have lost poor Dr. Wells, who was much esteemed in this army, and is universally regretted. No man could have been more resigned to his fate; I saw a letter from him to Ross after the doctors had given him over, in which you would have supposed he was describing the situation of some other person.

"You have been very kind indeed about Gregg. I hope you have not suffered him to interfere with any arrangement in which your inclinations were much interested."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 10. Camp near Seringapatam.—"On the night of the 6th I attacked Tippoo's camp, which was so strong that it would have cost a great many lives if the attempt had been made by day, and as it had the additional defence of the cannon of fort and island, the event might even have been doubtful.

"Two of my columns succeeded most completely; some untoward circumstances impeded that which Meadows commanded, which saved a part of his army, and of his field artillery. I have however possession of the north side of the river and of the greatest part of the island, and I have ruined at least half his infantry, and taken above sixty pieces of cannon.

"We are now preparing vigorously for the siege of the fort, and I trust there can be little doubt of our success, unless Tippoo should consent to such concessions as the Allies think they have a right to require."

MRS. C. CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 13. Seymour Place.—". . . Lord Brome is, I assure you, everything you can wish. He has left Eton, and is just now in town to prepare for his journey to Yverdun, where by all accounts he is likely to pass some time to great advantage, in learning French, &c. He grows both stout and tall, and is the picture of health. . . . Lord Townshend is wonderfully recovered in his health within these six months. He is very much flattered at being appointed Lord Lieutenant for the county of Norfolk in the room of Lord Orford."

"I was at Court last Thursday, when the Address from the Commons was presented to the King, in which, as an echo to the speech, there was such honourable mention made of Lord Cornwallis as affected me very much.

"The Bishop found his house at Windsor better than he expected, and his first residence there went off very well. I went with them to Court the day Miss Cornwallis was presented, but they are now so well acquainted with their Royal neighbours that a Drawing-room appears no longer formidable to them."

MARQUIS TOWNSHEND to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 14. Weymouth Street.—"I feel myself greatly obliged to you for your favourable account of the situation and conduct of my son William, and for your patronage. Those from Sir Richard Strahan and others have likewise given Lady Townshend and myself great satisfaction. We very early thought his temper and disposition well suited for the navy, as well as his constitution. We are likewise happy that he remains in his present situation, improving in his profession, instead of incurring by his return the risk of a ballot into some societies here of fashionable dissipation.

"Your last accounts from our able and disinterested relation have afforded every good friend to the welfare of this country the warmest hopes of a most honourable conclusion to this expensive and, in my opinion, unavoidable war. Party may refine upon the political situation of Lord Cornwallis, but the honour and confidence which ought to attend the British Government and nation, which must depend upon our good faith and protection of our allies, must fully justify his Lordship's perseverance. Had a Roman General persevered in the reduction of an Asiatic tyrant, the applause would have been universal, even if unsuccessful, and such will attend our relation when the political calculations and attractions of the day subside."

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, February 25. Camp near Seringapatam.—"I send you a copy of the preliminary articles of peace with Tippoo which were signed yesterday, and which I flatter myself you will think advantageous for us.

"There is no forming a judgment at present of the time that will be required before the principal points can be sufficiently settled to admit of my going into the Carnatic, but I hardly think it possible that I should be at Madras before the middle or latter end of April.

"It is my intention to send Madan home with an account of the late operations and of the peace, and I now heartily wish that I had detained the *Vestal* for that purpose. If there should be any sloop in the roads, I may perhaps take the liberty of despatching her. Madan will otherwise go in the first Indiaman.

"I shall write in the strongest terms to beg to be released by having

my successor sent out so as to arrive in Bengal early in the next year, and, as my family will then be reduced to Ross and Haldane, if you should be at liberty to go home about that time in one of the large frigates, I shall be very glad to get a passage with you; but we can talk of this at Madras, where I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you as soon as I can bid adieu to the dreary wastes of Mysore." *Triplicate, Signed.*

Enclosing the articles alluded to.

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, March 19. Camp before Seringapatam.—Notifying to him, officially, that he has this day received "the definitive treaty of peace between the confederate powers and Tippoo Sultaun, signed and duly executed by the latter." *Signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1792, March 21. Camp, &c.—"Private. I received only two days ago your letter of the 16th of February, which was a long time on its journey. All is now concluded, the definitive treaty signed (of which I send you official information), and I hope to march on the 26th or 27th from this dreary desert.

"The *Swan* sloop of war arrived a few days ago from England, which she left on the 27th of September, recommending to us to make peace on reasonable terms, notwithstanding our success at Bangalore. All peace in Europe and the 3 per cents. above 89. We have anticipated their wishes about peace.

"I was informed that I might send the *Swan* immediately back with despatches, but as she was near six months coming out, and the *Northumberland* Indiaman, which has made very good passages, was perfectly ready for sea, I thought it better to send Madan and my letters in her, and detain the *Swan* till all the Indiamen of this season have sailed, and till I have an opportunity of consulting you about her.

"I have not answered a letter from Mr. Taylor and some other person, who applied to me as agents in the name of the captors of Fortified Island, to request that I would purchase the Island of them for the Company at the price of 40,000 rupees. Indeed I did not know how to make a serious answer to such a proposal. If there were any military stores there of any value, Abercromby will allow the captors one half of the estimated value according to the regulation, but the Island must be immediately restored to Tippoo.

"I hope to be at Madras by the latter end of next month, and shall expect to have the pleasure of meeting you there as soon as it may be convenient to you." *Signed.*

SIR HORACE MANN to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, March 24.—Recommending Mr. Thomas Baker to his countenance and protection.

EARL CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, April 6. Camp, forty miles west of Bangalore.—"I had last night the pleasure to receive your letter of the 1st, and was very glad to hear from Apsley that you and all our friends on board the *Minerva* were well. It will be a tedious business to get our guns and stores, and particularly our sick, who I am sorry to say are very numerous, down the Ghauts, and I do not choose to leave the army till it is fairly out of Tippoo's country; I can therefore hardly hope to reach Madras before the tenth of next month at soonest.

"As there will be no Commander-in-Chief on the coast I shall have a good deal of military business to arrange, besides conversations with the Nabob, Tippoo's Vakeels, &c., &c., which must probably detain me at Madras three weeks or a month. I give you this information that you may be more at liberty as to your own measures.

"I have excused myself from accepting an apartment in Sir Charles Oakeley's house, and have requested that he will order a garden house to be taken for me. I long much to see you. Ross and Haldane present their best respects and join with me in desiring to be kindly remembered to King and Whitby."

SIR R. KING to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, April 9. Dover Street.—"This will be the shortest letter I ever troubled you with, for our hearts are too much swelled with gratitude for your kindness to our son to find words to express it. . . . It is now certain I am to have the Newfoundland station. My ship is to be the *Assistance*. The Admiralty allow me only my Captain and one lieutenant, not the first; the remainder of patronage they retain to themselves. . . .

"Information is just now arrived that the King of Sweden had the contents of a pistol fired into him at a masquerade by a discontented officer. It is said a ball has been extracted, but it is understood the pistol was loaded with nails and slugs besides, and the King's life is in great danger; indeed the general opinion is, that he is not alive now. Report says he was quite collected, and would not suffer the wound to be much attended to until he had settled the Regency on his brother. I do not like these attacks upon Monarchy, being convinced that such as *ours* is the best government. . . .

"All those whose opinion is worth regarding, disapprove of the conduct of the French Captain in the affair with Sir Richard Strachan, and perhaps a check to the constant insolence of that nation could not have happened at a better period."

LORD HOOD to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, April 28. Admiralty.—You was expected by some in the *Crown*, but not by me, as I took it for granted you would not leave

India before Lord Cornwallis." The daily prints "will convey to you the strange things that have happened and are happening every day. The condition of France is deplorable in the extreme, and it appears to me that the nation is at the eve of its troubles only. God grant that this country may not be involved. . . ."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1792, May 1. Wimpole Street.—"Your business with the French ship went off very well indeed. Mr. Hippesley began to observe upon it, but the Easter recess came on, and the behaviour of France stopped all mouths, and put an end to the whole affair.

"You will be surprised to hear that Dr. Madan is a bishop. Some years ago, he told me he had given over all thoughts of advancement himself, and only wished for a provision for his sons. Conceive therefore my astonishment at hearing from him the other day that he was Bishop of Bristol. How it was done, I know not; the Doctor says, through Pretyman, and his own application repeatedly for a deanery. The appointment does not seem to meet with much approbation, as Dr. Madan is to give up a sinecure of 500*l. per annum*, and a living of 300*l. per annum*, for Bristol, which is a certain 320*l. per annum*, and about as much uncertain. As he is 64 years of age, the measure of acceptance does not seem to have been a very prudent one; however, I have provided nobly for Spencer.

"I have made great purchases in Eye, which will not only render Lord Cornwallis's estate much more compact and extensive, but must strengthen his interest considerably. Had Hutchinson not refused Mr. Thurston's estate, his property there would have been very compact indeed; and his interest irresistible. Hutchinson meant well, but took inadvertently every step to hurt his interest, and prevent its enlargement. Now I think it best either to give the borough up, or endeavour to render it quite secure, and as Lord Cornwallis wishes to keep it, I have fortunately been able to add greatly to his influence. However there is a society established (in which are considerable names and persons of great property, and many members of the House of Commons) for reforming Parliament. The plan is to get petitions, as has been done in the slave business, from all quarters against next year. If the French Constitution stands its ground, it will make wonderful changes all over Europe. We shall not, I hope, be drawn into the war which has commenced with the King of Hungary.

"Lord Brome is at Yverdun in Switzerland, and I hope goes on very well. Mr. Hayes is with him, as I should not have been satisfied with his being there without some attendant from hence in case of sickness.

"Lord Townshend is now quite well.

"Dr. Madan has just been here, out of his wits for joy; as he is so happy, one cannot help feeling satisfied, although the measure seems rash."

JOHN GORE to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1792, August 18. Bill Hill.—". . . I wrote by the first ship that sailed after my arrival in England (the *Earl Talbot*), and hope you have received it and approve of my conduct since I had the misfortune to be obliged to quit the situation, so truly enviable in every respect, under your command. Since that time I have been constantly employed endeavouring to get the better of the complaint which has so long plagued me. . . . I have been here now three weeks, and have found great benefit from the good air and kindness of Admiral and Mrs. Leveson, but an accident has happened within these few days that will, I am sure, affect you equally with myself and all who had the honour of experiencing the Admiral's friendly goodness. . . . The Admiral was in the highest health and spirits imaginable till Tuesday morning last when, in the act of shaving himself [he] was seized with a most violent apoplectic fit, . . . and after an illness of only thirty-one hours, he expired. . . . Your friendship for each other I know, Sir, was great; it will therefore be a comfort to you to know . . . that the state of his affairs are such as will enable the younger children to be extremely well provided for. John Levison has been at home about three weeks, and is a very fine well-disposed young man. . . .

"You will be much concerned at hearing of the death of General Phillipson. This makes eight seats in Parliament vacant within these three weeks. Mr. Pitt is appointed Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, with a salary of 4,000*l.* a year, in the room of Lord Guilford, who died ten days ago, and the Dukes of Portland and Beaufort are contesting for the Chancellorship of Oxford. The former, it is supposed, will carry it, being supported by the Ministry; and it is likewise much talked of that a coalition will shortly take place and a very strong one. If so, the *great people* in newspapers say a war is certainly to follow, but none mention with whom. An armament, I have heard in this house, is certainly to be ordered in the spring to bring the old Empress to her senses, who is at present persecuting the poor unfortunate Poles in an inhuman manner.

"Lord Hood is at present at sea. . . . [His ships] are to be reviewed by his Majesty off Weymouth on the 23rd, after which they are to come into port. The *Centurian* is fitting at Chatham for the Jamaica station, and Admiral Levison told me a few days ago that Lord Hood is going there as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. He now has the command at Portsmouth, and Capt. Inglefield is at Jamaica. The *Collosus*, built exactly after the *Canada*, is the crack ship of Lord Hood's fleet, and sails round them all. We have had a fine camp in this neighbourhood lately, which I much fear assisted the untimely end of Admiral Levison, for on the day of review, he went there on horseback at 6 a.m., and did not return home till half-past three, all which time he did not once dismount. . . . The camp was certainly a very fine sight, and amused his Majesty much. . . . Give me leave to congratulate you on the promotion and success of your nephew, Major Charles Madan, who, besides the rank of Major, has been

presented with 2,000*l.* one from Government and one from the East India Company. They have likewise given Captain Osborne 300*l.*

"The state of France is dreadful beyond conception. On Saturday last the decree passed the National Assembly for deposing the King. The mob instantly rose, attacked and demolished the Tuilleries, and all the Swiss Guards who defended the Palais Royal except a hundred were murdered, and other people in Paris who were supposed to be of the King's party, to the number, it is said, of 10,000. The King, Queen, and Royal family escaped to the Assembly and were there protected. They have been removed to another house under a strong guard, where they are to remain till a decree is passed for their execution, which from all accounts seems inevitable. A degree of infatuation has seized upon France, and the people seem hurrying themselves headlong to destruction. Those who have escaped the disorder are come over here, and it is incredible the vast numbers of them there are in this island. The Prussian and Austrian armies have crossed the Rhine, and will be at Paris in about a week; what is then to be done I know not. They are immensely strong, and it is supposed will carry all before them. The French armies consist of rabble and boys, and are altogether unable to stand against veteran and disciplined troops. This I have from a friend who is in France purposely to look on and see the fun."

Marquis Cornwallis to Commodore the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1792, Nov. 10. Calcutta.—". . . Mr. Baldwyn [the Company's agent at Alexandria] talks of England's arming, but I can see no grounds for such a report in the *Courier de l'Europe*, except that Lord Hood was going out with five guardships and a few frigates to practice some new signals. . . . Abercromby cannot, I think, avoid proceeding to extremities against the Malwan Rajah, so that the sooner you send a ship to Bombay, if there should be none already there, the better. . . . We have had a fine rain, and have now the prospect of as good a crop as was ever known in Bengal."

The Same to the Same.

1793, March 18. Fort William.—Requesting him, if possible, to return to Bengal before August 20, and to permit the writer to take a passage to England in the *Minerva* about the end of that month.

"Extracts of the News."

[1793] March.—Chiefly foreign affairs and naval intelligence.—". . . 25 Feb. Paris. Not a bit of bread in the city; great riots. Bankruptcies in London have happened to the amount of five millions. Hull Bank has stopped payment. . . .

Feb. 28.—Paris in an uproar through want of bread. The mob broke open all the tradesmen's houses, set their own prices upon the goods, and plundered everything. . . .

"March 25.—Policies were opened in the city with a great balance that there would be an end of the war, and that a regal government would be established in France in twelve months from Lady Day, 1793. The bankers refused to discount any paper for the present; the alarm in the Royal Exchange is beyond conception. A bankruptcy has taken place in Edinburgh to the amount of 200,000*l*. . . . Insurgencies and riots are breaking out every day [in France], and several thousands are determined to effect a counter-revolution. A captain of a King's ship said he saw ten sail of French men of war in the Channel. A captain of a French privateer that is taken also says he left Brest harbour in company with ten sail of French men of war and a frigate. The number of prizes taken by each nation, since 1st Feb. to 28 March (for I have counted them all in the papers) are 25 vessels taken by the French, and 52 by the English. . . . I forgot to tell you that no governor was appointed in the place of Sir Charles, and likewise that there were dissensions and riots in several parts of America, as a great many wished for a *convention*, and it was generally supposed that if General Washington was to die, there would be a civil war."

OCCURRENCES.

[1793, March ?].—Lord Howe to command the Channel Fleet, six vice and rear Admirals to serve with him, his flag in the *Queen Charlotte*, Sir Roger Curtis captain of the fleet. Lord Hood to command in the Mediterranean in the *Victory*; four vice and rear Admirals to serve with him; Sir Hyde Parker as captain of the fleet. Rear Admiral Gardner in the *Queen* was before Brest with a detached squadron of six sail of the line and several frigates, part of the grand fleet. Rear Admiral Gell in the *St. George* was cruizing between Cape Finisterre and Maderia, with four sail of the line and one frigate, part of the grand fleet.

"The Channel and North Sea full of frigates. Rear Admiral McBride commands in the Downs, and has the management of the cruising frigates. French Privateers are fitted out, but generally captured before they get half across the Channel. . . . The fleet fitting out with the greatest exertion; every town in England granting bounty to seamen and vieing with each other who can obtain the greatest number.

"No alteration in the Administration. The Opposition reduced to a mere fraction; the people of England firmly attached to the constitution . . . and declaring their sentiments in the most public manner. The Duke of Portland with the leading men of that party also supporting Administration against the levelling faction, which had nearly broke out into rebellion. The Duke of York with the Guards, 2,000 volunteers, and several regiments of cavalry and infantry, serving in Holland. The army, consisting of the Militia and regiments in England, mostly stationed on the coasts of Sussex, Kent and Norfolk, with an amazing train of light

artillery, part of them on a new construction being used on horseback, and travel eight miles an hour. [Foreign Intelligence].

"Dumourier menaces the National Convention, used every epithet that could be made use of to the worst of people, said no force then in France could prevent the united armies to be at Paris in three weeks; that he would march with his army in advance, to establish the Dauphin on the throne." *Signed.* Tho. Ley.

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1793, April 4. Calcutta.—"I yesterday received your letter dated the 1st, on quitting the Pilot, and am sorry to find that your plan seems to be a little deranged by my requesting that you would leave the *Ranger* here and take one of the vessels now at the Andamans in her stead. I really did not think that it could make the smallest difference to you, and after the repeated complaints of the Master Attendant and remonstrances of the merchants, and my own representation to the Court of Directors that twelve pilot vessels were absolutely necessary for the safety of the trade at this port, I did not see, in the event of any serious accident, how I could have been justified in leaving it, probably for above a month, with only five, for, of our present number here, three are too bad to venture into the Roads at this boisterous season. . . .

"I agree with you in thinking that Mr. Blair would have been better employed in surveying than in ship-building; but although I wish many of the abuses of the Bombay Marine to be corrected, I am of opinion that the situation of the officers of that establishment ought to be liberally considered, as unless they have the means of saving a little money, they can only look forward to death for a termination of an inglorious and wretched exile.

"There is so much difficulty in sending stock down to the mouth of the river, that I believe it will be much the best plan for you to come up to Diamond harbour, and I will accordingly order one of the moorings to be left for you. It will be better that I should embark there, and I will take care to have everything in such readiness that if you come between the 15th and 20th of August to Diamond harbour you shall not be detained long enough there to run the hazard of any material sickness amongst the ship's company."

INTELLIGENCE.

1793, April 10. Alexandria.—A summary, by George Baldwin, of news received from Europe, concerning affairs in Brabant, Germany and Savoy; the attempt of Lords Portland and Loughborough to "conciliate things" in England, Mr. Fox's resistance, and the dwindling of his followers "to almost nothing;" the execution of the King of France, and the horror and indignation roused in England; the proceedings of the National Convention; the movements of Lord Hood's fleet, and the massacre of French in Italy. *Two copies.*

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to COMMODORE the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1793, June 8. Calcutta.—"I have been exceedingly uneasy at having no accounts of you since you quitted the Pilot, but if no accident has happened (which I trust is the case) I think this letter must find you at Madras.

"If we have a war, I conclude that some frigates at least will come out with the notification; and I have recommended to Sir Charles Oakeley, if we are superior at sea, to proceed immediately to the attack of Pondicherry, in which event, I am sure you will readily give all possible assistance by blocking up, &c., &c.

"Unless we have the superiority at sea, I should not wish to engage in the siege, at least till I can come myself to the coast; and, in the event of a war, whether they commence the siege without me or not, I should be glad to get to the coast as soon as I possibly can, and to embark for England the day after Pondicherry is taken. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1793, July 3. Calcutta.—"I was most exceedingly concerned to learn by a letter from Sir C. Oakeley, dated the 23rd of last month, that you had not then arrived at Madras, and that although he had sent an express to Trincomalé, he did not know with any certainty that you was there. With the powers which the *Minerva* possesses both of sailing and fighting, I have no doubt, if you were put on your guard, you would be able to take care of yourself; but, if you should fall in with your two Malabar *acquaintances* (both of which I understand to be hourly expected from Mauritius) and you should be unprepared and ignorant of the war, the consequences might be fatal.

"As it is of the utmost importance to take Pondicherry before the setting in of the Carnatic monsoon, I have directed that they should commence the siege as soon as they are ready, without waiting for me, but as in the meantime I am all impatience to get to the coast, I must entreat that you will do all you can to promote my wishes in a point which interests me so sensibly.

"We have taken an English built ship in this river that carries eighteen six pounders, and was in the last war fitted out as a sloop of war. I intend that she should carry part of my family and baggage, but I dare not venture myself in any less secure conveyance than a frigate or twenty gun ship, if any such should come out. If nothing should come, you may perhaps fetch me yourself, as I think few objects can be more important for the public service than my speedy arrival on the coast. Blair at present commands my armed vessel, but she shall be heartily at your service if you wish to take her."

The SAME to the SAME.

1793, July 11. Calcutta.—"I have this moment received your letter of the 27th ult.; and though I greatly rejoice at your arrival at Madras, I am put under considerable difficulties about my passage thither.

"I should be very sorry to fall into the hands of such an enemy, but unless a frigate should arrive before the 7th of August, I shall embark in a prize that we have armed, and take my chance, and I trust that, if you hear of enemy's frigates, you will keep the best look out for me that you can. I think we need not fear a privateer. If you should be able to send a vessel in time for me, I am sure you will do it."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1793, July 13. Calcutta.—"When I wrote to you on the 11th I was in great haste, having barely time to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th of June; and I must likewise confess that I felt a considerable degree of mortification and disappointment at seeing so little prospect of my arriving upon the coast in any reasonable time.

"Having however reflected seriously on the impression which my capture would probably make on the native Powers, and the dangerous consequences with which it might be attended to the British interests in India, I do not think that I should be justifiable in embarking in a vessel which, by herself, would barely be a match for a stout privateer and would be an easy prey to two of no great force

"I know that I may depend upon your accommodating me with a frigate, if the circumstances of the service can possibly admit of it; but if that should be impracticable, I have requested Sir C. Oakeley (unless he should hear from you that the French frigates are come in force into the Bay) to send the *Triton* or some Indiaman of that size for me, as I think that our armed sloop, in company with an Indiaman well manned with artillery men, would not only be a match for any privateer force, but for one of the smaller frigates. If, on the contrary, you should have good reason to believe that the ships you heard of at Mauritius have arrived in the Bay, there would be no safety for me but in a frigate, and you will not forget me."

The SAME to the SAME.

1793, August 3. Calcutta.—"I yesterday received your very kind letter by Manning, and notwithstanding my own anxiety, I am well convinced that you could not have acted otherwise, and I am very glad that you decided to take the part you have done. and I most earnestly hope you will succeed

"By the great exertions of Captain Lewis of the *Woodcote*, and of Mr. Gillet the builder, that vessel will drop down from Chanfaul Ghaut on the 11th, and will I trust be at Kedjezee by the 18th, although she must stop to take in some rice at Diamond harbour to bring her down in the water. She carries 26 nine-pounders and 6 fours, and will carry seventy-five European artillery men, and as many gun Lascars. Blair in the *Bien Aimée* carries 25 artillery men and as many Lascars, and eighteen six-pounders.,

"I give out that I shall go in the *Woodcote*, and shall proceed in her to Kedjezee, where I mean with two of my family to remove

privately to the *Bien Aimée*, and as the latter is supposed to be the fastest sailer, and as the two ships are to keep company, if we should, contrary to all probability, meet with a superior force, I must be very unfortunate if I cannot escape.

"I think that, without being too sanguine, I may hope to reach Madras in eighteen days from Kedjezee, as the current at the end of August sets near shore pretty strong to the southward, and the wind is variable. If I can proceed by sea to Pondicherry without landing at Madras, it will save both time and trouble, but I shall not attempt it without hearing from you. Three armed transports with Artillery men, Lascars, and stores, will sail about the same time that I do; but I intend only that the *Woodcote* and *Bien Aimée* should keep company.

"The *Drake*, Bombay cruiser, will join you about this time, and will, I trust, prove very acceptable to you as a tender. From what Manning tells me of the *Concord*, I think I shall order her to be sold; and as I cannot remove Blair so near the time of our sailing without putting things into some confusion, and running the risk of losing men, I propose that Manning and the Lieutenant shall return in the *Woodcote*, and the men be divided according to convenience between the two ships; and, as soon as we arrive, I will send the *Bien Aimée* to you, to be taken into the service if you like her, or put Manning into her at Madras if we land there, as you may direct. You will easily conceive that I am anxious for Manning's promotion. Be so good as to send letters and instructions for me to Madras."

The Same to the Same.

1793, September 15. Madras.—"As you have generally been in the practice of coming on shore early in the morning, it is probable that you do not intend to visit us to-day; and as we dine to-morrow with Sir Charles Oakeley, I shall not expect to see you before Tuesday. My only wish is, with temper and good humour (although I cannot with cheerfulness) to touch briefly on the subjects you have mentioned; and I feel so perfectly guiltless on every article, that I can hardly doubt my success in placing my conduct before you in a very different light from that in which you have hitherto seen it.

"No consideration should induce me to be the cause of your doing what does not appear to be right in your own mind, and I have therefore determined to take my passage in the *Swallow*, unless you should be relieved or ordered home before the period of our leaving this place; in which case I should with great pleasure go with you. But as that is very unlikely, I shall probably only have to request you will see us safe off the land.

The Same to the Same.

1793, December 17. St. Helena.—"We arrived here on the 15th, without having seen a single sail from the time you parted from us till we made this island.

"I have met with newspapers here as late as the beginning of July, but do not find that any material event had happened in Europe, or that any ships of war had sailed for India.

"Your stay on the evening that you came on board the *Swallow* was so short that I omitted speaking to you about Williamson's desire of visiting England. There can in my opinion be no professional objection to it; but as it is probable that the new military regulations for the Indian army will not only give a greater facility to the officers of the Company's service to visit their native country, but enable them also to do it without resigning the service or forfeiting their pay, it may be as well that he should wait to see how that business is finally arranged.

"We have met with some delay in watering here, on account of the very extraordinary violence of the surf, but hope to get away to-morrow or next day.

"You may depend on my writing to you as soon as I arrive in England. I enclose a letter for you which I found here from the Bishop, which I suppose is of a very old date."

Lord Hood to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1794, May 21. *Victory*, off Bastia.—"Accept my most sincere congratulations on your return to England, and I hope and trust in the most perfect health. I confess myself greatly your debtor for the several letters you have had the goodness to write me, which I have had no opportunity of answering, and feel myself particularly obliged for your attention to my young friend Gosselin. From a sense of your kindness to me in many instances, previous to my knowledge of your having made Gosselin a Captain, I took the very earliest opportunity I had of giving post to Captain Cunningham, whom your good brother the Bishop recommended to me for employment before the war.

"I have been engaged in very busy scenes, and have had difficulties innumerable to struggle with, but, thank God, have very happily surmounted them all.

"May 22. Bastia has surrendered."

Capt. Horatio Nelson to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, London.

1794, May 23. Bastia.—"My dear friend, I congratulate you most sincerely on your return to England, and shall rejoice to see you there. Our friend Lord Hood, you will know, has been thwarted in this country in his endeavours to take Bastia, but to his honor with the troops embark'd to serve as marines, 40 artillery men and marines, 1,000 effective men, join'd to a close blockade, he has accomplish'd his object. We, who know his judgment, which no affected fears can warp, will not be surprised that success is the consequence. Our loss you will see has been most trifling. Believe me with sincerest friendship, your most faithful Horatio Nelson."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, at Plymouth.

1795, June 27.—"As the papers give us an account of your having had some occupation in your cruise, probably you may soon return to refit. What I have heard of this matter at present was highly satisfactory, but it did not go to the conclusion, which I have no doubt was gratifying to you. . . .

"After having written so far, the post came in with your letter, the copy of one from Lady Spencer, and of one from a Captain of your fleet. You may, I hope, conceive what sensations the high approbation which your conduct has met with gives me; and how truly happy it has made me. Next week I am to confirm at several places in this neighbourhood, and, the week following, I shall set out on my Derbyshire visitation."

Admiral J. Forbes to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1795, June 27. London.—"I should be wanting to myself if I did not attempt to express my sincere rejoicing on the success of your late transactions, and congratulating you on your recent accession of glory and fame.

"Though the public are used to expect much from you, they could not possibly expect what is not in the nature of things, that with all your acknowledged firmness and abilities, you should repulse an enemy near three times stronger than yourself, and sailing better, and thereby make a retreat deserving of a triumph.

"The happy incident had almost turned the head of your very sincere and affectionate friend, Mr. Pole. He came to me, and ran about the whole day to communicate it to your friends, and having copied an account of it from a letter from Captain Stopford, he could not proceed in reading it to me without frequent interruptions from tears of joy."

Earl Howe to Vice-Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1795, June 28. London.—Acknowledging his letter, containing the information that he had met with the French fleet, from which the ships under his command had escaped with great difficulty, and that he had put into Cawsand Bay.

Sir Charles Saxton to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1795, June 28. Portsmouth Yard.—"We have had such various accounts of your *rencontre* with the enemy that we hardly know which to believe, but you will readily believe that we cleave to that which flatters our wishes most, and for the detail and particulars we will wait till your squadron arrives here. In the meantime we cannot help offering our earnest congratulations that you are so very honourably out of the scrape, of which nobody seems to have the smallest inclination to dispute, and are perfectly quiet and confident that in this instance our naval character has suffered no diminution, nor [is] in the least degree impaired, but has experienced

every addition of glory and honour that could be derived from the event under all its circumstances.

"We expect to see you every hour, and are big with expectation that Lord Bridport will be fortunate enough to finish a work you so nobly began. Since writing the above the news, imperfectly also detailed to us, of my Lord Bridport's success following (and in consequence), so close upon the heels of your own, has just now reached Portsmouth, and set us all agog."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 28. Warley Camp.—"I most sincerely wish you joy and assure you that your conduct in your late *rencontre* with the French fleet will do you more honour, in the mind of every reflecting man in this kingdom, than ten ordinary victories with equal or superior force.

"When Mr. Windham expressed his apprehensions lest you should fall in with the enemy, when we first received an account of their force and of their steering towards the line where you were supposed to be cruising, I ventured to say to him, 'you need not be much afraid, it will not be easy to get him into a scrape.' As I understand that you are going to sea very soon, and may perhaps not receive this letter, I shall only add my most earnest wishes for your welfare and success."

W. W. POLE [afterwards Earl of Mornington] to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1795, June 29. Hanover Square.—"I cannot resist writing you a few lines to congratulate you from my heart upon your late glorious proceedings with the French fleet. You will easily believe that there was no man in England made more, or, I should rather say, so happy by the accounts of your success as I was; though I flatter myself no person alive had a better right not to be surprised at it. Indeed it so happened that when I heard the French fleet was at sea, and apprehensions were entertained for your safety, I predicted the consequences in case you met them pretty much as they fell out. Your letter, which I read with delight in Saturday's *Gazette*, reminded me of old times, and it is no small gratification to me to hear all the world applaud the clearness and modesty of your accounts, at the same time that they do justice to the forcible and handsome manner in which you write of the conduct of the ships under your command. I can scarce bring myself to feel that I am not still under your protection, but, though circumstances have long withdrawn me from it, I shall ever consider your fame and fortune as things nearest my heart. For be assured, dear Sir, that if my own father had distinguished himself as you have done, I could not have felt more happy than I do.

"I know you hate flattery, but when a man feels as I do he cannot refrain from expressing some of his convictions, and I rely upon that goodness which in former days has excused many of my errors, to forgive my troubling you with my praises, which, however, I won't allow to be flattery, for they are sincere."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1795, June 29. Eccleshall.—"I cannot help repeating the satisfaction which I feel at the very favourable manner in which your conduct is generally received, and the thanks, which I saw yesterday in the paper, do you the greatest credit. At the birthday, the Queen enquired much after you, and was very civil about you. . . .

"This place is so improved I hardly knew it, and in another two years will be quite comfortable. I observe that Mr. Whitby has a vast number of young beeches and other trees to spare, which, as they are so near, would be very useful. He offered me, when he lived at Cresswell, any number of them, but I did not want them. Now they would be very desirable, and I *cannot ask* for them. The son has now been in action and, I hope, has satisfied you; indeed I do not doubt it. I shall have great pleasure in shewing this place to you, when I have finished it."

Earl Howe to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1795, June 30. Porters Lodge.—"Private. Not informed of any other circumstances besides those contained in your letter to which my official answer was sent two days since, I was ignorant until I went to town yesterday of the just subject of congratulation which the conduct of your little squadron, when in the most perilous situation, establishes your title to, in public acknowledgment.

"That you will be apprised of it from higher and more acceptable authorities I have no doubt, but I could not, on such an occasion, omit the tender of my mite of applause."

Sir Charles Middleton to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1795, July 4. Hertfort Street.—"Private. I should have congratulated you much sooner on your very judicious and honourable retreat from so superior a force of the enemy, but have been confined with the gout.

"I have read your journal with the utmost satisfaction, and it is proposed to bind it up separate, to be kept at the Admiralty as a model of professional conduct."

Henry Addington to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1795, November 11. Palace Yard.—"I have the honour of transmitting to you the enclosed resolutions, which express the high and unanimous sense entertained by the House of Commons of your judicious and gallant conduct on the 16th and 17th days of June last, when in the presence of a superior fleet of the enemy; and likewise of the spirited exertions of the officers, seamen, marines and soldiers, who served under your command on those days. Allow me to assure you, that I have great satisfaction in obeying the commands of the House, by conveying to you this distinguished testimony of the approbation and gratitude of your country."

[Sir] C. S[axton] to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, Wimpole Street.

1796, September 18. Portsmouth.—I will send what is due to you for your servants and retinue to Mr. Kingdom. "He is one of the principal clerks, and in the place of Nelson, the now Secretary at the Navy Office. . . .

"The *Juste* sailed yesterday, but without her proper Commander, our friend Tom*, who was, like one or two others lately, most unluckily taken ill within twelve hours after he received his orders for the West Indies,. . . . I hope he will soon do well again, as it is said his *Shelala friends* was not easily prevailed upon to go to sea without their old and much esteemed commander. . . .

"Since I wrote the above, I have seen St. P., who would make believe that Tom is exceedingly angry with Lord Hu[gh Seymour] for ordering his ship to sea so hastily, and that he says they might have stayed four and twenty hours, to see whether a man got better or not. But *quere?* Is he really angry, and is not it all grimace on all sides. 5 p.m.—I sent this moment to inquire how he did, and received for answer, a great deal better. If so, perhaps he may follow her to Plymouth, where she stops.

Lord Nelson to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1799, January 31. Palermo.—"Nothing could give me more pleasure than receiving a wish from my very old acquaintance, who has more than once saved my life by his friendship and taught me by his example to beat the French. My honors, my riches, the gift of a gracious sovereign and my country, are beyond my deserts, yet believe me, my dear friend, I see but little real happiness for me on this side the grave, and when it shall please God to call me I shall go with pleasure. Ever, ever believe me your oblig'd, faithful, and affectionate friend, Nelson.

You may rely on my attention to Mr. Richⁿ.."

Elizabeth Cornwallis to her Uncle, Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, Aldwick, near Chichester.

1799, June 6, Hill Street.—"I shall feel really anxious to hear of the safe arrival of Lady Louisa Brome and her child in Ireland. I think the expedition somewhat dangerous for them both. . . . Lady M. and Mr. Singleton are still in town. She was very angry at not being asked to the Queen's ball. . . . My ears have hardly recovered the royal review on the birthday. James saw it; he says it was as fine a sight as *John Bull* could wish for, and that many emigrants were there and seemed struck with it. . . . All the world is mad about the new play, called *Pizarro*. James went to the door last night, but found it impossible to squeeze his little person in. I like your fancying the sailors would have forgot you. The lower orders are not always quite so forgetful as the *higher* in my opinion. Do not call me *a democrat* for saying this."

* The Hon. Thomas Pakenham.

The Same to the Same.

1799, June 19. Hill Street.—"Captain Whitby dined here on Sunday. He seems very much occupied with his ship; I imagine he is at this moment otherwise engaged, in preparing for a great masquerade which the Duchess of Marlborough is to give to-night. Lady M. and Mr. Singleton are come up from Cavenham on purpose to be there. . . . Lord and Lady Carnarvon were robbed a few days ago in coming from the Bishop of Winchester's at Chelsea, where they had dined. My father was of the party, but fortunately escaped the *salute* upon his return. I should fear this will rather thin the galas at Winchester House."

Marquis Cornwallis to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1800, June 13. Phœnix Park.—"Our Union business is now happily over, and I have the satisfaction to say that there is no appearance of ill-humour or disturbance in any part of the island, or even in Dublin where it was most unpopular. Several of the most respectable, although by no means the least violent of the opposition, have declared that, since the measure has received the sanction of the Legislature, they would support it with as much zeal as they would maintain any other law of the land.

"This important event has totally changed the relative situation of this country, and if the English Government act wisely, those evils which have brought not only Ireland but the whole British Empire to the brink of destruction, may, in the course of a few years be entirely removed.

"I cannot venture to look forward to any precise time for my own deliverance, and am much afraid that it cannot come as soon as I wish. But I feel that I grow old, and it is natural for me, after having been employed so long in situations of labour and anxiety, to look with impatience for the hour of quiet and retirement."

The Same to the Same.

1800, December 16. Phœnix Park.—"The report of my having the gout was occasioned by the sort of attack to which I have been subject for near thirty years, of swelling in one of my feet or ankles for three or four days, unaccompanied with the inflammation and painful symptoms which attend the gout. You may remember my being lame for a day or two on board of the *Isis*. Whenever people see a man walk lame, they immediately cry out that it is the gout. For my part, I am pretty indifferent about these matters. If a man of 62 can go quietly off the stage without pain, he has no right to be dissatisfied.

"I have had no concern about the peerages given to the Admirals; those matters are done in England, but I assisted your old acquaintance Lord Charles Fitzgerald, who was abandoned by his brother on account of difference in politics, and would I believe have been put to some inconvenience if he had been reduced to the state of an *un*privileged man.

"Letters of civility have passed between Gardner and myself, but it is not likely that we should meet unless I go to Cork.

"Your landlord, Sir John D'Oyley, dined with me the other day, and seemed to think that he was fortunate in having so good a tenant.

"Matters look as ill as possible in the north, and in Germany; God only knows how we shall weather our present difficulties. I confess that for a long time I have been given to despond. Whoever tells you of my being in good spirits, knows very little what passes in my breast. It is the duty of persons who have so odious a part as mine assigned to them, to keep up appearances."

E. Cornwallis to her uncle, Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

[1801, beginning of], Sunday. Bath.—I have been very near dying of a fever. "You know it is unfashionable to be ill and quite obsolete to die. I suppose the fear of my being detected in such disgraceful proceedings operated in Hill Street, as the whole family went to the Drawing Room just when Sir Horace and the physician expected that their letters would have brought them here. . . .

"Sir Horace [Mann]* is laid up with the gout. He always has it about this time of the year, but he bears it with his usual good temper and cheerfulness, and seems pleased with our efforts to nurse and amuse him.

"Irish affairs prosper, I fancy; but when we receive the members from thence, we shall want a new House of Lords, as ours overflows already with Mr. Pitt's peers."

Earl St. Vincent to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1801, February 22. Mortimer Street.—Recommending Vice-Admiral Gambier, who desires to serve under Cornwallis's command. The Board are obliged to take the *Russell* and *Magnificent* away to make up Sir Hyde Parker's squadron, but will send others instead very soon.

The Same to the Same, at Torbay.

1801, March 28. Admiralty.—"I never did give credit to the intention of the combined fleet to measure with ours, until within these few days; but, on combining the intelligence from every quarter, I do in my conscience believe you will have the honour and happiness of finishing the war, by a glorious achievement."

The Same to the Same.

1801, April 20. Admiralty.—"Upon a review of Captain D'Auvergne's intelligence, and coupling it with the observations made by Captain Cunningham of the *Clyde*, than whom I do not know a more correct officer, I incline to your opinion that your squadron should not be separated in the manner recommended by the Board, and I have the happiness to know that every individual

* Cousin of the writer. Succeeded his uncle as baronet in 1786.

member reposes the same confidence in your judgment, zeal, and ability that I do, and agrees with me in a full approbation of the disposition you have made of your frigates and advanced squadron under the orders of Sir James Saumarez, to keep up a communication between Brest and the body of your squadron.

"I am glad you were able to detach Sir Edward Pellew so immediately; the *Majestic* and *Orion* will supply the places of your crippled ships, and I trust we shall soon be able to send you two more.'

Postscript.—"Since writing my letter Lieutenant Colonel Stewart is arrived with accounts of an armistice having been concluded on the 9th instant with the Court of Denmark, suspending hostilities on the coast of Finland and Jutland only for fourteen weeks, and fourteen days' notice, at the expiration of the aforementioned term, before hostilities are committed by any party; the Court of Denmark agreeing to suspend during that period her co-operation under the treaty of armed neutrality."

The Same to the Same.

1801, June 20. Admiralty.—"I hope you will do me the honour to accept of a medal which I have caused to be struck to commemorate the exemplary conduct of the officers, seamen and marines of the *Ville de Paris*, in the late trying times."

Viscount Hood to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1801, August 31. Royal College, Greenwich.—"Private . . . My friend Nelson, at his last attack at Boulogne, appears to have taken the bull by the horns, and to have sacrificed a great number of lives without an adequate object, for the bringing off a few gunboats could not be one, for they could be replaced within a fortnight. This, I am told, is generally said in town, where I go very seldom. His Lordship since that has made no other attempt, which I suppose may be recommended to him, so as not to *irritate*, at the moment a favourable dispatch was expected from Bonaparte respecting peace, which is not yet come; but I think a few days must determine whether the sword is to be sheathed, or war continued. My fears are we shall have no peace but such a one as I shall view as a very serious misfortune instead of a blessing, until you have beaten the combined fleet at Brest. Therefore cease blocking the port, and tempt it out. I have ever held that opinion, and am persuaded the war has been prolonged by the blockade. A temporary one, under particular circumstances, may not only be prudent but perfectly wise; but a perpetual one must bear us down, which the French know as well as we, and that I conceive will make against a good peace.

"I feel very sensibly your very flattering expressions respecting my relation Sam Hood. I had a letter from him off Cape Spartel two days after his conflict with *l'Indomptable*. He, his officers, and ship's company were exceedingly jaded by their exertions in getting the *Venerable* to rights after the affair off Alguzaries [Algeziras],

and in the action off Cadiz, he had not 500 men able to come to quarters. I therefore long for another letter from him after he gets to Gibralter and has been a few days quiet, for as long as the mind has full employment the fatigues of the body are not felt; this I know from experience."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1801, September 2. Admiralty.—"I feel a considerable degree of delicacy in communicating to you my apprehension that the change my relation Captain Whitby has thought fit to make in the economy of the *Ville de Paris* may occasion dissatisfaction on board her. Without entering into the merits of the case, which probably are in favour of the new system, we found so much advantage from the quiet disposition of the people, their good manners, and apparent detestation of the licentious and mutinous conduct of many of the ships of the Channel fleet, that it was thought advisable not to brace them up too tight; and it is much to be feared that any material alteration in the modes they have been so long accustomed to, will occasion ill-humour and consequent evils. I am sure you will do me the justice to believe that nothing short of my anxious desire that the utmost harmony should prevail in the fleet you so ably command, more particularly in the ship bearing your flag, would have prompted me to make this communication, which is intended for your private ear, and to be acted upon, or not, as you shall judge expedient."

The SAME to the SAME.

1801, September 7. Admiralty.—". . . Every officer and person you wish to be removed from the *Ville de Paris* shall be otherwise disposed of and succeeded by those of your choice. I am extremely concerned to learn that there has been any impropriety in the conduct of Captain Sutton towards you, the more so as I had described him, as I really thought, propriety itself. . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1801, October 2. Admiralty.—"The preliminaries of peace were signed last night, and I have infinite satisfaction in acquainting you that your brother, the Marquis, will negotiate the definitive treaty. The moment the preliminaries are exchanged, you will receive directions for the disposal of the fleet. Torbay, a port in Ireland, and Cawsand Bay will probably be the principal points until the definitive treaty is signed, which I will thank you to keep to yourself."

The SAME to the SAME.

1801, November 3. Admiralty.—"I have derived the highest degree of satisfaction from your obliging letter of the 1st, and shall always consider your having been placed at the head of the Channel fleet as an event of the greatest importance to the country at large, and of the most solid comfort to me."

The Same to the Same.

1801, November 9. Admiralty.—Complaining of the slovenly conduct of the port officers touching cartels, and observing that Admiral Villaret "is in luck not to have been discovered, as his treatment must have been that of a spy."

Marquis Cornwallis to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1801, November 10. Paris.—"I this morning received your letter dated the 1st from Torbay, and am happy to find that you had got into port before the dreadful gales of the 2nd and 4th. I have long considered peace to be necessary for the preservation of our country, and I did not therefore feel myself at liberty to refuse the mission when it was pressed upon me, although nothing could be more disagreeable to me.

"Admiral de Bruix, with whom I dined at Talleyrand's, spoke of your conduct off Belleisle in the highest terms, and added that, although he felt mortified at being deprived of a victory which he considered as certain, he had some satisfaction in seeing you obtain the success which your conduct so truly deserved.

"Should a dissolution take place, of which I know nothing but report, I hope you will again represent the borough of Eye."

James Cornwallis to his Uncle, Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1802, February 16. Hill Street.—Concerning his sister's approaching marriage to Mr. Warde Jackson.

Earl St. Vincent to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1802, April 1. Admiralty.—"The French have seen, felt, and understood so much of your character, that their's must be changed materially if they face you in preference to your very sincere and obedient servant."

The Same to the Same.

1802, April 10. Rochetts.—"I am sorry to have kept you so long in Torbay, which has been occasioned entirely by the apprehension of some disorders among the seamen, arising out of their impatience to be liberated, a disgrace I have felt confident we should not experience while your flag was flying. . . ."

Marquis Cornwallis to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1802, December 21. Culford.—"You mentioned some time ago that you thought you should be in town about Christmas, and gave us some reason to hope that you would visit Culford about that time. We propose to remain here till February (except that I may go up to attend the birthday) and shall be glad to see you whenever it may be agreeable and convenient to you to come.

"Mrs. Young, the widow of the Bishop of Clonfert, whom I made a bishop entirely on account of his great talents and exemplary character, and for no political reason whatever, has expressed a wish that I should get her son employed as midshipman. If it should fall in your way, without putting yourself to the least inconvenience, to recommend him to any friend of yours who happens to be in commission, I shall be obliged to you. I enclose an account of his services."

ADMIRALTY COMMISSIONERS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Admiral of the Blue.

1803, May 16.—Desiring him to take the *Victory* (Captain Sutton) under his command.

THE BLOCKADE OF BREST.

1803, May–December.—A series of letters from the Naval Commanders engaged in the blockade, almost all of which, of any importance, have been printed by the Navy Records Society, in *Despatches and Letters relating to the Blockade of Brest*, Vol. I. There are 26 letters from Rear Admiral Collingwood, 5 from Sir Edward Pellew, 2 severally from Admiral Montague, Rear Admiral Campbell and Captain Lord Æmilius Beauclerk, and single letters from Captains Elphinstone, W. H. Jervis, and T. R. Ricketts.

WILLIAM MARSDEN to VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

1803, May 18. Admiralty.—Informing him that in case Admiral Cornwallis does not need the *Victory*, the Commissioners have desired the Admiral to put it under his Lordship's command; who may either shift his flag into it or proceed in the *Amphion*, directing the *Victory* to accompany him, as he thinks proper. *Signed.*

WILLIAM MARSDEN to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, May 18. Admiralty.—The letter alluded to above. "*Printed in* The Blockade of Brest," i. 12.

WILLIAM MARSDEN to VICE-ADMIRAL LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

1803, May 19. Admiralty Office.—Acknowledging his letter (informing them that he has hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*) and desiring him on no account to pass Admiral Cornwallis, so as to run any chance of depriving him of the service of the *Victory*, if he wishes for her. "*Printed in* The Blockade of Brest," i. 13.

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, May 23. *Victory*, at sea.—"I have the honour to transmit you the directions of the Admiralty for my joining you off Brest, but as I have not been so fortunate as to meet you, and the whole business of the Mediterranean waiting my arrival, I have judged

it proper to shift my flag to the *Amphion* and to proceed in her If you have no commands for the *Victory*, I trust you will order her to join me without a moment's loss of time." *Signed, but signature cut out.*

ADMIRALTY COMMISSIONERS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, May 30.—Desiring him to take Rear Admiral Collingwood—who is to shift his flag to the *Venerable*—under his command. *Signed by Lord St. Vincent, Sir Philip Stephens and Sir Thomas Troubridge.*

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, Channel Fleet.

1803, July 31. *Victory*, off Toulon.—"The *Victory* joined me last night, having been, *via* Malta, seven weeks from Gibraltar. I can only say to you thanks for not taking the *Victory* from me; it was like yourself and very unlike many others which you and I know. She has been tolerably successful, and indeed except the *Amphion* the only ship under my command who have taken any thing of any consideration.

"The Admiralty not allowing me to come out in the *Victory* direct from Portsmouth has lost the capture of two 74's, and probably two frigates, and perhaps by this time of much more.

"The fleet here upon paper are very formidable, but in fact the *Victory*, *Bellisle*, and *Donegal* are the only ships fit to keep the sea; the rest are unfit for service until docked, although amongst the finest and certainly best-manned ships in our service.

"I have at this moment only four sail to watch the French fleet; the rest are in port refitting. The squadron in Toulon is 7 of the line, 5 or 6 frigates, and 6 or 7 corvettes, perfectly ready for sea, and whenever they come out, which they will do whenever they have an object worth fighting for (I do not mean to say that they will merely think us an object worth coming out to fight, I never saw a Frenchman yet fight for fighting's sake, and I do not believe they will now begin). I have with me an *élève* of yours who I esteem most highly, not only as an active officer, but as a gentleman; his ship is always perfectly ready for any service, and he executes it in the best style, and I am sure that Captain Whitby will give me support in the true Cornwallis style should the French come out.

"With, my dear friend, my most ardent wishes for your meeting the French fleet, and for your health, believe me ever, with the sincerest regard, your most obliged and faithful friend, Nelson and Bronté."

REAR-ADMIRAL CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1803, August 9. *Venerable.*—"I am feeling very much obliged to you for your kindness in allowing me a choice of the ship to hoist my flag in the absence of the *Venerable*. Any ship has good accommodation for me; and as the *Royal Sovereign* is better kept further

off shore than the rest of the squadron generally are, I intend to go on board the *Minotaur*. Besides, their Lordships might think I was pointing out a great ship for myself which they have allotted for some other officer, and I would not wish them to think so; but what determined me is, I can do the business better in the *Minotaur*.

"I shall take an early opportunity of going on board the *Boadicea* and making the enquiry; but, the *Sirius* not being present, I shall hear but one side of the question. Captain Prowse, in his letter to me, says the *Boadicea* attempted to wear clear of him, but did not go off sufficiently to clear him.

"Captain de Courcy has been a good deal in this service formerly, and is a very vigilant officer; if Hammond is not able to return to his command, she cannot be in better hands.

"I was much concerned to receive your information of the state of Dublin; in consequence I ordered a return of the different nations of which the ships' companies were composed. We have in the *Venerable* far the largest proportion of Irish, having 187 seamen, and 11 marines. In completing the complements this circumstance should be a consideration, as the times are."

Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Calder to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1803, November 1. *Prince of Wales*. Cawsand Bay.—Regretting that although he got the dock-yard men to work on Sunday, he fears his ship will not be ready to sail before Sunday or Monday. Is short of 118 men, and can get none where he is, but some are expected from Liverpool. The *Northumberland* is also very short of men, though in other respects ready.

Rear-Admiral Collingwood to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1803, December 21. *Venerable*. Cawsand Bay.—In answer to his letter of the 17th inst., the Admiralty have ordered his ship to be docked and re-fitted. This is a great disappointment to him, for he fears it will be long before he can join the fleet, unless their Lordships will appoint him another ship. The *Colossus* and *Neptune* are ready, and only wait for a fair wind.

Elizabeth Cornwallis to her Uncle, Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

[1803 ?], Monday. Hill Street.—Announcing the breaking off of her engagement to Mr. Jackson, "the young man having in plain, cool terms" informed her "that it would no longer conduce to his happiness." She feels it a fine lesson in humility that the faithful affection of six years should have so ended.

Marquis Cornwallis to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1804, January 9. Culford.—"I have felt much for you during the difficult and trying situations in which you have been lately placed.

"My first wish when you sailed from Torbay was that you would find the French fleet on the outside of the harbour, and have sufficient strength and opportunity to render, at least as far as those ships were concerned, all further blockading unnecessary. In failure of this, my next was gratified, by your having been able again to turn the key upon them.

"Ships however, and men too, must give way at last, and God only knows how all this business is to end.

"In the meantime you are the most popular man in England, and although some men may actually despise the voice of the public, or others may affect to do so, yet, after all, it is no very unpleasing sensation for a man to know that his conduct is universally approved and admired."

Evan Nepean to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1804, January 20. Admiralty Office.—Sending him a copy of a letter received by Lord Hawkesbury from Mr. Frere, his Majesty's minister at Madrid. *Letter and enclosure both printed in* "The Blockade of Brest," i., 252.

Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Cotton to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1804, January 30. *San Josef*. Cawsand Bay.—Stating that the weather has been a great hindrance to them. The *Culloden*, however, is ready for sea except her water, and will join the squadron as soon as completed.

Rear-Admiral Collingwood to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1804, February 14. *Culloden*.—"I shifted my flag to this ship on Sunday the 5th . . . This cold weather is a very agreeable change to me, for the constant wet and scanty clothing of this ship's company was increasing our sick list. If the French were waiting for a wind to come out, they cannot have one more favourable than this; but I think we are rather stronger than they would wish."

Viscount Nelson to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

1804, February 14. *Victory*.—"Where your kind letter of September 27th has been travelling to I cannot guess; it only reached me a few days ago, with the Admiralty order to allow Whitby to go to England, he being appointed to the *Ville de Paris*, and another Captain appointed to the *Bellisle*. However, as Captain Hargood is not arrived I have recommended Whitby to remain a short time longer in order to reap the harvest of all his toils in the *Bellisle;* he has had an uphill work in her, and I should wish him to reap the fruit of his labours alongside a Frenchman. I expect them every hour to put to sea; they have ten sail ready

or nearly so. What a dreadful winter you have had, my dear friend; we must not compare our Mediterranean weather with that of the Channel. That you may very soon see the French outside of Brest is the fervent wish of your most obliged and sincere friend."

Postscript.—"I can assure [you] I am not singular in regretting the loss of Whitby from our little squadron; it is universal." *Printed in Clarke and M'Arthur's* "Life of Nelson."

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS

1804, March 19. *Victory.*—"Nothing but the desire to get Whitby to you could have induced me to send a ship to Gibraltar, for my distress for small ships is greater than can be conceived; but I assure you there is nothing I would not readily do to meet your wishes. I sincerely hope that the French will soon give us both a meeting; the result ought not to be doubted; and then from my heart I hope that villain Buonaparte will be upset, and that we may have a permanent peace. It is really shocking that *one* animal should disturb the repose of Europe, who I believe wish for peace.

"In parting with Captain Whitby I part with an indefatigable officer who has had a hard task in the *Bellisle*, which he has left in good order.

"With every sincere good wish for your health and complete success, Believe me, my dear friend, your much obliged and affectionate, Nelson and Bronté."

REAR-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, April 6. *Culloden.*—Regrets to report that his ship is very short of fuel, Capt. Reynolds informing him that there are only 12 bushels left, which is about four days' firing. The purser states that 45 quarters were sent on board by him at Plymouth (which should be sufficient for 180 days), and since he [Collingwood] came into the ship they have been regularly issued, therefore the great consumption must have been before he arrived.

SIR JOHN PERRING, LORD MAYOR, to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, April 9. Mansion House.—Enclosing a resolution of the Corporation of London, offering their thanks to Admiral Cornwallis and the rest of the Fleet. *Printed in the* "Blockade of Brest," i., 301.

CAPTAIN W. H. JERVIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, April 10. Bath.—Announcing the happy result of his court martial*, and thanking the Admiral for writing so kindly of him to his uncle [Lord St. Vincent].

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* Upon the loss of his ship, the *Magnificent.*

The Same to the Same.

1804, May 1. Plymouth Sound.—Expressing his pleasure at being appointed to the *Niobe*, which he owes to the kind way in which the Admiral represented his conduct to the Admiralty.

Admiralty Commissioners to the Hon. William Cornwallis, Admiral of the White.

1804, May 8.—Informing him that they have ordered the Earl of Southesk, rear-Admiral of the White, to repair "off Brest," hoist his flag on board the *Britannia*, and put himself under Cornwallis's command. *Signed.*

Rear-Admiral Alexander Cochrane to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1804, May 13. *Northumberland.* Off Ferrol.—Acknowledging a copy of the vote of thanks from the Corporation of London to the squadron, with other papers, and stating that they are getting very short of provisions.

The Same to the Same.

1804, May 26. *Northumberland.* Off Ferrol.—Has had a hard battle to fight with the dishonest practices of the people there, but if he could be supplied with bread and coals, would feel perfectly independent. *Printed in* "Blockade of Brest," i., 334.

[Henry Dundas] Viscount Melville to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1804, June 4. Admiralty.—"I have last night the honour of your obliging letter. I shall probably soon have occasion to write to you on an important subject connected with the service in which you are now engaged; but I would not delay a moment in answer to yours to assure you that, on every ground, public and private, it will give me much satisfaction to render the arduous service on which you are placed as agreeable and comfortable to you as circumstances admit of; and, besides your official letters, I will be happy to receive from you such private communications as you may be disposed to lay before me.

"I thank you for your congratulations on my appointment to my present situation. Having obeyed the King's commands in accepting it, I will not allow myself to look back; but when I contemplate all the difficulties which surround the extensive and complicated task I have undertaken, you will not suppose me insensible to the obstacles I have to surmount, and the exertions which the country has a right to expect from me. Under those circumstances I cannot pretend to be perfectly at ease"

Marquis Cornwallis to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis

1804, June 7. Burlington Street.—". . . Things have been long in a very unpleasant state here, but within the last three or

four days the King is very materially better, and we begin to hope that all will go on in the natural course.

"I have neither seen the Ministers nor the ex-Ministers since I wrote last. A number of changes in the Household and in other departments have taken place, for which I am totally at a loss to account. We propose to remove to Culford in ten days, where I shall remain all the summer. Brome will join his regiment of militia at Ipswich at the end of this month, and take Lady Louisa and his children with him, and I shall dose quietly upon the shelf at home."

VISCOUNT MELVILLE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, July 10. Admiralty.—"Confidential. On Captain Puget's plan for destroying the French Fleet by means of fire-ships. *Printed in* "Blockade of Brest," ii., 8." *Duplicate, signed.*

The SAME to the SAME.

1804, July 14. Admiralty.—Suggesting the possible objectives of the ships which appear to be about to come out of Brest. *Printed in* "Blockade of Brest," i., 366.

The SAME to the SAME.

1804, July 29. Wimbledon.—"Private. You will of course feel that, in common with the other members of the Board of Admiralty, I participated in the satisfaction of receiving your letter of the 26th expressive of your readiness to return (at any moment, and on board any ship they might direct) to your command. I cannot help troubling you with a few private words on the subject. I should be indeed of all men the most unreasonable if I was even to entertain, far less express, a wish for your return one moment sooner that suits your own convenience. All therefore I can permit myself to say upon the subject is, that as you must have a daily correspondence with your fleet, and are best acquainted with the character and efficiency of those you have left behind you, so, by these considerations, I am certain your conduct will be regulated. As I have the highest respect for the professional talents of those on whom the command has devolved, I must be at ease on that score; but, on the other hand, you must be aware that, without depreciating the merits of any other officer, you possess the confidence of the country in the important trust which is now placed in your hands, and I am perfectly certain you will not be absent from the discharge of that trust at any moment you think it essential to the public service that you should be there. You have given too many eminent proofs of that feeling to leave a doubt of it in the mind of any person. . . .

"I have a great desire to hold a conversation with you before you return to your command, and it will be no inconvenience to me to run down to you at any time you let me know it would most suit your convenience.

"I am not unmindful of your wishes respecting Captain Gosselin I have reserved in my own mind the *Latona* for him, and the moment she comes forward, which will be soon, he shall be appointed to her."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, August 12. Culford.—"If afforded me great satisfaction to learn that you had so pleasant an interview with Lord Melville. I acted several years under the direction of the Board at which he presided, and I can truly say that I never met with a more fair and honourable man.

"It was very handsome on your part to offer to go out in the manner you did, notwithstanding you had so extraordinary a claim to a little respite; but if your health is equal to it, I think you judged very wisely, and I am very glad that you have now got Whitby for your Captain.

"Gosselin has, I find, the command of the *Latona*, in which ship Skelton is appointed a lieutenant. I took the liberty from our former acquaintance to give the latter a line of introduction to his captain.

"Brome and Lady Louisa are at Hull, and I am left with the care of the children, which is, I think, a very proper occupation for an old general that is laid by. It is not however quite without its anxieties, as we have continual alarms of hooping-cough, et cetera.

"Nothing could be more unpopular with the generality of your brethren in the service than the example you set by staying out so long, and I truly believe it will not be much followed."

ORDER OF BATTLE.

1804, November 17. Off Ushant. *Ville de Paris*. Signed by Admiral Cornwallis, and addressed to the Earl of Southesk.

REAR-ADMIRAL COCHRANE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, November 25. *Northumberland*. Off Ferrol.—Concerning his fleet, the garrisons of Ferrol and Corunna, &c., &c. *Printed in* "Blockade of Brest," ii., 130.

LORD MELVILLE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, December 1. Wimbledon.—Thanking him for his spontaneous kindness in forwarding his son-in-law, the Lord Chief Baron of Scotland [Robert Saunders Dundas], on his voyage to Madeira.

R. DUNDAS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1804, December 5. *Illustrious*. Near Ferroll.—Stating that Sir Charles Hamilton had stood for Brest, in order to put him on board the *Naiad*, but the wind being directly against them, he had persuaded Sir Charles to give up the attempt. The *Egyptian* being to sail in a few days, Admiral Cochrane has kindly offered to desire Capt. Fleming to put him ashore at Madeira.

ELIZABETH CORNWALLIS to her Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1804 ?], December 12.—"Your letter of Saturday last has just reached me. I do not like the naval part at all. . . . I cannot help fearing by this intended arrangement, that though you may come when you please, it will not be so easy to resume the command at a better season. It is very extraordinary that the *Chief* should not know the constitutional character, I may call it, of officers so high in professional rank. I have no idea of a *hypochondriac* Admiral's keeping such a fleet to work through a long winter, and then, if anything goes wrong it will be said that you should have stayed. I *almost* wish you could brave it. . . .

"James says that Addington vows he will never speak to Pitt again; the *lie* of the day, very likely, as its news often proves. I am going to the ball to-night for the first time, with Lady Fielding and a pleasant party."

The SAME to the SAME.

1804, December 26. Bath. ". . . I went yesterday to call upon a good lady, a Lichfield clergyman's wife, and what should there be upon her sofa but Lady Nelson, with a lameness like a sprain, by her manner of walking, which she immediately did out of the room, poor creature! I felt ashamed of my red eyes for *tiny* sorrows in comparison with hers, and longed to support her down the stairs, had I not been a stranger to her. . . ."

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, January 3. Culford.—"You will be surprised to hear that I am once more going to Bengal. This task is undertaken by me at the earnest request of the Ministers and the leading men in the Court of Directors; and when I am told that I may essentially serve my country, and know that by the same means I am likely to assist my family, you will agree with me, I think, that there are few enjoyments or comforts in this world for a man of sixty-six, that can be put in competition with these objects."

ADMIRAL COCHRANE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, January 5. *Northumberland*, at sea.—"The *Lucy* lugger joined me yesterday, having two days before captured the Spanish brig *Santander*, from La Vera Cruz, bound to Santander with a valuable cargo, besides 112,457 dollars and some plate. I enclose such information as I have been enabled to obtain from that vessel, and I have stationed the squadron in such a situation, both for their mutual support and to intercept the enemy's ships, as I trust will be attended with success.

"Yesterday morning the *Repulse* boarded an American brig four days from Lisbon, the master of which informed Capt. Legge that, ten days before, he saw at Lisbon the Declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain. This, joined to the former intelligence

which I sent by the *Pickle*, and the *Lucy* lugger having been fired at by a Spanish fort and nearly struck by the shot, although her colours were hoisted, leaves me no doubt that war now exists."

The SAME to the SAME.

1805, January 10. *Northumberland.*—In my letter by his Majesty's schooner *Pickle*,* I informed you I had received intelligence from Corunna that war existed between this country and Great Britain, since which I wrote you by the *Santander*, a vessel detained by this squadron. I have now to state the accounts yesterday received from Ferrol, accompanied by a translation of part of the Madrid Government Gazette of the 28th *ult.*, being a proclamation from the Prince of Peace in his new capacity of generalissimo and director of the present war between Spain and Great Britain. I have further to add that my informant stated that he had not seen any declaration of war, although orders had been given for some time past to begin hostilities. He also says that accounts had arrived at Ferrol of one English merchant ship from Gibraltar having been carried into Cadiz, where a very rich ship from Lima had also arrived in safety.

"What relates to Ferrol is as follows:—General Francis Antonio Filangieri, natural brother of the King of Spain, has arrived there to take command of the troops, where ten thousand men are already assembled. Ten thousand French troops are on their march from France to add to the garrison. It is expected that the combined army is to be under the command of a French General, and a French Admiral of high rank is said to be intended for the command of the two squadrons.

"The registered seamen are ordered in from the out ports to man the Spanish squadron. Three of the French ships are ready, but the *Fougeuex* and *Redoubtable* is in the Arsenal and cannot be completed just now for want of timber. There is great want of all species of stores and provisions, with which they are expected to be supplied by neutrals. Six hundred French soldiers and seamen now garrison the Castle of San Philipe; the French seem to have taken the superintendence of almost every department. A French engineer is fortifying St. Pedro Bay, where the squadron used to anchor and procure water; two bomb batteries are erecting there, and one at point Coitelada.

"The Dutch ship *Olden Barnevelt* has been given up to the French, who mean to repair her in the Arsenal. Her crew go by land to Holland by the way of France, at least they leave Ferrol by land. I however suspect that they will afterwards be sent home by neutral vessels.

"An officer I sent in with a flag of truce yesterday to Ferrol reports to me that a movement has taken place in the Arsenal, for instead of five Spanish line of battle ships, he could observe only three. It is very probable that the two that are missing are now at anchor in the harbour, as they are complete in everything for sea except men and provisions.

* Dated January 1. Printed in *The Blockade of Brest*, ii., 145.

12 January, at sea.—Since writing the above, I have spoke to a Ragusean polacre, which vessel left Ferrol yesterday. He confirms the suspicions entertained by the officer I sent with the flag of truce and says that two of the line of battle ships had come out of the Arsenal into the Road, to be completed for sea.

14 January, at sea.—The weather has been so very bad for some days past as to prevent me from having any communication with the rest of the squadron. I now take the first opening to send off the *Minotaur*, not having either frigate or small vessel with me, the *Lucy* lugger having been sent to warn the frigates off Vigo of the war, from which service she is not yet returned. Should you order the *Minotaur* back, I beg to propose that as much bread should be put on board of her as she can stow, and an additional quantity of spirits.

Enclosing :

1. A long proclamation by the " Prince of Peace " accusing England of having broken amity by taking three of the King's frigates and making prisoners a regiment of infantry on board, which " robberies and treacheries " were committed at a time when the Spanish King had given permission of trade to English vessels, and every possible succour to their ships of war. He calls upon the seamen and soldiers to avenge their brethren, slain or made prisoners on a desert island, and upon the whole nation of " generous Spaniards " to take that vengeance which their King commands, and honour and justice call for. They have not forgotten, though the English may have done, that the blood which flows in their veins is the same that has overcome Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals and Moors, and the world will yet see augmented the great number of Castilian heroes. The nobleness and magnanimity of the Spanish character cannot survive without taking vengeance for the great affronts of England, yet without following them in actions " not allowed by cultivated nations, who have not lost their honour and good conduct." Nations with smaller forces than theirs have happily overthrown a greater force ; the whole people must be encouraged by their governors, prelates and chiefs politic to do their duty and to inflict every possible damage upon the enemy. Age and important affairs do not permit their Sovereign to take an active part in this arduous enterprise, but he will always be willing to help them by his treasure and his good counsel, and it is hoped that the elements themselves will be ready for the execution of their ideas.

2. *Admiral Cochrane to the Governor of Ferrol.*—Stating that as—from information received from the Captain General of Galacia and others, and also from " the conduct displayed from the fort in Dominos Bay of the 28th, by firing several shots at his Britannic Majesty's lugger *Lucy*, although her colours were flying—he can have no doubt but that the Spanish Government has declared war against Great Britain,

he has felt it his duty to give orders to his squadron to detain all Spanish vessels and send them to England, in pursuance whereof three vessels have been met with and sent to Plymouth. But desiring to alleviate unpleasantness to individuals, he sends into Ferrol five Spanish subjects to be at his Excellency's disposal, for whom he begs a receipt. Jan. 10, 1805. *Copy.*

3. The Governor of Ferrol to Admiral Cochrane.—Thanking him for sending the Spanish prisoners, but begging him in future to send the cartels to Corunna, as the Captain General of the province is there. Jan. 10, 1805. *Translation.*

MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, March 25. Burlington Street.—"I have received your letter, and am glad to find that you intend coming to town so soon. You named, however, rather an early day, I believe even for your own preparations; and what with ministers, despatches, and various other circumstances, I should think it would be probably nearer to the 14th than the seventh, before we reach Portsmouth. I wish, however, very much to be off, for, as it is, I am plagued to death from morning till night, and, to add to my misfortunes, poor Robinson, my secretary, is not well, and can afford me no assistance. All here are well; Brome and Lady Louisa desire to be kindly remembered. My compliments and best wishes to Captain and Mrs. Whitby. What a comfort it must be to her that he came home just at this time. I have sincerely pitied her during his long absence.

"I have got a Bengal writership for a son of Mrs. Warde's, and he will go out with me in the *Medusa*."

SIR J. DUCKWORTH to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, July 5. Manchester Street.—"Finding you have again hoisted your flag, I hope you will not deem me presumptive in expressing a wish, if consistent with your feelings, you will gratify Captain King and myself by getting *L'Achille* to serve under your command. As he was brought up in your school, it would be arrogance in me to attempt to point out his merits as an officer; but, as a tribute due, I can assure you that his ship, when I visited her in Cawsand [Bay, exceeded m]y most sanguine expectations for one recently [commissioned]. Should the *Acasta* or *Endymion*, Captains Dunn and E. Durnford King, be under your command, as they have both been my captains, and the former will serve with me if ever I am indulged to hoist my flag again, which the present Admiralty don't seem disposed to admit, I ever must be interested in their success, and I beg to introduce them to you as officers of judgment and decision to execute your orders.

"The French having lately been in the habit of risking squadrons at sea, I hope ere long they will afford you an opportunity of con-

vincing them of their temerity. Happy should I be had it been my lot to be made a participator under you in whatever service might occur."

SIR ROBERT CALDER to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, July 23. *Prince of Wales*, off Ferrol.—Giving an account of his success against the combined fleets of France and Spain on the previous day. *Printed in* "The Blockade of Brest," ii., 311.

VISCOUNT NELSON to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

1805, July 27. *Victory*, off Cape St. Mary's.—"My dear friend, The enemy's fleet from the West Indies being certainly gone to some port in the Bay, I am proceeding to the northward with eleven sail of the line. I shall either call off Cape Clear, or proceed direct off Ushant to form a junction with you, as circumstances may in my judgment (from intelligence) require. I shall only hope, after all my long pursuit of *my* enemy, that I may arrive at the moment they are meeting you, for my very wretched state of health will force me to get on shore for a little while. I am ever, my dear friend, your most faithful and attached, Nelson and Bronté."

Holograph. Printed in Nelson's Despatches and Letters (vi., 500) *from a copy.*

LORD BARHAM to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, August 1. Admiralty.—"To guard against any misfortune that may arise from the want of line of battleships during the absence of Lord Nelson, we have ordered every one that can be got ready to be manned from the frigates and small craft, to join you without a moment's delay; and such as may not be in such a state of forwardness will be completed as soon as possible. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

[1805, August, early in. Admiralty].—"We are hurrying out to you as fast as possible every ship in port where men can be had. Ferrol is the great object till our East India and West India fleets are arrived, and which may be in the course of a fortnight. The heavy frigates, as far as you can spare them, cannot be employed better than meeting them towards the coast of Ireland.

"We have this moment received yours, and you have entered completely into my views.

"We shall make you up 20 for your own force as soon as we are able, but the Downs must be kept strong during the height of the spring as the Dutch are in great force at the Texel and the flotilla too numerous to be dealt [with] without some heavy ships. We have no doubt of the Rochfort ships being at Ferrol."

The SAME to the SAME.

1805, August 10. Admiralty.—"Private. I just write one line to apprize you that the Ministers look to an invasion soon, and have

given directions to prepare all the military corps. I have done the same privately to the Admirals at all the ports, that they may be prepared to give every kind of assistance to our naval force in the Channel.

"I take it for granted you will take a near station during the spring tides, in order to reinforce the eastern force, if necessary.

"The Dutch can only get to sea at the height of the spring, and which is the time to guard against.

"At present we are very strong in that quarter, and your ships in port are getting ready as fast as possible."

The SAME to the SAME.

1805, August 15. Admiralty.—"I had wrote you a private instruction, when we first heard of the Rochfort squadron being at sea, to send four ships of the line to intercept them, but the alarm from the eastward obliged us to send those ships to Lord Keith which would otherwise have come to you.

"It is truly mortifying not to be able to seize such opportunities when they offer, and it will be my study to keep your fleet as strong in numbers as possible, so as to allow you to detach squadrons for annoying the enemy, as often as you hear of their being in your neighbourhood, without waiting for orders from hence.

"I have put the supply of stores, provisions, and water under Admiral Patton's direction, and, as our preparations at Falmouth are in great forwardness, I hope no complaints will be made on that score.

"I need not inform you that, in order to detach speedily, at least eight or ten sail should be kept constantly complete, and the stores drawn as low as possible from the ships sent in to refit.

"As the western squadron is the main spring from which all offensive operations must proceed, it shall be my care to keep it as strong and effective as possible, but till more men can be procured we cannot look to much success.

"I observe by the weekly accounts of your squadron that some ships are very short in their numbers, while others are full. I submit therefore to you, whether it may not be advisable to take a few from those who are best manned, and give them to such as are most in want.

"The enemy to the eastward are active in appearance, but as many things must concur to bring such an armament to sea, they cannot attack us unobserved.

"I hope you have an opportunity of communicating frequently with Sir John Sumerus [? Sir James Saumarez], so that your information of an attack to the eastward may be as early as possible, in case your assistance should become necessary."

Postscript.—"We know nothing of Lord Nelson. You will of course send in the ships that have been in action as frequently as we can send you fresh ones, so that the whole may be kept in as active a condition as possible. It is my wish that every ship's copper should be looked at in a dock once in two years if possible; and as soon as my arrangements are completed, I hope to effect it."

LORD VISCOUNT NELSON.

1805, August 15.—Report of the state of the ships under his command, the state of their provisions, &c., and health of their companies. The *Victory* requires looking at, and the *Canopus*, *Belleisle* and *Donegal* require docking, before winter. The *Superb* is greatly in want of docking and a new foremast, the *Spartiale* has been on shore and requires looking at; the *Spencer*, *Conqueror*, *Tigre*, *Leviathan* and *Swiftsure* are fit for service. There is much scurvy on the *Belleisle*, but little on any other of the vessels. *Signature cut out.*

LORD BARHAM to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, August 16. Admiralty.—"If Admiral Nugent will represent his situation to the Board, I will prevent, as far as I am able, any other appointment till you can please yourself without its being pressed upon you.

"We are hastening the ships out as fast as possible, and I conclude your object will be to keep near Ushant and prevent a junction till Lord Nelson arrives. The combined fleet cannot put to sea immediately, but you do wise in collecting our force from that Port and Rochford."

The SAME to the SAME.

Same date.—Having just received the enclosed from the Chairman of the East India Company, I send it for your information, and as you will naturally have frigates watching the Ferrol ships, you may probably have it in your power to detach a force equal to theirs in case they should have heard of the expected arrival of this fleet and send anything out to intercept them. They will have two 64s and a frigate with them.

ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, Oct. 26. *Euryalus*, off Cadiz.—"I have the very great pleasure to inform you that the combined fleet was engaged by the British squadron on Monday 21st, off Trafalgar, and totally defeated, 19 sail of the line taken and burnt. Admiral Villeneuve, the Commander-in-Chief, is now on board the *Euryalus*, where I have hoisted my flag, the better to direct the operations of the squadron, my own ship *Sovereign* being dismasted and a complete wreck.

"The 22nd a gale began which has increased untill to-day, and the prizes being all heavy hulks, with their sides much battered, I really believe they have all sunk—or will.

"Sorry I am to tell you that the noble Commander-in-Chief fell in the action; but he will live in the memories of all who knew him as long as they have being. This gale has ruined me, and I am under the greatest apprehensions now for my own ships—whether they would be able to keep off the land. In short my strength is exhausted.

Postscript.—"Four flag officers I understand are captured. Villeneuve is with me, Vice-Admiral D'Aliva [Alava] is dead;

Rear-Admiral Cisneros, in the *Prince;* Rear-Admiral Magon, I am told, is amongst the captives, but I do not know where.* Cantermine, commissaire of troops, is also in the *Prince.* Gravina and Dumanoir went off with 10 sail to Cadiz. Four Frenchmen went off to the southward. I will do the best I can."

SIR RICHARD J. STRACHAN to the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

1805, November [7 ?] *Cæsar*, off Ushant, 10 leagues W. N.W.— "I hasten off the *Phœnix* to inform you of our victory over four unlucky French ships of the line which fell in our way. On the 2nd instant we saw six sail, and cannot conceive which way the two others went. The French disown their being their companions. I think it necessary to give you this intelligence as speedy as possible that you may have the power to take steps to intercept any more of the enemy's ships from Cadiz which may be coming this way, and I should have sent a ship sooner if I had not thought it necessary to keep all the strength we had, having missed the *Bellona*, and still hoping to intercept the Rochfort or any other squadron we might fall in with, expecting, if the Rochfort squadron fought as well as these have done, that the three-decker might make it a fatiguing amusement. I am quite pleased with all the frigates, and Gardner is really a hero himself, but *in confidence*, I am vexed at Captain Lee's letting the young men to leeward take possession of the *Scipion*, a ship which I believe kept her colours up longer than she otherwise would, on purpose to strike to him. [*Margin.* The *Revolutionnaire* and *Phœnix* contended who should first get on board.] I have, however, settled all jealousies by giving out a memorandum of thanks in which all have an equal share of praise. She had been in the first part of the action engaged by bearer [Capt. Baker, of the *Phœnix*], and has suffered greatly, and indeed so have they all. From beginning to end the line was close, and each ship fell in her station except the *Scipion*, which dropped to leeward, having lost her main top-mast. The French Admiral, a clever man, is wounded, and one captain killed. We have lost no person of note, and, except the first lieutenant of the *Courageux*, I know of none wounded. As yet I have not been able to get regular returns. We have only four killed and twenty-three wounded. I am by no means certain this will reach you, Sir, or I should send you my journal and account of my proceedings which, as I have not a copy of, it will be inconvenient not to have with me in case you should not be off Brest. We have frequently heard of the Rochfort squadron, but have never been able to get a sight of them. They are not in Vigo, and the weather has prevented our looking lately at Ferrol. When last reconnoitred, a French frigate was at Corunna, and a large ship just seen and then lost sight of at Ferrol. I have been so miserable at my ill fortune that rather than return empty handed we had intended to attack the enemy in Vigo, had winds suited and weather been favourable to go in and out without

* Magon was killed; Alava dangerously wounded, but got away to Cadiz.

being obliged to tack in the narrows. Captain Maitland of the *Loire* had volunteered his assistance. He is a fine fellow; he would not leave us, and parted by accident a few days before *Phœnix* brought the French squadron to us. The *Pomona* hung about us (and also parted by accident), all of them thinking that some good luck would at last attend us; and if we had not had so many ships with us this action might have been thought a good thing, for we had just as much fighting as if we had been without frigates. They have all suffered some how or other, and have been extremely active in assisting in securing the prizes. The *Cæsar* was so much disabled that we could not get a boat out till yesterday. Few of the prisoners are taken out, and these are mostly in the frigates; the others being left to pump. The *Mont Blanc* makes so much water that it is with great labour we keep her free. The *Courageux* was ordered to take her in tow, having suffered much less in comparison than the other large ships; and as they are all damaged in their masts, yards, and rigging, it is necessary they should go into port. The *Santa Margarita* is leaky from shot. I am therefore proceeding with them all to Plymouth, and will, upon my arrival, urge the Port Admiral to hasten them to join you, and you will, I dare say, Sir, do me the justice to believe I shall not be happy until I am again near you, and ready, in the event of an action, to shew my gratitude by supporting the *Ville de Paris*, as her second ought to do. I do not know any event would give me more pleasure. I shall also beg the Admiral to hasten the re-equipment of the ships of the line. The *Hero* and *Cæsar* are the only ships that will require re-masting; ours, except mizen mast, we have had some difficulty in keeping up.

"I had forgot to mention that the French have troops on board, and I understand most of the other ships had which sailed from Cadiz; and we have no account of their killed and wounded, but it is considerable. They fired high, which accounts for our little loss; and as we were all mingled together at one time, we picked up each other's shot. We were at one time between the *Mont Blanc* and *Duquay Trouin*, and the *Hero* on the other side, so that her musketry came on board us.

"Lord William Fitzroy is just come on board, and says the *Mont Blanc* has 63 killed and 96 wounded. I dare say the others are as bad. They are all handsome ships, painted in stripes, well manned, and were extremely well managed. You will, I know, Sir, forgive this unconnected and badly written letter, but I wish to hasten off the *Phœnix* that you may receive this intelligence without delay, and I wish, at the same time, to give you every information. I was in hopes, and am not a little disappointed, at not falling in with the fleet; you would be pleased to see our addition to the squadron.

"I cannot conceive how the *Bellona* came to lose company; the rendezvous was made last by signal, off Cape Finisterre (*52*). So I conclude he will cruise there for us until further orders. I will not take up more of your time, but beg to assure you that you have been the means of restoring me to life, for my heart was breaking. Good God, while I live I shall ever revere you with the most heartfelt gratitude."

ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD J. STRACHAN to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, November 23. *Cæsar.*—"I cannot let my official letters go to you without again assuring you how much you have obliged me by your kind letters, and I feel it more because I have received nothing like it. It is in vain for me to express what I feel; I will not attempt it. The most pleasing event since my arrival is the receiving orders to serve in the fleet under your auspices. I am sorry to find Lord William Fitzroy has got himself removed from under your command. If it has rested with himself, I shall set him down in my list of weak men; after the late affair, it was his duty to endeavour to remain for ever where he had been so fortunately placed. He was more in the way of gaining honour, and not less in the way of riches. I think I have already said it was never my intention he should have gone to London, but was sent by Admiral Young, he having earnestly requested it of him.

"The copy of my official letter to you was sent open to Admiral Young, and he was desired to seal and forward it with its accompanying letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty; for it did not strike me that the service we had performed was of sufficient consequence to send any particular person with the account of it. It was my intention to have left such person, if necessary, to your choice, and for that reason, I wished to join the fleet. The necessity of apprizing Admiral Young of our approach, that pilots might be out ready, was my reason for sending in the *Œolus*, and I trust you will see the propriety of it. I am also sorry Captain Baker has left the *Phœnix*; he has got into the voxtex of a great circle, but how it may answer, he is himself the best judge; it will not make him a better sea-officer.

"I have a letter from Lord Garlies hinting that no promotion of any officer will take place till after the Cadiz arrangements are made. I am sorry for this; the making the first lieutenant is a compliment to the ship's crew as well as the Captain, and it is not near so grateful to their feelings by being delayed. A sailor likes his punishment or his reward at the moment he thinks he deserves it. I do not believe that Lord Garlies is much in the secret of what the Board may intend to do, and it would be a vain endeavour to attempt to extract anything from Lord Barham or Admiral Gambier this cold weather.

"The Admiralty have favoured me by the appointment, at his and my request, of Captain Shortland to the *Cæsar*. He has the reputation of being a good officer, and fitted out the *Donegal* for me; he joined to-day.

"It has been hinted to me by Admiral Young that I may hoist my flag in the *Foudroyant*. I should not dislike the change if it was not for leaving our people, and I hope we shall not be long before we get out; therefore remaining where I am will not make much difference, and as it has not been offered to me, it is hardly worth while to ask little favours which, when granted, may be considered great ones by the Board.

"I send this by the *Princess Royal* or *Prince George*, whichever sails first, and I hope, Sir, you will not disapprove of my sending

the logged narrative of my proceedings by the same conveyance, it being uncertain when I shall join; and you will, of course, wish to know what we have been doing while so long absent from you. I wish we had been more successful by falling in with the Rochfort squadron."

SIR RICHARD J. STRACHAN to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, November 27. *Cæsar.*—"I have again to express my gratitude to you for the kind letter you have just sent me; it is in vain for me to attempt to express my feelings, my respect, and how much I am obliged. The Admiralty have given me a week's leave of absence, and I am just going to avail myself of it. The ships are fitting out with all the dispatch in the power of their respective captains, and I hope soon to be down and to join you. The *Cæsar* will be ready as soon as any; they are beginning to rigg as fast as they fit it; by the next week all the ships will be in great forwardness, but there are so many ships fitting out, and the yard has so much to do, that we meet with unavoidable delays. I do not think with you that there will be nothing more to do. On the contrary, I think Bonaparte will be tempted to force his fleet out, or send them in detachments to annoy our trade or distant possessions. I have great hopes the Brest fleet may come out, that you may have the pleasure of giving an account of them; and I think it likely they may endeavour to send it to the Mediterranean to form a junction with the Spanish and French at Toulon, where they are now too weak to effect anything, but, being joined by the Brest fleet or large detachment from it, may, if they get to that country, give us some trouble. The hope of this may induce the French to run some risk.

"I dread the thought of our navy having nothing to do. Idleness will gain a greater victory over us than all our enemies combined; and, if the fleet is once allowed to lay in port any time, we shall lose all that excellent order which is now so well established.

"I hope always to be under your command, and that you never *will leave us* while the war continues. I am sure we shall have something to do; it generally happens when least expected."

WILLIAM THOMAS FITZGERALD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1805, December 28. 19 Upper Seymour Street, Portman Square.—"Though I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance, I will make no apology for requesting your acceptance of my poem, as it is upon a subject which interests all, from the Prince to the peasant! And I am confident that every tribute of the heart to the immortal Nelson must be peculiarly acceptable to the distinguished gallant veteran whom England with gratitude and admiration has long beheld in the midst of wintry storms, more awful than the cannon's thunder, blocking up the fleets of France in her own harbour, and bidding them defiance under the batteries of her shores. Such is the answer Cornwallis gives to the vainglorious Corsican's threats of invasion."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1806 ?].—Will with pleasure take young Symonds under his protection and get him a commission, if he passes his examination before the peace arrives; the more especially as the young man's father and himself were shipmates fifty-four years ago. *Imperfect.*

JOHN GORE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, January 23. *Medusa*, at sea.—"When a man has a painful duty imposed on him to afflict the feelings of a friend by communicating intelligence of the most distressing nature, the state of his mind may offer some excuse for his style.

"The sudden transition from cold to excessive heat, and from systematic exercise to a sedentary life, affected the health of the great, good, and revered Marquis Cornwallis, during the first stage of our voyage to India; and the very anxious and arduous duties his Lordship had to engage in upon his arrival at Calcutta, afforded little leisure to attend to his health.

"In pursuit of the grand object of his Lordship's voyage to India (where his wisdom, moderation, and justice were as well known and relied on as to afford the most confidential hope that his Lordship would be able to restore the affairs of the East India Company to the state of prosperity in which he left them in 1793) his Lordship left Calcutta soon after his arrival, in order to post himself at the head of the army and effect a peace with the chiefs of the Mahratta Powers; and, although extremely ill, his Lordship persevered in hopes that by reaching a cooler climate his disorder (an irritation of the stomach and bowels) would cease.

"At Ghazepore his Lordship became so ill that his family found it necessary to stop, and after lingering four days, though without pain, this truly illustrious, exalted, and excellent nobleman breathed his last on the 5th October, 1805.

"Great Britain will long mourn the loss of her most brilliant ornament, and the world at large one of its best men."

MRS. CHARLOTTE NUGENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Commander-in-Chief of Channel Fleet, Torbay.

1806, January 23. London.—"I suppose you know the present history of this town; most extraordinary it is. Before I close this letter I shall have to add the death of Mr. Pitt. He has been manly and resigned in his illness. Yesterday morning he asked his physicians how long they thought he had to live? and being told that it was uncertain, and recovery out of the question, he received the sacrament and prayed very fervently with the Bishop of Lincoln; then doing the necessary business previous to this *last* journey. I feel glad that he should have paid necessary attention to religion, for, as a man of his superior talents is supposed to investigate all subjects, so these last acts will affect the minds of the public and give good impressions. The eyes of all sides are fixed on Charles Fox, and I hear no other person named in the slightest degree.

The present Admiralty, I hear, are making their arrangements of *congé;* and Lord St. Vincent, who is in perfect health, I conceive will return to that Board as first Lord of the Admiralty. In no case do I believe they would have remained in, for the cry is violent among the navy against them, and they really have treated Baker, Sir Richard Strachan and others like delinquents; Lord Barham, as I hear, holding the language 'that it was his duty to make people do theirs, because it was their duty.' This sounds *very fine, magnificent,* and let us add nonsensical; for if it was possible that mortals should or could be taught to be so virtuous as to look to no rewards, and if such duties were to be taught, 83 was too advanced an age to enforce new maxims, and that is Lord Barham's age.

"I begun by telling you that before I closed my letter I should inform you of Mr. Pitt's death. I had a note this minute to say that this event took place at Putney, at half an hour after four o'clock this morning. He was in perfect possession of his senses, and shewed the same strong mind to the last. The confusion of the town, the consternation at the present situation of affairs, is not to be told. I conceive Mr. Fox and the present Opposition must come in. Mr. Addington's state of health puts his return to office out of the question. The Opposition differ highly among themselves. The Grenvilles are for the continuation of the war; Mr. Fox for peace. I trust some rising men will rise up to inspire us with hope. At present, Mr. Fox alone seems to arrest the public voice, and I understand his health is bad likewise, and that he shews no inclination to return to office."

Postscript.—"Dr. Bailey has been right in his opinion of Mr. Pitt's illness being an atrophy. Lord James Townshend passed with *eclât* for a Lieutenant. Lord Townshend wrote to Lord Barham to ask him to make him a Lieutenant; what would you say if I assert that this was refused? When you consider Lord Townshend's services, his respectability, is it not incredible? Lady Townshend is very indignant, but likewise hurt to death about it."

CHARLES, 2nd MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, to his uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1806], February 3. Culford.—"I sincerely thank you for your kind letter, which you may well imagine found us here in real affliction. Time can alone alleviate the sorrow felt for one so well and so justly beloved, but no time will obliterate his memory from the hearts of his friends, nor, I think indeed, from the minds of the country at large. Your situation will not, I hope, be rendered unpleasant by the change in the Admiralty. The times are truly alarming, and any mismanagement of that department would be nearly fatal."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, February 5. Mortimer Street.—"Secret and confidential. Some months after Mr. Pitt came into office the last time, a request was made to me by his Cabinet, through Lord Sidmouth, to take

the command of the fleet, which I spurned at, unless Mr. Pitt unsaid all he had said in the House of Commons against me; and, lest any unfavourable impression should have been made upon the mind of the King on this refusal, I asked an audience at Windsor, and humbly submitted that, although my life was at the disposal of his Majesty and of my country, I was the guardian of my own honour, and could not trust it in the hands of Mr. Pitt, after the treatment I had received from him. I am now called upon to serve, and, in the state the empire is reduced to, I feel it an imperious duty to obey the call, with only one repugnance which arises out of the high respect and esteem I have for you; and I beg you will rest assured that every possible delicacy and attention will be paid to your zealous services, for no man regards you more sincerely than I."

The Same to the Same.

1806, February 10. Mortimer Street.—"Private and confidential. Your obliging letter has set my heart quite at ease. Mr. Grey lamented that he could not, with propriety, write to you until the patent was read at the Board, and he had taken his seat, which, I hope, he will do to-day; but it may be a month or six weeks before I receive any appointment, and what is to be I know not. Every possible accommodation will be given to you, and the most favourable and honourable statement of your meritorious services made to his Majesty."

Viscount Hood to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1806, February 10. Greenwich.—"Most sincerely do I sympathise and condole with you on the death of your noble brother. It has pleased the Almighty to deprive the nation of the greatest statesman and the greatest general any country could ever boast. But to his decrees it is our bounden duty to submit.

"Before this can reach your hands, you will have heard of the very wonderful changes that have taken place in his Majesty's Government. God grant it may be for the best, and that we shall be preserved from the fangs of the Corsican monster.

"It is reported that a total sweep is to be made at the Admiralty and Navy Boards, and that Capt. Nicholls is to succeed Sir A. Hammond, and Grey, the Deputy Comptroller, Markham, and Sir Charles Pole go [to] the Admiralty, and Sir H. Neale if he chooses it, as the Premier told me he had made him the offer, but being at sea, had not received his answer. He was in hopes that Sir S. Hood would have accepted, to which I replied that he had often declared to me he would never take a civil office, but stick to his own element. I thought he was perfectly right. Lord St. Vincent, it is said, is to be *Lord High Admiral* at sea, and to command from Cape Finisterre to Johnny Grotes House in Scotland. How Lord Keith will like this I will not pretend to say; probably you know for certain what I only do from report, which is often erroneous."

HON. C[HARLES] GREY to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, February 12. Admiralty.—Private. I understand from Lord St. Vincent that he has already communicated to you the wish of his Majesty's present ministers to avail themselves of his services, which his health will now allow him to resume. This intention I had the honour of submitting to his Majesty this morning, when it received his approbation, and Lord St. Vincent, with the union at the main, will be appointed to the command of the Channel fleet.

"In making this communication I must beg you not to consider it as proceeding from any opinion that your services have not been highly honourable to yourself, and eminently advantageous to the country; an acknowledgment which I shall be most happy to confirm by every attention in my power to your convenience as to the time and manner of quitting your command.

'Orders will be given, in compliance with the wish expressed in your letter to Lord St. Vincent, for the *Ville de Paris* to come to Spithead, and you will receive, with as little delay as possible, instructions from the Board as to the manner in which you are to proceed in leaving the fleet under Sir Charles Cotton."

The SAME to the SAME.

1806, February 21. Admiralty.—"Private. I have been favoured with your letter of the 21st, but delayed answering it till I heard of your arrival at Spithead. I am very sorry that you should have found either in the conduct of the late Board or in the appointment of Lord St. Vincent to the command of the Channel fleet any cause of complaint. I can only say that I intended fully to acknowledge the merit of your past services, and, in carrying into effect an arrangement which it appeared to His Majesty's Ministers expedient to adopt, to shew you every personal attention in my power.

"As an additional proof of the sincerity of this disposition, I shall be very happy to promote whichever of your Lieutenants you may think most deserving to the rank of Master and Commander, and to recommend the other two whom you mention for promotion to Admiralty vacancies abroad. For this purpose I must trouble you to send me their names.

"Orders will be sent down to-night from the Board for you to strike your flag, as I understand it to be your own wish, under all the present circumstances, that this should be done with as little delay as possible."

The SAME to the SAME.

1806, February 25. Admiralty.—"I have given directions for the promotion of Lieut. Smith to the rank of Master and Commander. . . . . I cannot conclude without assuring you that any recommendation of yours will always have the greatest weight with me;

and that I shall be happy, as far as I can do so consistently with the justice due to other claims upon me, and with the regular course of the service, to assist any officers in favour of whom you may interest yourself."

LORD RADSTOCK to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, March 4. Portland Place.—I have restrained my colleagues from laying before you the enclosed plan until I could with certainty make known to you the opinions of our brother officers upon the subject. Their signatures will now sufficiently do this. . . . I beg to offer one single argument which, in my opinion, is sufficient in itself to induce every sea officer to lend his aid to bring the work forward. It is this. The captains' names in Lord Howe's action, June 1, 1794, and those in the battle of Trafalgar, have never yet been gazetted. The consequence of this is, the first are already forgotten, and the latter have not yet been made known.

"I send you a copy of Gardner's letter, which plainly shows how much he approves the plan, and I trust that it will equally so do yours (*sic*) . . . as your name will be of the utmost consequence."

HON. C. GREY to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, March 26. Admiralty.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of both your letters of the 21st and 24th instant. Feeling every disposition to meet your wishes, I made immediate enquiry as to the appointment you ask for Mr. Evans; but it appears to be so unusual a thing to appoint a purser to a ship just laid down, that I am sorry to say I could not do so without opening a door to much inconvenience.

"I took the Lieutenants who served with you in the *Ville de Paris* according to their standing in that ship; and Lieutenant Watts being the senior was the first sent out to fill a real vacancy in the West Indies—I hope to have an early opportunity of serving Lieutenant Gordon in the same way.

"I am sorry Captain Whitby's health will not allow him to go to sea. As I have been obliged to make a rule not to appoint acting captains another captain has been appointed to the *Gibraltar*; and I can only say that when Captain Whitby's health shall again allow of his going to sea, I shall be happy, whenever I can do so consistently with the other claims of the service, to give him another ship."

ELIZABETH CORNWALLIS to her Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Newlands.

[1806 March 26.] Wednesday.—"I have heard so much these few days last past about 'the Admiral is displeased,' 'the Admiral is sulky, retires, &c.,' that I should of myself have ventured to say *come* in answer to what you write, but Lord Hood was here a good while this morning . . . and desired me to say most

strongly from him that you ought to come, . . . that he may see you without delay. I do believe him your true friend." *Date given on post-mark.*

C[HARLOTTE] NUGENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, May 4. [London].—"All the town are engaged with Lord Melville's trial. I have attended every day, and I think it proceeds much better for him than the 10th Report gave me room to hope. The Lords have rejected much evidence, such as the private accounts kept by Mr. Douglass his paymaster, and found in the possession of his widow. But, nevertheless, it is an ugly business, and I think they have established that he has employed sums of money to his own use, and that he went upon a system in large payments of taking sums, such as one thousand, two thousand, &c. The ten thousand pounds, that is one of the ten thousand, they first proved deficient in one large payment. Then they bring various bankers' books and prove his settling with one, paying what he has overdrawn at another's, putting money in the hands of a third, and these sums agree precisely with the calculation of the sum taken or supposed to be taken, the date of the deficiency and date of the bankers' books corresponding; and I certainly doubt the possibility of any defence overthrowing the above facts. Nevertheless, I doubt the Lords acting upon these grounds, which is circumstantial evidence and not positive evidence. But if they do or not, he will never recover the disgrace of such circumstantial evidence. Lord Melville's conduct is highly dignified; no man's in such a predicament can be more so. He is steady and respectful to the House, actively employed with his counsel, and betraying no marks of anger or want of patience to the most severe language. His own devilish letter to the Commissioners, and his own speech at the Bar of the House of Commons they ring the changes upon in all shapes, and would that he had done neither. His situation puts me in mind of Cardinal Wolsey. He is undone by his ambition, for had he on his first examination been civil to the Commissioners instead of treating them loftily, they would not have meddled with him, as I understand that he being first Lord of the Admiralty, with greater power than ever any individual possessed in this country, they did not want to have to do with him. I conceive that the prosecution will last 8 or 10 days more, and his defence as long, so the trial will last altogether one month. His expenses are 400*l.* per day. He may be found guilty; certainly I fear not blameless; but when one recollects that he stands in his present situation from envy and party motives it freezes one's blood. I am told that Mr. Fox countenances this prosecution as little as he can, and he attends seldom. By the way he looks to me as if he was dying; very ill indeed.

"I heard it reported that you offered to serve under Lord St. Vincent? I think every thing that is handsome and public spirited is like you; but do not be angry with me if I say that I am very glad you do not serve *with him*, because I think him selfish and dangerous except where he is *paramount*, and your character as a professional

man would annoy him. I am rejoiced that Mrs. Whitby is better. Time alone cures our misfortunes, but the greatness of misfortunes generally cure themselves by removing all hope except as to the future. General Nugent is arrived, and it is said that he is to go Commander-in-Chief to Ireland directly. Edmund is well, and has just desired me to remember him particularly to you.

"Lady Townshend arrives in town on Tuesday. She was near being summoned before the House of Lords to produce Barry's [Barré's] papers during the time he was paymaster, and I fear this will still be the case; though she wrote to me that she had no papers to produce, Barry having burnt them nearly all. But, poor soul, she is in a fright at the idea of being called."

LORD HOOD to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, May 28. Greenwich.—"It has pleased the Almighty to release my dearly beloved Lady Hood from her very long and severe sufferings, at which I ought not to repine, but to be thankful. . . . A better woman, a better mother, or better wife never lived. It is no little consolation to us in being satisfied that the dear departed has quitted this world of trouble for bliss eternal, and that our separation cannot be long."

SIR JOHN ORDE to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, Newlands, Lymington.

1806, June 4. London.—"Most confidential. I shall send you the papers I alluded to, as soon as possible, for though the Admiralty, in their letter of the 12th of January, most fully approve the measures they so severely condemned in their despatch of the day before, both of which you have seen, yet no one can form an idea how unmerited the censure was until they see at least my reply to the Board and to Lord Melville. . . . When I sailed for my station off Cadiz, I was led to expect that both you and Lord Nelson were apprised of my appointment, and that I should find no other ship of war on the ground allotted me but the *Medusa*, which I was instructed to take under my command. On my arrival I found the ships of three commanders in chief, each acting under orders contradictory of the others; yours authorised to detain Spanish vessels with treasure and naval and military stores; Lord Nelson's most positively instructed both by the Admiral and his Lordship only to stop vessels with treasure, except in the case o' receiving certain information that the Spaniards had commenced hostilities; and mine with orders only to detain ships with treasure and ships of war leaving the port of Cadiz, and refusing to eturn when called upon to do so.

"I found that Sir R. Strachan, notwithstanding these orders had, not long before my arrival, forcibly detained a Spanish frigate bound to America, after firing into her from the *Donegal* and *Medusa*, by which some men were killed. . . . I found that some others of Lord Nelson's cruisers had detained vessels laden with grain for the relief of the province of Andalusia, then in a state of famine,

and that the greatest ferment had been occasioned in Cadiz by these last-mentioned acts. Something surely was needful for me to do on the station exclusively allotted for my management, in this extraordinary state of things. . . . I thought it my first object to clear my ground from all cruisers but my own, and to let them act upon the least hostile orders, which were those I was charged with. I say the least hostile, because, although Lord Nelson's were less so, his cruisers were not all limited by them, as I have already pointed out. In taking this step, I thought I could not do wrong or offend on any side, as commanders who did not know of my appointment would be glad to have their ships returned from ground where, from my arrival, they were no longer useful; and that those who did know of it would also be pleased that that was done for them which they could not so speedily do for themselves. Your cruiser, Captain Baker, left the station before I could communicate with him. Sir R. Strachan I ordered to Toulon, and with all possible despatch, as he represented his ship to be almost destitute of water and provisions, as he told me Lord Nelson was much in want of the ships on my ground, and as I wished him to convey despatches from me to his Lordship. . . . A fortnight after Sir Richard left me between Cadiz and Cape Trafalgar, with a fair wind to pass the Straits, I was made acquainted by letter from Capt. Hope, of the *Defence*, then cruising off Cape St. Maries, that Sir Richard Strachan was in sight, but carrying such a press of sail to windward—the wind then blowing strong from the westward—that he despaired of speaking him. I thought it my duty to lay this before the Admiralty. In doing this, I declare before God, if it was my last word, that I had no interested views, but that I was actuated by a sense of duty. . . . With respect to my return to England, that also I am aware is a measure on which officers might differ. I might have done otherwise. I might have paraded about and made demonstrations, &c., &c. I did what I judged more proper, and did it from a sense of duty, well knowing the prejudices that might be stirred against it, and that in any case it was the measure least favourable to myself. The application for my recall I know may equally be objected to. I thought it incumbent upon me after the injurious imputations, neglects, &c., I experienced. . . . . I confess, at the same time, I did not expect my application could have met with the fate it did. . . . The greatest hardship of my situation has been that, aware of these calumnies, I have thought myself prohibited from taking any steps for my justification, even with the late Board of Admiralty, circumstanced as Lord M[elville] was with the country and with individuals."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, July 4. *Hibernia*. St. Helens.—Enclosing an "opinion" that if the vessel was condemned as prize to the *Malta*, then under the orders of Admiral Cornwallis, he appears to be entitled to the eighth, "but if the tender had a letter of marque, neither he

nor Admiral Montagu is entitled, and it may be a question whether the prize is not a droit of Admiralty if the tender captured her without having a letter of marque, or being registered and commissioned."

ADMIRAL GEORGE MONTAGU to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, November 6. Portsmouth.—"I fear our friend, Lord St. Vincent, has forgot our case. As it is desirable to me that it should be decided, in order that a man with eight children may not speculate beyond his means, I will thank you to jog his Lordship's memory. . . ."

EARL ST. VINCENT to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1806, Nov. 14. Rame House.—Apologising for his delay in studying the case between Cornwallis and Admiral Montagu, occasioned by his being suddenly ordered to the Tagus upon a very critical embassy. Is astonished at Montagu's claim, assuming that when any vessel is fitting or refitting in a port (although under the orders of a flag officer) the Admiral of that port has the command of her to all intents and purposes, "for in point of fact, the Port Admiral is only the organ through which the Admiralty or the Admiral under whose command the ships in question are, convey their orders and instructions."

JAMES CORNWALLIS to his Uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1807, February 2. Upper Seymour Street.—"If we had had a son, we meant to have requested you to have stood godfather with Sir Horace, but in the event of a daughter, the Bishop, with my sister and Mrs. Dickens the godmothers. My mother, however, choosing herself to stand, we are left in the lurch for a godfather. I make you therefore the offer, with the hope of a refusal if you dislike a compliance with my request. A sponsor is all we either accept or want, or I would not have troubled you. . . . The gout you name, but I trust it will not remain with you, as I know your dislike to it. Not so Sir Horace Mann; he regards it as a receipt in full for everything else."

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1810, June 23. Hill Street.—"People were much afraid of a riot on Thursday, but everything passed off with perfect quietness. I saw Lord Melville the other day. He looks older, and, I thought, like all un-placed statesmen, feeling the want of former consequence. . . . I have the heaviest part of my visitation this summer and

another visit to Birmingham, but I hope to get through it with tolerable ease. I shall now enter into the thirtieth year of my bishopric. Few have been in it so long. None, I believe, since the Reformation. . . ."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1811, February 10. Eccleshall Castle.—". . . I am to be dragged out to preach in Westminster Abbey before the House of Lords (which I did twenty-nine years ago) next month [on the Fast day].

"I conceive that the Rev. Mr. Bingham must be the same person against whom a caution was issued some years ago, and he was described as having been chaplain to a man-of-war. I have had two chaplains of men-of-war turn out most exemplarily. The King says a red coat never takes a good black dye. I never heard his opinion of blue coats, but I have a lieutenant of the Navy preferred in my diocese who conducts himself well. . . .

"I hope you have got a good stock of port wine, as I am not very sanguine as to the deliverance of Portugal. I have never before heard of great, decisive victories attended with rapid retrograde motions. Alexander and Cæsar did not conquer in this way."

The Same to the Same

1811, March 7. Hill Street.—". . . This winter has agreed peculiarly well with me. I have not even had a cold yet; but in London I never escape. However, I hope it may not arrive till after the 20th, when I am to be exhibited in Westminster Abbey. . . . Ross called here the other morning; he is fatter, but looks older than he did. My old friend, poor Lord Romney, is gone. He somehow involved his circumstances very much in the latter part of his life; and retired greatly from public. It was a pity, as in parts of his time he acquired, with great justice, a considerable degree of good reputation. The effect of the war on West India property, and perhaps some, though no great losses at play, but, above all, building a very large house occasioned his distresses. His old house with some addition would have fully answered his purpose. . . .

"The Duchess of Gordon is giving balls and dinners without end. I am doubtful whether his Majesty has gained much ground lately; his recovery seems to require more time than usual, perhaps on account of his age.

"I met the Bishop of Chichester yesterday walking in the street and very stout. He must be nearer 80 than 70.

"We were sorry to leave our country haunts. I dislike London very much, and shall go back for the month of May as usual, and return for the month of June, when London suits me best, as I can walk about without getting cold.

"Sir Charles and Lady Oakeley inhabit my palace at Lichfield, which has cost me a good deal in repair. Sir Charles too has done something, and seems to like the habitation. Having lived many years in a country town, he is accustomed to it. Of all places, I dislike a country town; and have been fortunate to avoid it in my different church situations, for Durham is so circumstanced as to bring scarcely any of the inconveniences of a country town upon us.

"The Bayning family are not yet in town. Lord Romney is said to have died very poor. Rich I did not think him, but how he contrived to be poor I cannot conceive; as he had 30,000*l.*, I believe rom the Archbishop, his sister's fortune 12,000*l.*, and 16,000*l.* rom Lord Bradford, besides the original estate of 1,200*l.* per annum, with some thousands from Du Quesne, and, I think he told me, some little part of Mrs. Allen's fortune; he also seemed to live with economy."

The SAME to the SAME.

1811, April 8. Hill Street.—"My cold did not arrive before the preaching, and when I reflected that I preached in the Abbey *40 years ago*, as Prebendary of Westminster, I thought myself peculiarly fortunate to find so little abatement of faculties necessarily to be tried on such occasions. . . . I am glad to hear you ride so often. Your farm, if not profitable in other respects, must be greatly so to your health. . . .

"You know that there was a very particular intimacy, at one time, between the great Charles Townshend and Mrs. Edward Cornwallis of St. James's Place, and Bird's Place (which was sold again last year). I believe the intimacy was succeeded by a coolness, if not a quarrel. Upon which I suppose the shadow was sent to my mother. He was a strange man with wonderful parts. The Marquis was much inferior in parts, but superior in principle. Lord Townshend had many good points. Lady Elizabeth Loftus was a little girl scarcely able to walk alone when I was in Ireland in 1767 with Lord and Lady Townshend. How my mother would have been grieved to have seen the present humbled state of the Townshend family! There was a very good picture of the great Charles Townshend by Reynolds. Lord Romney had been breaking for some time; but he died of an apoplexy. His affairs were, for some years previous to his death, in a very deranged state, and he was forced to retire altogether from public life with a very insufficient income for his rank; partly play, partly the failure of West India estates, but, I believe most of all, building distressed him. His old house with additions and repair would, in my opinion, after all, have been preferable to the ruinous one which he erected. Lord Bacon, I think, recommends a house as well as an establishment to be rather below what the income might seem to bear. If this was so in his days, what would he have said in our days? We are to have, it is thought, a loan of 20 millions, besides war taxes, property taxes and others. However, here in London there is no appearance of want, more luxury and prodigality than

ever, but not a guinea and scarcely a shilling to be seen. This is said to be of no consequence; I wish it may prove so. In the trading part of the country, there is distress to a great degree. On Saturday we had guns firing, bells ringing, and flags displayed on most of the churches on account of our success in Portugal, which does not appear to be as yet decisive as to the French army.

"As Theresa* was so good as to be pleased with my mentioning her before, I shall not omit her now, nor her French song; and observe that as Lord Hotham cannot dance as well as sing, I think her quite in the right to have a younger partner."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1811, August 7. Eccleshall Castle.—". . . I perceive that there has been a great naval promotion; but the paper says the Honble. C. Grey retains his present situation. I hope it is choice. But I have a notion, that if you once are passed by in the promotion of Admirals, you can never become afterwards an Admiral; and upon consulting the red book, I see the names of Fanshaw, Hammond, still as Captains. Commissioner Grey knows best what he likes; but with his connexions I should have thought he might probably have been more advantageously placed and with distinction as an Admiral. However, this is not my business, and I only mention it at all out of regard to Mary, for whom I must ever feel deeply interested on account of her mother.

"The last post brought me an account of the failure of a ship-builder and owner of collieries to the amount of 300,000*l.* in the north. I shall probably lose 200*l.* or 300*l.* only by his failure. Some of our Durham friends, and particularly the Bishop, had a high opinion of him. But I never had any dependence upon him. Besides a certain loss, I am afraid that we shall be involved in law difficulties. The man was originally a ship carpenter, and worked his way up to magnificence and final ruin; though bankrupts contrive now to be upon their legs again very soon. From being a working ship's carpenter he became possessed of a great castle, not a place formerly a castle like this, but an existing one; and lived most extravagantly. He gave one entertainment, which cost, it is said, some thousands. I am surprised that persons should continue to be taken in by such adventurers."

The Same to the Same.

1811, August 12. Eccleshall Castle.—". . . Lord Townshend is dead, but no one has described to me the manner of his death. He was not very well pleased with me some years ago for not ordaining a person against my rules at his recommendation, and also for not being a member of the Antiquarian Society, of which he

* Only daughter of Captain John Whitby and Mrs. Whitby, to whom Admiral Cornwallis left Newlands. Theresa married, in 1827, Frederick Richard West, Esq., of Ruthin Castle.

was President. He had a great deal of real misfortune; and I never knew any fault but his being captious in respect of his friends and relations. We were always upon civil terms. What a sad figure the Townshend family makes at present! How different from that which it made in our grandfather's time. But this is the case with many other families. . . .

"I see that Commissioner Grey has got into a dispute with a clergyman. Mrs. Gordon told me something about it above a year ago. I had hopes that it had been all settled. I suppose his friends will come into place soon. Whether they will go on with this war in Peninsula I know not, I have never liked it; and now I think it promises worse than the American war."

The SAME to the SAME.

1811, October 19. Worthing.—". . . Your old friend Admiral Nugent is here or was so a day or two ago. I saw him driving his daughter in a donkey carriage, much in fashion here. However, the animal was not very toward, and he did not steer very well; as often on the pavement as in the road. He seems to be a very good hearted man, and is always affectionate in his enquiries concerning you.

"This place is getting thinner of company, but as I do not go much out, it is not of consequence to me.

"General and Mrs. Ross are at present in this place, but about to leave us with our fashionable company for Brighton till Christmas. Worthing seems to be a most excellent place for sea bathing; but the seaweed thrown up by the tides is so offensive, that I shall never willingly frequent it. At Brighton, where I used to be between forty and fifty years ago, the wind (?) was so high, or I was not so nice, that I did not perceive the inconvenience. I brought two new publications with me, *Thinks I to myself*, and *Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, in his last half of his period.* The first I have dispatched; in my opinion, a vulgar kind of novel. I am beginning Fox; but I am sure I shall not altogether agree with Mr. Trotter. Upon the whole, I esteemed Mr. Fox more than Mr. Pitt, excepting vices, which did not exist in the latter part of life; but I did not greatly esteem either; and if they had not been orators, I have known many wiser, abler, and much better men than either."

The SAME to the SAME.

1811, December 3. Worthing.—". . . You mentioned Mr. Singleton and Lady Mary. They are not here now; but I saw him often last spring, as a trustee for Lady Mary. When my brother gave him his place, I advised the changing it for one for life, though of less value. My brother said he did not mean to keep him in Parliament, and then he would be safe. I told him perhaps not so when another Ministry came in; and so it happened. For the present Ministers insisted upon his coming into Parliament or a resignation of the place. He is forced to attend every night, and

if he goes away, a note soon follows. Nothing can be more degrading. The whipper-in is the other member for Eye; but he does not spare his colleague, as I have been told; and, if I mistake not, by Singleton himself.

"This place is now almost entirely deserted. The gay folks are gone to Brighton till March, as it is extremely vulgar to be in London in a settled way before March. . . .

"Mr. Trotter's performance has not answered expectations. I suppose it was written in consequence of disappointment upon being neglected at the death of Mr. Fox. There are memoirs of Fox by Fell . . . There are many things related in these (*Fell's Memoirs*) worth your reading. *Not* the panegyrick on Mr. Fox, for I was no admirer of him; but incidental matters. There is an excuse for his support of Lord North till 1774 on account of his father's wishes. I do not believe that was the motive."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1812, January 17. Hill Street.—". . . I saw a letter from Portugal giving not a very favourable account of the health of our army. Agues and bilious disorders are very prevalent among some parts of it. Others are keeping hounds and very jolly. I suppose they occupy so large a country, that there is a variety of climate experienced by them, some of it very unhealthy, other parts quite otherwise.

"We have in our neighbourhood, as well as in different parts of the town, been under some alarm about nightly depredators; and only a few nights ago the ale-house (now kept by two of our late servants) at the corner of this street was broken into, and we were waked with the cry of thieves and robbers in the middle of the night. I cannot account for all these enormities so suddenly. They used to say that the army took away all the robbers in time of war. It does not appear to be so now; so one advantage of war is gone. Lord Sidmouth, who does not give up politics, though politics seem to have given him up, is come to town, and has taken Lady Bayning's house till Easter, the fashionable time of settling in London in these days. . . . What a shocking loss of ships in the North, and crews. I hope none of your friends were in those ships.

The Same to the Same.

1812, July 19. Eccleshall.—"The season has been delightful, and there is with us the greatest prospect of plenty in all articles of sustenance. When I came down every thing looked ill in this trading region, and I have in conjunction with others done all we could to assist the discarded workmen, and to quiet their minds. The repeal of the Orders in Council has produced for the present a more than usual employment for the artisans, and we [are] all alive again and grateful. The Orders in Council certainly very considerably added to the distress; but I can not help thinking

that our war with the Continent was the principal cause. I wish it may not turn out so, after this spirit is over. However, it has always appeared to me to have been unwise to have added to our difficulties, when there was not an absolute necessity for it. When I first came down, it was scarcely safe to reside in the country.

"I spent two days with some old friends of yours, namely, Sir Charles and Lady Oakeley, who inhabit my palace at Lichfield, with which they are delighted. They have laid out some money, and I a good deal, in making the house very comfortable, which it certainly is. He is not, I think, very rich for an East Indian Governor. He is a very regular, good man, and as frequent an attendant of the Cathedral as the Prebendaries."

The SAME to the SAME.

1812, November 23. Hill Street.—". . . There is a great want of trade in Staffordshire, which, added to the dearness of provisions, rather occasions discontent, but to no great degree; and as an Irish regiment of militia is quartered there, I hope, with due attention from the rich, we may get through the winter quietly.

"The Pottery is in a sad way, and I have nine stacks of crate wood of two years old now in my woods unsold. This want of trade, however, facilitates the enlisting very much. I met on my road a beautiful but delicate East Indian cow, a present from the Prince Regent to Lord Hertford. I conceive that it must be kept in the hot house this winter. Three persons attended the cow, one of them leading it. . . ."

The SAME to the SAME.

1813, July 31. [The Deanery], Durham.—"My diocese engagements [are] pressed this year, in order that I might arrive here so early. It is nineteen years since I have been here at our July chapters. . . . This house is spacious and cool, and well suited to such weather. There is one room nearly sixty feet long, cool in summer and useful for walking in winter.

"The Bishop of Durham [Barrington] was lamenting the loss of his companion in Park riding, Lord Hotham, about his age. The Bishop has just entered his eightieth year. He is wonderfully stout, but not to be compared to Sir James Mansfield, who goes through all the business of a judge and is older. These are very extraordinary instances of senile strength. Sir James Mansfield never looked healthy (I remember him at Eton, but he had left it before you went there) and the Bishop of Durham, a stronger man, was cut for the stone at five years of age. He was also with me at Eton."

CHARLOTTE WARDE to her uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

[1813], November 10. Wednesday. Peterborough Palace.—"It is with the deepest sorrow I set down to inform you of the death of my dearest Father [the Bishop], which took place last

Monday evening at nine o'clock. He had the comfort of being surrounded by all his children, and his very excellent wife, who has, for the last eighteen years, so much promoted the happiness of his life. . . . It is most gratifying to our feelings to hear of the universal grief expressed by all this town and neighbourhood at this sad event. I believe there never was a Bishop so *adored* by his clergy, to whom he was always the truest friend, and his manners were so condescending that they always felt themselves perfectly at ease in his presence."

CHARLOTTE WARDE to her uncle, ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1814, January 2. Ravenhill, Lichfield.—Family news. Her brother Charles, formerly aide-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis in India, has married a most charming woman, but has no children. Her eldest brother, however, Dr. Madan, now in residence at Lichfield, has ten. His eldest has just taken a most distinguished degree at Oxford, and two very fine boys are gone to sea ; one in the E. I. C. service and the other with Capt. Paget, in the *Superb*. The Captain writes that he is doing so well that at the end of his first cruise he has been made signal midshipman. Their own son Charles has rejoined Admiral Young, off Walcheren. He is quite out of heart about his promotion.

Postscript by General Warde.—"It is said 'no promotion for anything born south of Tweed.' Charles' juniors in numbers and of no family are gone over his head, they tell him they know not how. G. W."

The SAME to the SAME.

1814, June 28. Woodland Castle. Thanking him for his kind application to Lord Melville on behalf of her son Charles, which has unfortunately been unsuccessful, although everybody believed that one line from him must prove effectual. Thinks that "it is now rather a disadvantage to be of a good family, for the lowest born people are on all occasions preferred." General Warde has been much tempted to write to Lord Melville to strike Charles' name out of the navy list, but as "his Lordship is not a fixture," and their son is extremely devoted to his profession, she has persuaded him to have a little patience.

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL the HON. WILLIAM CORNWALLIS.

1814, October 3. Durham.—". . . In July, I took a trip to this place for a day, as some matters seemed to require my presence here at a grand chapter. I then returned to the diocese, and was for the most part employed in confirming, . . and after ordaining I came here a fortnight ago, where I am in residence at present. In the course of my peregrinations, I dined in company with Lord Hill, whom I much liked. He seemed sensible, prudent,

and good-tempered. He was then going in a very short time to America; but the plan of the war appears to be altered, and possibly his services may not be wanted. Predatory landings in different parts, it is said, are most likely to bring the Americans to terms. All that I have to say is, that I sincerely hope we shall be more successful than we were in the last American war, of the conduct of which you are a much better judge than I am. We do not seem as yet to have gained much either by the war or peace in comparison with the expense. But the Ministers are, I think, honest and not deficient in ability; consequently, I conclude that they have done and are doing their best.

"At the confirmation at Derby I saw Lady Borlase Warren, who brought, as I understood her, a daughter to be confirmed. Sir Ralph Milbancke called here on Saturday; had I been at home, he would, I suppose, have announced his daughter's marriage with Lord Byron. She is an only child, and ought to have a large fortune.

"Mr. Russell, old and infirm, resides at Bath in the Winter, and meets your old friend Lord Hood daily in his airing on the Bristol road, above 90 years of age."

The Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry to Admiral the Hon. William Cornwallis.

1815, March 6. Hill Street.—"The poor Bishop of Winchester, whom I visited the other day, is blind, deaf, and with too evident failure of memory, besides bilious attacks; but he does not seem much affected by his infirmities, having the best temper I ever knew, and the most patient mind.

"A person told me the other day she asked General Ross after Lord Cornwallis's family; he said he was not going abroad, and that the state of his circumstances was found to be good; the house in town is not to be sold, but inhabited again soon. He says Lord Cornwallis had got some very bad servants, who had cheated him; but that he, General Ross, had soon set it all to rights by dismissing the servants, and pointing out the evil. I thought it was impossible any material failure could have taken place, where there are no expensive habits. It would have been quite as well to have found out this, before the failure was announced to the world. My son has had a great deal of trouble in consequence of succeeding a person really ruined. The sums Sir Horace [Mann] expended are beyond all belief, or rather squandered. Fortunately his rents are so low, that there is no occasion to lower them. However, I find in my own property that farmers are as desirous of procuring farms as ever, notwithstanding all this outcry. For my part, I know not what to think of the present question, as to corn. I do not pretend to be a judge. I have nearly left off all farming, and follow the example of most of my great neighbours in having a ley for cattls in summer and sheep in winter.

"I am rather distressed to know how to direct to you. As you have not kissed hands, I shall this time direct as usual. Your rank by birth is higher than even Knights of the Garter. Having

once belonged to the Knights of the Garter [as Chaplain], I had occasion to think more about them than I should have otherwise done."

WILLOUGHBY COTTON to ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, K.G.C.B.

1817, November 3. Coventry House.—". . . My mother is quite well. . . . I want very much to get her rooms in the Palace [Hampton Court], but the thing is very difficult. Pray advise Mrs. Whitby not to think of going down in the diving-bell. The sensation about the head and ears is particularly unpleasant. Lady Augusta begs to thank you for your kind remembrance. . . . The Princess Charlotte still continues about. Mrs. Henry Cavendish's death is much regretted. The India war is thought to be much exaggerated."

The BISHOP OF LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY to ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, K.G.C.B.

1818, November 7. Hill Street.—"It was as well that you did not go to Hastings. I went there for a week in the beginning of the summer. The nastiest and most odious place I ever saw. Brighton I was much disposed to like when I passed a part of two summers there after I came back from Ireland in 1768, with several friends, all of whom are no more excepting Lord Glastonbury and his brother.

"It was delightful; but I went three years ago from Worthing to see it, and found it so altered, that if I had not known that I was at Brighton again, I should not from appearances have discovered it. I wanted to see the Prince's Palace; but upon my getting near it, I was accosted by a decent looking man, 'so you are come here to get a better Bishopric.' This did not look auspicious, and I sounded a retreat; and went to poor Metcalfe's, who is just dead; I should rather have said, rich Metcalfe's, for he got by his vinegar concern a great fortune without any trouble, and hardly any inspection.

"The Queen is now, I believe, worse than ever; but she has so out-lived calculation, and (horrid to say), I believe bets, that her death must not be reckoned upon."

MANUSCRIPTS

BELONGING TO

K. B. TIGHE, Esq.,

OF

WOODSTOCK, IN THE COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

1649 ? Draft of orders concerning the billeting of cavalry in Munster, and the provisions made for supplying them and their horses with food and necessaries when their pay is in arrears. Regulations as to the holding of Markets for such commodities, and the protection of the Irish against exactions. 3 *pp.*

1649, Oct. 27. Rosse —" By the Lord Lieut^t^-Generall of Ireland. Whereas there are divers complaints daily made by the inhabitants in and neare the towne of Rosse, that the souldiers under my command doe daily take away their garrons and plough horses and their seed corne and and (*sic*) doe hinder them from threshinge their seed corne, and from followinge their business of husbandrye, whereby the land is unmanured and unsowen, which doth manifestly tend to the prejudice of the publique, and maie prove to be of verie ill consequence if not tymely prevented: Theise are strictly to charge and command all officers and souldiers under my command that they doe not presume to take away anie plough horses or garrons or any seed corne from any persons whatsoever residinge and inhabitinge within our quarters, nor in anie wise to hinder them from threshinge out their corne, ploughinge their lands or followinge theire businesse of husbandry, upon paine of the severest punishment that may bee inflicted on them. And I doe hereby require all officers under my commaund in their severall places to endeavour the preventinge of the said outrages and offences, and to bringe all offenders of that kind to condigne punishment. And I doe hereby require the Provost Marshall of the army to cause this my Proclamation to bee published in the towne of Rosse and alsoe to the severall and respective Regiments of the army. Given under my hand at Rosse this 27th of October, 1649."— *Signed,* O. Cromwell.

[1649], Nov. 25. Carrick(on-Suir.)—Letter from Col. Reynolds to Major-General Ireton.—" On the previous day Lord Inchiquin sent a summons by a trumpeter, who was killed by his own side without the gates while returning. The eagerness of the Irish foot brought on an attack on the town. I drew all the horse out

to the green, and supposing that it would be convenient they should see whom they were to assault, there stood, which the horse quietly suffered: but the foote came on in such a violent manner, that it was not unlike they would have entred with us. They continued very hasty in all their approches, and stopped not untill they came to push of pike, which obstinate manner of assaulting they continued neere 4 hours, bringing on fresh supplyes untill their whole army of foote was engaged (and baffled) in the worke. Their losse was about 500 foote, divers officers, and 1,000 armes spoiled and taken: their number 6,000 (reported 7 or 8 thousand) effective foote, and about 2,000 horse, which they divided unto both sides of the water, but with none of them had we anything to do: notwithstanding their 7 drakes, or their unprofitable mine, or the advantage of a greate ruinous breach in the wall, which was most pressed upon by them." The men are still in want, although the enemy have withdrawn. "For you know what neede we have of that, by the proportion you gave Major Nelson at the water-side, although our Irish manner of warfare is different from other plans which are now practised."

(*Cf.* Cromwell's account of this—Carlyle's Cromwell, ed. Lomas, i., 510; Gilbert, ii., 325.)

1649–50, Feb. 27. Kiltenan.—"Articles of agreement between Col. John Reynolds and Col. Thomas Shelborne, Commissioners of the Lord Lieut^{t}. of Ireland on the one part, and Cap^{t}. Victor White and Lieut^{t}. John Butler on the other part, for the delivery of the Castle of Kiltenan.—(1) The Castle to be delivered to the Lord Lieut^{t}. or his deputies by 4 p.m. (2) The Governour, Major Theobald Butler, with the garrison to march with horses, arms, bag and baggage, with colours flying and matches lighted, and to have safe convoy to Limerick. (3) All persons now in Kiltenan who wish to go to their several homes to have liberty to do so, and to be protected as are the rest of the inhabitants. Signed, Jhon Butler, J. Reynolds, Tho. Shelborne. [See mention of this in Denis Murphy's "Cromwell in Ireland," p. 271.]

1649–50, March 16. Grenan Castle.—Letter from Robert Burnell to the Lord Lieut^{t}.—Did not expect to be offered no better conditions than to surrender at mercy, and is resolved to force better terms, having regard to the impregnable nature of the place. However, he will wait upon his Excellency, or any other commander appointed by him to agree upon good terms or none at all.

1649–50, March 21. Goran Castle.—Letter.—"Sir, I am intrusted with this place to be kept for his Majestie's use, and cannot deliver it upp, in honor, uppon such easy termes without apparent breach of loyallty. I rest, your servant, Ed. Hammond."

"For Generall Cromwell, these."

(See Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. ii., p. 46.)

1649–50, March 23. Before Kilkenny.—Letter from Cromwell to the Governor and Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Kilkenny. *Copy.* [Printed in Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 33 ; Gilbert, ii., 375.]

1649–50, March 23. Kilkenny.—Reply to last, from Walter Butler. *Copy.* [Printed in Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 34 ; Gilbert, ii., 376.]

1650, March 27. Kilkenny.—Articles for the surrender of Kilkenny to Cromwell. *Copy.* [Printed by Gilbert, ii., 382, and Murphy, p. 307.]

1650, June 7. Co. Kilkenny.—Articles of agreement between Col. Daniel Axtell, Governour of Kilkenny, and Thomas Butler, of Lowgrainge, Co. Kilkenny. The latter to pay a fine of 100*l.*, and an annual composition of 40*l.* for the enjoyment of the estate of Piers Butler, of Barrowmonte, to hold it in trust for Margaret Butler, alias Netterville, pending a general settlement of Ireland. This agreement to be no further binding if the said Piers, or his heirs or assigns, shall make such further composition for his estate as he or they shall think fit.

1650, June 7.—Receipt for the above-mentioned fine of 100*l.*, with a promise of redelivery to Thomas Butler, if Governour Axtell have not carried out his share of the agreement by the last day of the present month. *Copy.*

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWN.

Copy of a letter in the possession of Lord Oranmore *and* Brown, *of Castle MacGarret, Claremorris, Ireland, taken from an ancient copy of the same letter, with the annotations found on the last-mentioned copy, which is also in the possession of* Lord Oranmore.

General George Monck to Roger Lord Broghill.

"My Lord,—Your letters of the 11th and 16th instant, met me thus far on my march to London, and I perceive in these your Lordship's letters how much the Parliament and that poor nation have been engaged to your Lordship's council and conduct in the late transactions here, of which none is more satisfactory to me, and of advantage to the commonwealth's peace and safety than your putting the army into honest and sober hands, where I doubt not but they will be continued, and when I come to London I shall endeavour as effectually as I can, that it may be so.

"The Parliament have appointed Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Charles Coote, Mr. Weaver, Sir Robert Goodwin, and your friend Colonel Markham, to be the commissioners for Government of Civil Affairs in Ireland, who are all honest men, and such as I know your Lordship will be well satisfied in, for I am confidant they are persons of ability and conscience, and such as will act conscientiously in reference to the Ordinances of Magistracy and Ministry, and that love and favour such as are for order and discipline in the Church of God. I recommended your Lordship to be one of their number, but I know not how you came to be left out, and when I come to London, I shall endeavour to clear all objections (if any be) that shall be made against your Lordship's inclinations and faithfulness to the service of the Parliament.

"As for the six troops which your Lordship mentions to be regimented by Sir Theophilus Jones, I cannot think it adviseable to do it, because it will alter the establishment of Ireland which is settled by Act of Parliament, and must either break the regiments those were drawn out of, or necessitate the making the Dragoons Horse, which will increase too much the public charge, and your Lordship knows I am always averse to such things, but I shall in anything else serve Sir Theophilus Jones, and do heartily wish I might be instructed by your Lordship how to do it, for I think him a very worthy deserving person. I have written to the Parliament (at your Lordship's desire) to recommend to them Colonel Temple for Abbott's Regiment of Dragoons, and I hope he will succeed in it. I am glad the officers have reserved Colonel Redmond's regiment for him, for else he had gone without command, his employment

with the Irish Brigade being but temporary, for your Lordship knows they are a commanded party out of several regiments. The Parliament is in a good way of settlement, and I like to bring things to a good issue. I hear the secluded members in 1648 have some eager abettors in Ireland who are framing petitions in their behalf, which your Lordship may do well to discountenance, for the House has given judgment against their readmission, and writs will be issued out for filling up their places and all other vacancies, as soon as qualifications can be made. There is one Mr. Roger Livesay that I employ in my affairs in Wexford, that is a discreet stout person, and if your Lordship can give him a cornet of Horse, I shall take it as a favour. I have not acquainted him that I have written to your Lordship in his behalf, but if your Lordship can oblige me with this favour, and give intimation of it to my *cousin Monck*, he will send for him to you. I have nothing more at this time but to assure your Lordship that in all your concernments none shall more willingly serve you than, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble servant,

"GEORGE MONCK.

"Dunstable, 27 January, 1659."

"Colonel Whetham is now with me, and is much your Lordship's servant."

A true copy from an original in the possession of John Prestwich, Esq., given to him by Sir George Booth, Bart., taken by me.

GEO. PAUL MONCK.

Bath, August 26, 1784.

The letter was sealed with the Monck Arms, and directed to Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, then in Ireland.

When the General wrote the above he was on his road to London and meditating the Restoration, Oliver having died at Whitehall, September the 3rd, 1658. Richard, his son, proclaimed Protector September 4th, and deposed April 22nd, 1659, he died at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, July 12th, 1712, aged 89.

The General was arbiter of England's fate the year he wrote this letter, created Duke of Albemarle July 13th, 1660, died January the 4th, 1669–70.—G. P. M.

The original letter was afterwards given to Mr. Monck by Mr. Prestwick.

It is now possessed by me, a great great grandson of Mr. G. P. Monck.

GEOFFREY HENRY BROWNE-GUTHRIE.

Trinity College, Cambridge,
March 6th, 1881.

On the original letter there is the following annotation :—"This letter is the gift of Sir George Booth, Bart., to John Prestwich, Esq., *and in a different handwriting*, 'now Sir John Prestwich, Bart.'), who, out of friendship, gifts it to George Monck, Esq., of Bath, as belonging to his family."

ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS

OF

CAPTAIN H. V. KNOX.

Letters from Dr. Philip Skelton to William Knox.

1765, Oct. 25. Enniskillen.—"My dear Will, this, I hope, will find you and your beloved girl safe and well at your own house. I enjoy your happiness, and do perceive from your idea of it that you know very well what matrimony is, or at least should be. . . . Although you are yet in love, a time will come when you will only love, and that upon an higher and nobler basis than passion. . . . I heartily wish all the stability and beauty to your architecture which taste and judgment can give it. God, who hath brought you together, is the best guarantee of your alliance." From this he must descend to business. Has got Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, but wants Gale's Court of the Gentiles, and all the Annual Registers already published by Dodsley.

1766, May 27. Enniskillen.—My removal to a parish which our Bishop hath given me [Fintona], worth 400*l.* a year, will give you more pleasure than it does me, for I am too old and puny to enjoy it long. . . . I am excessively obliged to you for the pains you have been at on my account. . . . As to the old books, they would have been easily had when I was in London in 1747. Their being now missing is a sad proof of the swift decadence of learning. We shall be all Hottentots and Vandals ere this time next century. I depend on your care and charity for the orphan boy, and shall be obliged still further to you if you can tell me that the Repeal of the Stamp Act hath been of service to you as an American proprietor or agent."

1766, July 4. Fintona, near Omagh.—"You tell me that an accession to my income may do good in my hands to the world, and speak finely of poor mortals, and of me as not to be classed with them. But I am a poor mortal too, though not now capable of being much tempted by wealth from my old habits of life. Yet what good can I do to a world wherein you was burnt in effigy?" But if the people of Georgia "burn you at one time, they will bless you at another, provided you still continue to give them wholesome advice, and to patronise their interests, not their mistakes. North America, all America, but the Isles, is lost to England.

"Now we talk of doing good, perhaps some good may still be

done to the poor orphan." His uncle, Serjeant Robert Armstrong, may be found at the Blew Anchor, in the Broad Way, Westminster. "If any good is to be looked for in a broad way, perhaps he may remit me something for the poor boy. . . ."

"I long for the books, having now more need of them in this solitary place than when I lived in the great city of Enniskillen."

1766, Sept. 14. Fintona.—Has got the books, which are all "good cheap," but the "Atterbury's Sermons" are not those of the Bishop, as he desired, but of his elder brother, Lewis. Desires more of Waterland's pamphlets, also Ricaut's Turkish History. Has got Franklin on Electricity in Dublin.

1766, Oct. 11. Fintona.—Has not been much afraid for Knox in regard to money matters, knowing his prudence, but is rejoiced to hear his own good account of them. Has been staying with his brother, James Knox, at Portglenane, and was much pleased with the children, especially the eldest son (Tom), "a very pretty sensible youth." Dr. Hastings cannot do much for him, as his interest lies wholly in the church (for which the boy is not sufficiently educated). Thinks that Knox or his brother Bob might find in London some vacant spot in which the youth might take root.

1769, June 5. Fintona.—Urges Knox to take his nephew, "that very good young man," Tom Knox, into his protection.

"The *State of the Nation* had my highest approbation, . . but it increased my apprehensions of the popish knife, which I began to feel at my throat in every line, as you set our poverty and weakness more strongly before my eyes, and seemed to show me the Frenchman at the door. Ah, said I, so I thought, but still hoped I was a fool, and, till now, had some comfortable probabilities that my ignorance and melancholy imagination might have imposed on me; and perhaps that England might hold out as long as a man of sixty-two was my only consolation. Your *State* took this away from me, and left me in a state of despondency, like that of my country. . . . To help me still further down hill, I meet with two pamphlets, one of them said to be written by Mr. Burke, wrote, in some measure, in answer to yours, wherein our poverty and distress are, in the mean, acknowledged, you genteelly complimented, and here and there answered. We are really in a fine condition, said I to myself, when men who differ widely enough in other things agree in declaring we are at the last gasp.

"From this I was raised a little by a third answer to your performance; long, lively, and seemingly founded on superior information, which follows you step by step, and avers we are in a very good condition; at least avers that France is in a worse, and that we have not much to fear from that quarter. . . . Bravo, I shouted. It may be after all I shall live all the days of my life, and not see my country perish with me. Will you be so cruel as to undeceive me?"

1769, July 26.—"If my esteem for you as a writer, a brother and a friend can give you pleasure, take it in a full tide. . . . Your last letter, which, as you hint, woud make a pamphlet, I say woud make one of the best pamphlets ever published. . . . I long extremely to see your other performances."

I esteem the American colonies as worse than lost to England. "We are undone. Atheism, faction, luxury, gaming, debts, dutchesses, the Devil, all are employed to ruin us, and Wilks is at the head of them."

1769, Oct. 16.—I like your manner of writing extremely; . . . you ought, however, to draw no fewel for vanity from my opinion. There's no body more often, nor more grossly mistaken than I am; witness what I have published myself, and what the infallible monthly Reviewers have said of my publications."

Is intending to issue a new edition of his works (if he can get up a subscription), devoting the profits to the Foundling and Magdalen hospitals. Has had nothing to do with the filling of either, but those who *have* will do nothing. If he gets no encouragement, he thinks of printing one copy, "to be placed in our library, with a preface of two lines:—'The author of these works could find nobody who would buy a single copy of them, and therefore he printed but this one.'"

1769, Oct. 25.—This goes by his "dear, worthy young creature, Tom Knox." He is good, and, in spite of all temptations, will continue to be good.

1769, Dec. 5. Dublin.—Praising Knox's last book and Grenville's speech. A jeremiad on the sins and follies of the times. "Thus fell Athens, Sparta, Rome. Thus must England fall, and soon." Is busy about his new edition. He and Mr. Watson are going together to send out 5 vols., large 8vo, well bound and printed, "for 3 crowns English the first subscription, and as many more for the last. . . . We proceed if 175 subscriptions are obtained, which will defray the expense of 500, our whole edition; which, if all sold, will bring into the charity about 500*l*. . . . I wish to be able to give a correct collection of all my things to the world, and to help the best species of charity in it. With this attempt I mean to take my leave of writing, and indeed of the world."

1770, July 4.—Concerning Knox's brother James and nephew, Tom Knox. Has been much pleased with Knox's papers, in which he sometimes finds a grave irony of which Swift himself would not be ashamed. In regard to Knox's proposal that they should start a Miscellany together, he would have delighted to draw in one cart with the man he loves, but (in his 64th year) has no strength left of body or mind to draw at all, and feels that it is time to take the jaded horse out of the harness.

1772, Jan. 30. Drogheda.—On the state of the country. "The patriots, odious appellation, say all the ministerial men are robbers

and oppressors of the country; the ministerial men say all the patriots are rebells and only want to be ministers." Beliefs both, and considers the nation to be on the brink of ruin.

1772, July 30. Fintona.—A very long letter, in answer to one from Knox, on religious subjects. Chiefly in defence of the Athanasian creed.

Is extremely pleased to be confirmed in his opinion of Lord North. "If France and our patriots will suffer him, he will greatly sink the national debt, and save England from its patriots." Yet, indeed, nothing can save a nation so lost to all religion and honesty. Urges Knox, if he goes into Parliament, to "stand fast in the faith," quit him like a man, and be strong.

1772, Aug. 27. Fintona.—Recommending Major Maxwel as an officer of great merit, and praying Knox's good offices for him; also for Dr. Sims, who is going to London "to publish a small physical tract," and wishes, if encouraged, to end his days there. If Knox is ill, Dr. Sims will help him "better than three of the top physicians."

1772, Nov. 6. Drogheda.—Rejoices in Knox's continuance in his place; and praises the piety and goodness of his chief, Lord Hillsborough. On religious matters.

1773, March 4. Drogheda.—Concerning an offer from Mrs. Knox to send a sum of money for the suffering poor of his parish. There are about forty or fifty weavers, all in more or less distress. "Of about 800 females, there are not ten, from the age of eight to that of eighty, who are not from year's end to year's end employed at the wheel, and [they] cannot make, on an average, quite twopence a day." Asks for Mrs. Knox's Christian name, that he and his people may pray for their benefactress, which is the way, or whim (as the people about St. James' would call it) of a man "who thinks such prayers do really go upwards." She reminds him of a Mrs. Fitzgerald, who sold a cap for ten guineas and sent him the money for his poor when they were starving in 1757. On the lamentable state of England.

1773, May 6. Fintona.—On Sunday last he and his congregation gave thanks to the "feeder of the poor" for the relief lately sent them by his servant Letitia Knox, and prayed for a blessing upon her and her family. The next day, with the help of a committee of his best parishioners, her ten guineas was distributed, after a month's search to single out the most indigent—*i.e.*, those who had subsisted, "before this fall of linnen and yarns, chiefly on those two branches of manufacture. A woman of the best fingers (so high is the flax and so low the yarn) cannot earn quite a penny in the day," and the weavers are almost wholly idle.

Praises the Presbyterians' petition to Parliament, and states that he is building a meeting-house in his parish, "in requital for the Presbyterians, who are the majority here, having cheerfully

repaired" his church. Doubts much whether the constitution of Church or State will hold out his time, although he is very old and very infirm.

1773, Nov. 22. Drogheda.—The world is gone, or going mad, and people wrangle about religion, though they have not the smallest knowledge or sense of it. On religion, as he finds it "in the Word of God."

1774, April 27. Fintona.—Concerning a nephew who has gone out to Georgia. As to Knox's desire to send some money (as a thank-offering for God's goodness to him) for the relief of the distressed, he suggests that it would be well to use it to assist Dr. Hastings and his brother to equip one of James Knox's sons, in case a pair of colours can be found for him. Dr. Hastings is not in such opulent circumstances as has been imagined, and is a "great giver" to his relations, the poor of his parish, and others.

1774, May 23. Fintona.—Concerning the nephew in Georgia, whose name is Thomas Wolfenden.

"Our missionaries to America are certainly the sorriest of all mortals. . . . I know of no warm people but infidels and rebels. Your Moravians and Methodists are unknown, unknowable.

"Why is the death of a French King to undo us? Must we have a war with the next? Or is the next to stop all remittances of French gold? The Bostonians are gone mad, and England is certainly undone. It is well there is a better world."

1774, July 25. Fintona.—Nothing should be forced in matters of religion. The French Canadians gave up their swords on that very condition. They are now become, by their own solicitation, subject to Parliament, "and much better subjects to our King than any of his other American and Continental colonists; so much better, that he is likely to use them and their Indians as a bridle to keep in the Bostonians, &c. . . .

"Thank you for the Moravian missions. They look extremely like those of the Jesuits. This resemblance perhaps was made necessary by the nature of things, but I, in no sense a novellist, am not apt to be carried away by novelties in religion. These odd enthusiastic heats are a kind of comets, which rise and set, come and go, without doing much good. Much harm they certainly do, and the Moravians, in particular, are charged with many very ugly excentricities, which their adversaries extract verbatim from the writings of Zinzendorf and others of the sect. . . . However, if the Moravians can but block out Christians in America it is well, at any rate, and time, not our lukewarm clergy, I confess, may perfect their figure."

1774, Oct. 26. Drogheda.—"Dean Tucker, I see, is for giving up the Northern Colonies totally. Do you think with him in this? For my own part, I think these Americans are downright rebels, and yet, if they are to be taxed by the Parliament of England, they

may bid adieu to the thing called property. How wisdom shall make its way between the horns of this dilemma, with justice in tow, I am too far off to see."

1775, Jan. 9. Dublin.—On Knox's kindness to his brother James' children, and to Skelton's parish. "Never was a sum more wanted among my poor, and yet I deliberate whether I should put it immediately into their mouths, or lay it out on the roof of a church which is falling on our heads, and cannot be repaired but out of their pockets. I lean to the former as more pressing." Spent above 20*l.* of his own last summer in repairing one-half of the roof. Will give orders about the stone to be placed over two persons whose memory he venerates and loves; as he will endeavour to show by a little inscription "neither unfit for their remains to carry nor for you to read."

1775, June 18. Fintona.—This being a plentiful year with his poor, and the prospect of next year not so good, he has distributed Knox's bounty of ten guineas amongst "as many poor spinning families as the guineas extended to," to be laid out in flax-seed, that they may have something to do the next year.

Recommending one George Lawe to Knox's assistance in obtaining a post, either civil or military

1775, Sept. 17. Dublin.—Thanks him for his aid to young Law. Would be glad to know if his nephew Wolfenden (in Georgia) and Mr. Buchanan are still alive. Supposes they are both rebels now, and have proclaimed war against George III.

1776, March 28. Dublin.—Asking Knox to send "the body of regulations" by which the Asylum for destitute girls in London is managed, as a good old gentleman in Dublin intends to settle fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds per annum on some charitable scheme, and having consulted with himself, they both like this Asylum the best.

1776, June 28. Fintona.—On behalf his "dear old friend" Mr. Hawkshaw's youngest son, George.

1776, Aug. 23. Dublin. Mr. Gresson's, Little Green.—Dr. Hastings has been very ill, and though now doing well, is going to make his will. "He means to leave 400*l.* to your and his niece, Mrs. J. Knox, and is ready to pay it over to her husband immediately if a tolerable match is proposed." Desires by this letter to introduce the doctor to Knox, "as there are few men of equal understanding with him, and not one of superior worth"; they have been joint benefactors; why should not they be friends?

1776, Dec. 30. Mr. Gresson's, Little Green.—Begs to know what Knox's indisposition has been. Studies and practises physic, and has "more than once performed a cure after medical men of high repute had given up the patient"; why then should he not point out a remedy for his friend? Sends a sermon which he was "almost

forced to write in two days, to preach and even print." It is only distinguished by its utter contempt of party and politics, and "its saying what nobody else dare say, and yet every body ought to say. I have offended the patriots here, and should offend the courtiers there, were I or my discourse large enough to be seen. . . . I have lying by me about fifty guineas to carry me out of this miserable island when the French and Spaniards come in, if the patriots suffer me to live till then. We are undone, but what signifies complaining?"

1777, Nov. 22. Dublin.—Hears that Knox is well, but fears he cannot be really so, when all the disorders of the new world are perpetually passing through his very brain, nay and through his heart also. "Here are none but rebels. All our newspapers abound with intelligence favourable to rebels. . . . The King is reviled, the ministry cursed, religion trampled under foot, a loud crie set up for patriotism and liberty by people who mean nothing but to sell their country." Knows that Knox can give no comfort to one who loves his King, country, and religion, "but sees them all embarqued in a crasy bottom, and tossed in a tempest. He hath little left but the miserable consolation of old age, which takes off one-half of the terrour of being drowned."

1777, Dec. 30. Dublin.—Has been told that Knox loses near 4,000*l.* a year by the American rebellion. No wonder he wishes for conquest or accommodation. But the Americans will never come to terms advantageous to their mother country, or if they do, will adhere to them no longer than the commencement of a French war. "All colonies have a right to aim at independence when they can. . . . Our American Colonies, however, have set up for it too soon; at an improper time for themselves, ungratefully, dishonestly, impolitickly. They suffer for it, and England is undone. . . . How feebly does England push with a weapon 4,000 miles long! and how easily will that weapon be parried at the point. People here cast their eyes on Lord Chatham, that best of men in, and that worst of men out of power, as the only mortal capable of retrieving his country, and redressing the mischiefs he himself hath brought upon her. For my part, I believe him utterly unequal to the task. . . . Such debts, who can pay? Such infidelity, who can remove? Such sins, who can wash out? Such political sins, perjury, prostitution, venality, corruption, who can cure or wash away but God? Or how, but by blood and ruin? . . Could you look on life as I do, from this its utmost period, you woud fly from the whirlpool of deception, madness and disappointment . . . to peace and the God of peace, wherever He is to be found.

"The exertion of your little power for those who lived near your good old father and mother and yourself is the best you can at present do, . . . though that is a strange motly body you are going to make up of Presbyterians, to be commanded by men they hate."

1779, Sept. 7. Dublin.—In relation to money sent to Mrs. J. Knox from her brother Tom in India.

Has been reading the results of the enquiry into the conduct of

the two H[owe]s, and other papers on the subject, and is convinced that the refusal of the witnesses to speak their opinions is a strong evidence of their belief that things were ill-conducted; especially as they everywhere made strong compliments to the gentlemen under enquiry. Was, indeed, previously sure "that an understanding hath been all along kept up by the principals on both sides, in America, C[linto]n and B[urgoy]ne excepted, and is still kept up. . . . I knew, a year ago, that our army, from the generals down, were able to have quashed the rebellion and fully willing. I know, they still are able and willing, but were and are withheld, to the ruin of England, and of the American colonies too."

1779, Oct. 30. Dublin.—"The malcontents of this kingdom, who make almost the whole, are not to be wrought upon by any reasonings. How[e] is an hero with us . . . and had the Congress acted still a more villainous part than they have done, were that possible, they woud have been still more loudly and universally applauded here. Under a pretence of preparing to repell an invasion on this island, all sorts of Protestants, but the dissenters most warmly, have taken up arms, which they now threaten to employ against England. They will not so much as drink success to his Majesty's fleet against the fleets of France and Spain, on which two powers they depend for aid against England; and hardly at all disguise their intention to play off the American hand of cards, up from duces to aces. It is in vain to remonstrate that independency here must be impossible without the total reduction of England; that this cannot be effected without the aid of French and Spanish forces, or that France and Spain, in case England is once ruined, must be paid by a subjection of Ireland to those arbitrary powers; without, in short, the fate of Corsica. Hated [*sic*, ? heated] by useless places, an enormous list of pensions, an encreasing debt, and a trade greatly cramped, and now indeed almost annihilated, they will listen to no sober counsels. They give out that they have 30,000 men well armed and disciplined, and begin already to insult the army and our chief governor. They never saw a greater force than their own, and know not, because yet untried, that they woud turn their backs on sight of [a] quarter their number of regulars. Our Lord Lieutenant [Lord Buckinghamshire] whether carried away by dread of an invasion, or what other motives I cannot pretend to guess, hath given them great encouragement, as to arming. He early sent a general to review them, and hath supplied them with arms as long as there was anything in the Treasury. He is, however, not popular, but with the wiser and better sort of people. You sit near the helm, and can much better tell than I can what our good King and his ministry will do, between the trading people of England and Ireland. Without concessions, we are not to be quieted, and some must be made; yet America hath been lost, and England almost ruined, by concessions. Humanly speaking, a few concessions and some additional forces, all English, might possibly keep matters *in statu quo* for awhile. With no one to exert himself for the Establishment, and with statesmen, generals, admirals, all ready to skuttle our political ship, and eager to sink themselves rather

than suffer others to float, I can form no hopes but in God, and how dare I, how dare we, look up to Him for help? we who have renounced Him, His religion, all virtue, and all true patriotism?

"I am old, and every thing relating to me becomes daily more and more insignificant. . . . My parish is up in arms and my tythe farmer and his bailsmen hope to pay me with a revolution, perhaps with a pistol. If you cannot help me where I am, I must soon die, or flie for help where you are. Call me, therefore, to a little living near you. I may, even yet, write as good nonsense for my King as others write against him."

Postscript.—"Just now I am told the trumpet of rebellion is loudly blown by the dissenting ministers of Ulster, and that, instead of 30,000, they boast of 50,000 fighting men."

1779, Dec. 13. Dublin.—"I am in some pain about a long letter I wrote to you . . wherein I spoke to you about my throwing myself upon you, in case of my ruin here. If this letter should have fallen into the hands of our malcontents of Ireland, it will be deemed high treason against them. I anxiously wish to have it under your own hand that it came safe. As to the part concerning myself, I give it wholly up. I am too old and too infirm to be worth caring for." The rest of the letter is on behalf of Mr. Samuel Murray, "a very worthy clergyman, who with infinite pains hath, for fourteen years, served the cure of St. Michael's in this city." Prays for Knox's influence with Lord G. Germain, one word from whom to the Archbishop of Dublin would certainly procure him something of a permanent kind for his declining years.

1780, Jan. 31. Dublin.—". . . I read over your papers, addressed to your very good Lords the Bishops, with that approbation which always results from a similarity of thinking. Eighteen pence a counter at quadril in a Bishop's house is shocking. To your remarks on psalmody might perhaps have been added (for so it is here), that the organist hath the charge of teaching the poor boys and girls to sing the psalms, which he shamefully neglects to do, and so is obliged to conceal his own neglect and their deficiency by blowing his organ as loud as the air in his bellows can supply him with sounds. For my part, I would rather hear the poorest organ of God's making than the best ever made by man. . . . I exceedingly like the organ in a church, but my devotion is raised a thousand times higher by those better organs, which know and feel somewhat of that which they utter. It is no small comfort to me that my dear friend, in the midst of all his worldly avocations, is still so sensibly exercised in matters of religion. What signifies every thing else?"

Postscript.—"We have here got over our fears of an immediate rebellion and revolution, though the evil spirit is still at work. The short money bill, and then a free trade, were the pretexts for taking up arms. Now you cannot imagine how the enemies of establishment are disappointed by the success in both respects. They cannot decently avow the designs they concealed, under the general crie about oppression and tyranny, tho' not a few among them spoke

out and railed furious[ly] at King, ministry, England, &c. For my own part, I still have bread, blessed be God, though the payments to me are very indifferent. The country is yet far from opulence, and its lack of cash is represented and plaided as much greater than it is. . . ."

1780, March 31. Dublin.—"What are they going to do with your office? The crown is to be circumcised, it seems, to save money, which, in the midst of almost general infidelity, hath no chance to go into better hands than those already in the management of it. Our Irish Burke, whose speech I have read, is not only pushing you placemen and the Court, but, in my opinion, the whole nation headlong down a precipice. . . . Burke's speech seems a push for Prime-ministry, and considering the ground he hath gained, I do not see how the King can do without him. Perhaps it would be the wisest way to take him in, that the nation may see him undo all he hath already done; for without money and placemen he will be able to do nothing, either for himself, which he means, or for England, which he does not mean."

1780, Oct. 5. Dublin.—Agreeing with Knox in regard to the conduct of some of the Bishops, but declaring that the church and religion are not to be held accountable for their shortcomings. Reproaches his friend for having neglected his appeal on behalf of "a man of real activity in his calling, a painstaking labourer in the vineyard. . . . I ask nothing of any man for myself, or for any relation of mine; and you perfectly well know that standing so high on principles of true religion, I am incapable of applying for the unworthy. . . . I expect no answer to this letter. For your past friendships, God greatly bless you. As to any future friendships, you are hereby fully discharged by your still real and cordial friend."

CORRIGENDA.

P. 125, *line* 3 *from bottom, and p.* 149, *line* 21, *for* Marquis *read* Viscount.

P. 183, *last line but one, for* Ohio laws *read* Ohio lands.

P. 286, *footnote, for* Granville *read* Grenville.

P. 329, *last line, for* T. Townshend *read* J. Townshend.

P. 403, *line* 8, *and p.* 405, *line* 28, *for* Southesk *read* Northesk.

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